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THE

CABINET PORTRAIT GALLERY

OF

BRITISH WORTHIES.

VOLUME I.

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Among the histories of eminent kings, that of our Henry II. is one of the most remarkable both in its beginning and its end, both in the character of the man and in his fortunes; and, mostly tragic as the annals of human ambition are, there are few such histories that exemplify more impressively the instability and vanity of all earthly greatness.

Nature and fortune joined to make him great. The son of Matilda, daughter of the English king Henry I., he was through that descent, after the death of his grandfather, the undoubted male representative of Wil-

liam the Conqueror, the founder of the reigning English dynasty, and as such the legitimate heir, at least after his mother, both of the crown of England and of the dukedom of Normandy, the older acquisition of his heroic race. His grandmother, the wife of Henry I., was Matilda, daughter of Queen Margaret of Scotland, herself the daughter of Edward the Outlaw, in the veins of whose descendants now flowed the main stream of the blood of Egbert and Alfred and the old Saxon royal line. His father, whom his mother had married in 1127, two years after the death of her first husband, the Emperor Henry V., by whom she had no issue, was Geoffrey Earl of Anjou, surnamed Plantagenet, from his assuming as his ensign, and wearing on the crest of his helmet, a sprig of broom (in French *plante genêt*); whose father, Earl Fulk, had immediately before this marriage resigned to him all his French possessions and honours, upon being himself elected to the throne of Jerusalem, in which he was succeeded, on his death in 1143, by Baldwin III., his son by a second marriage. Henry was the eldest son of Geoffrey and the empress, and was born at Le Mans, the capital of his father's county of Maine, in March 1133, about two years and nine months before the death of his grandfather King Henry.

Yet it is remarkable that each of these several advantages of descent which were thus united in his person was accompanied by some defect or drawback, as if in order that there might remain as much for him to do for himself as had been done for him by the accident of his birth. His Saxon lineage gave him no claim to call himself the heir of the old race of English kings while there existed male descendants of his great-grandmother, Queen Margaret of Scotland, whose son David the First was now seated on the throne of that country, and was undoubtedly the true representative of King Edmund Ironside and the Saxon royal line. Even between him and his legal right by inheritance to the English sceptre of the Conqueror there stood his mother, to whom and not to her son it was that Henry I. had made his barons swear fealty as his successor. Nor did he on the death

of his father obtain more than a qualified right to the earldom of Anjou, Geoffrey having directed in his will that he should resign it to his next brother Geoffrey if he should ever come into the possession of the English crown, and having also made his bishops and barons take an oath that they would not suffer his body to be buried till Henry should have sworn to perform whatever the will might be found to enjoin; which, accordingly, though with much reluctance, he did. Geoffrey died on the 10th of September, 1151, in his forty-first year, being younger than his wife the empress, who had long ceased to be an object of his affections, by seven or eight years.

Ere this, however, his son, styled by the French, Henry Fitz-Empress (that is, son of the empress), had passed through other changes of position and fortune. On the death of his grandfather, in December 1135, the English throne had been usurped by Stephen of Blois, whose mother Adela was a daughter of the Conqueror: she had been married to the Earl of Blois, by whom she had four sons, of whom Stephen was the third. In the course of the contest that ensued between Stephen and Matilda, young Henry was in the latter part of the year 1142 entrusted by his father to Robert, Earl of Glocester, his mother's illegitimate brother and faithful partisan, and was by him brought over to England. They landed, the boy and his uncle, about the middle of November, at Wareham in Dorsetshire, a town and castle belonging to the earl, but now held by the king's troops. The garrison, however, agreed to surrender to Glocester, who had brought with him from the continent a force of three or four hundred knights, if they should not be relieved within three weeks; and soon after, upon being informed from Stephen that he had no intention of relieving them, they gave up the place. Matilda had never, since she landed in England three years before, been in such peril as she was in at this moment—not even when, in the summer of the preceding year, she was surprised in London by Stephen's queen, and only saved herself by springing into her saddle from the table at which she was dining—nor a few weeks after when flying from Win-

chester, early on a Sunday morning, she and her escort were overtaken by the enemy at Stourbridge, and, while the Earl of Glocester and all the rest were either taken prisoners or slain, she made her way, attended by a single follower, to Luggershall, and thence, after a rest of a few hours, by getting again upon horseback and continuing her rapid flight, to the castle of Devizes. She was now shut up in the castle of Oxford, which Stephen besieged with his whole army, disregarding in the meantime every other object, and determined to effect its reduction either by force or famine. All hope seemed to be gone; but, after she had endured the greatest privations, on the night of the 20th of December, she left the castle by a postern gate, with four knights, crossed the Thames, which was frozen over, and reached Abingdon on foot, having walked all the way through a deep snow, and having been enabled to escape the notice of the enemy, some accounts say, in part by herself and her attendants having clothed themselves in white linen. At Abingdon she took horse, and rode to Wallingford Castle. Hither a few days after the Earl of Glocester, having started as soon as he heard the news, brought her her son. The sight of the boy, says an old chronicler, made her forget all her toils and dangers, and think all she had suffered nothing. Matilda, with all her haughtiness of temper, was not without other good qualities, besides her share in the intrepidity and tough invincible spirit of her race; if prosperity made her insolent and tyrannical, she bore adversity admirably; and to her son she was from the first to the last the best of mothers, not only in the affection she bore him, but in all other respects. Henry was soon after this carried to Bristol, and "continued there four years," says Lord Lyttelton, "under the care of his uncle, who trained him up in such exercises as were most proper to form his body for war, and in those studies which might embellish and strengthen his mind. The Earl of Glocester himself had no inconsiderable tincture of learning, and was the patron of all who excelled in it; qualities rare at all times in a nobleman of his high rank, but particularly in an age when

knowledge and valour were thought incompatible, and not to be able to read was a mark of nobility. This truly great man broke through that cloud of barbarous ignorance, and, after the example of his father King Henry, enlarged his understanding and humanized his mind by a commerce with the muses, which he assiduously cultivated, even in courts and camps, showing by his conduct how useful it was both to the statesman and general. The same love of science and literature he likewise infused into his nephew, who under his influence began to acquire what he never afterwards lost, an ardour for study and a knowledge of books not to be found in any other prince of those times. Indeed the four years he now passed in England laid the foundation of all that was afterwards most excellent in him; for his earliest impressions were taken from his uncle, who, not only in learning but in all other perfections—in magnanimity, valour, prudence, and all moral virtues,—was the best example that could be proposed to his imitation."* Henry's father, who after a long contest had now acquired complete possession of Normandy, recalled his son from England in the latter part of the year 1146; and in the beginning of November of that year, very soon after he had parted with his nephew, the Earl of Glocester was carried off by a

* 'History of the Life of King Henry II.' i. 281.—Henry, when he first made his appearance in England, attracted observation, among other things, by being dressed, after the manner of boys in his native country, in a coat or jacket with short skirts, or perhaps without any skirts at all; whence they gave him the sobriquet of *curt-mantle*. This we learn from the writer of 'Brompton's Chronicle,' who, in giving an account of Henry's death, after telling us that those present, in their rapacity, stripped the royal corpse, and that it lay for a long time naked, till a boy threw over the lower part of it a short cloak, absurdly observes that thus was fulfilled the surname which the king had borne from his infancy, originally given to him because he had first brought the fashion of the short coat from Anjou into England.—Twisden, *Scriptores* x. 1150.

fever. This was to his sister the empress the loss of her right hand. "Courage and resentment," we quote again Lord Lyttelton's account, "still combated in her heart with despair; nor was it without the greatest and most painful reluctance that she gave way to the necessity of leaving a country over which she had so long expected to reign. But, in less than four months after the death of her brother, seeing no possibility of supporting her party, and fearing to fall into the hands of her enemy, she was constrained to abandon England and go into Normandy, to live with a husband whom she never had loved, and who did not love her, but was generous or prudent enough to receive her with kindness in this decline of her fortune, when her pride was humbled by her sorrow. Nevertheless, he retained to himself the dominion of that duchy, as he had held it in her absence; that is, without any dependence upon her. Instead of submitting to this, she would perhaps have stayed in England, and buried herself under the ruins of her own greatness, if the anguish of her mind had not been soothed by the hope that Prince Henry, her son, might, when he should attain to an age of maturity, be able to revenge her on Stephen, and recover the crown which she had lost. Her whole care was therefore employed upon his education. She laboured to inspire him with thoughts as high as her own; to give him an ardour for glory, an ambition for empire, and a spirit of conquest. His genius was very suitable for such instructions; but the fire he drew from her was happily tempered with the lessons of prudence and humanity which he had been taught in England by his uncle; and which his father, a prince of great discretion and judgment, continued to fix in his mind."*

Henry remained in Normandy till the year 1149. Meanwhile his friends in England had been gradually recovering heart and strength; and it was arranged that the young prince, whom, although as yet only sixteen. they now looked to as their head, should show himself among them. From this time his mother may be

* Twisden, Scriptores, p. 346.

regarded as having withdrawn her pretensions in his favour; no express act of resignation ever took place, but both she and her husband (for Geoffrey also gave up something in abandoning the hope of a crown for his wife) were too much attached to their son, and too sensible, besides, of the present state of circumstances, and of what the exigency demanded, to stand in his way. He landed early in the year at the head of a considerable force, probably at Wareham, marched through the western counties, where he was joined by the Earl of Chester, the Earl of Hereford, and other barons; and made his way to his great-uncle King David of Scotland, who had been for some time in possession of the three northern counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, and whom he found at the head of an army in the town of Carlisle. During the festivities of Whitsuntide, which were distinguished on this occasion by extraordinary magnificence, Henry received the honour of knighthood from his uncle; but he had no opportunity of gaining his spurs, a disappointment which vexed him the more that Stephen's son Eustace, who had been knighted about the same time, had been already put by his father in command of a military force, with which he was ravaging the lands of some of the very barons who were now lying in idleness with their retainers at Carlisle.

It must apparently have been during this visit that Henry met with his first mistress, so famous in song and story, the beautiful Rosamund de Clifford. Of the two sons which she bore to him it is known that the younger, Geoffrey, was older than Henry, his first-born by his queen, and also that he was nearly twenty when he was made Bishop of Lincoln in 1173; he was therefore probably born in 1153; and his elder brother William, surnamed Long-sword, who, having married the daughter and heiress of the Earl of Salisbury, succeeded to the estates and title of his father-in-law, may have been born in 1150. Both of them were educated along with Henry's legitimate sons: William survived till 1226; and Geoffrey, who resigned his bishopric in

1182, and was then made Lord Chancellor by his father, to whom he steadily adhered in all fortunes, became in the next reign Archbishop of York, but resigned that see also in 1207, after holding it for about six years, and died in 1212. As for their mother, who was daughter of Walter de Clifford, a baron of Herefordshire, it is hardly necessary to say that there is no foundation for the story of the labyrinth in which she was concealed by her royal lover at Woodstock, and of her being discovered and forced to drink poison by Queen Eleanor, which has made her so renowned in popular romance. It is known that she spent her last years in the nunnery of Godstow, near Oxford, which she was probably induced to select for her retreat from her father having been a benefactor to that house: there she is said to have lived a life of devotion and penitence; but all that is known as to the time of her death is, that it took place before that of her father, and he was still alive in 1165.

Henry, finding that nothing could be done at present in England, returned, in the beginning of the year 1150, to Normandy; and soon after that duchy was resigned to him by his father, the French king Louis VII. (Le Jeune) having come thither in the autumn of this year, according to an agreement among all the parties concerned, and as feudal sovereign formally delivered it up to the young prince, reserving to himself, as the price of his compliance, the border district called the Vexin, which had always been a subject of contention between the dukes of Normandy and the kings of France. Some months afterwards, indeed, Louis, repenting of what he had thus done, made an attempt to wrest the fief again out of the hands of the Angevin prince, with the view of transferring it to Stephen's son, Eustace; but upon Henry showing a bold front, and a determination to defend his own, he soon desisted, and the quarrel was settled by his abandoning Eustace, and by Henry coming to Paris and renewing his homage there. This then was Henry's first acquisition. His next was that of the three earldoms of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine, into which he came into possession by the death of his father

about a year after. This was not long in being followed by another, for which he was still more directly or materially indebted to King Louis than he had been for his duchy of Normandy. That well-meaning but somewhat weak monarch had long been dissatisfied with his queen, Eleanor, or, as she is more commonly called in the chronicles of the time, Alienor or Aanor, daughter and heiress of William, Duke of Guienne or Aquitaine and Earl of Poitou, countries extending along the whole of the western coast of France, from the Loire to the Pyrenees, which her marriage, celebrated immediately after her father's death, in the year 1137, when she was only sixteen, had annexed to the French crown. It seems amazing that any considerations should have blinded Louis to the impolicy of allowing possessions of such extent and importance, constituting more than a third of his kingdom, to pass out of his hands after he had once got hold of them; yet so it was; he had been tormented by feelings of jealousy ever since Eleanor had been with him, in the year 1148, in the Holy Land, where he imagined she had had a variety of intrigues both with Christian and infidel lovers; she on her part had come to look with contempt upon her husband, the character of whose mind seemed in her eyes to make him fitter for being a monk than a king; and the end was that in the beginning of the year 1152 she submitted to a divorce, or rather their marriage was dissolved by mutual consent; for, although at the council of bishops which assembled at Beaujency-sur-Loire to take the matter into consideration, and before which Eleanor made her appearance, Louis asked for a divorce on the plea of his suspicions of her fidelity, the council pronounced no opinion upon that point, but simply declared the marriage to have been null from the beginning, on the common and convenient ground of the consanguinity of the parties, who were fourth cousins, the canons of the Church forbidding marriage, without a previous dispensation from the pope, even between persons related within the seventh degree. The scandalous chronicles of the time affirm that Eleanor had already, before her separation from her husband,

given way to a passion for young Henry Plantagenet, whom indeed she had seen at the French court on two recent occasions; first when he came, as just related, to renew his homage for the duchy of Normandy, and again when he returned soon after to receive investiture of the earldoms he inherited from his father. They at least were not long in finding out one another after she was at liberty to dispose of herself. The nullification of Eleanor's marriage with Louis immediately produced two consequences; it bastardized two daughters that she had borne to him, and, as we have already intimated, it severed from the French crown the extensive dominions forming her inheritance. It was natural that she should now return to her own country, and accordingly she set out for Poitou as soon as the council had pronounced its sentence. But there were several aspirants to the rich prize which Louis had resigned or cast away, notwithstanding that he is said to have assured himself that she would never get another husband, declaring that her behaviour had made her too infamous for the poorest gentleman in his dominions to be willing to marry her. When she reached Blois, she received proposals from the young Thibaud, Earl of Blois, who had just succeeded to that fief on the death of his father, the elder brother of King Stephen; and, when she declined his suit, it is affirmed that he formed a design of detaining her, and compelling her to marry him by force, which she only escaped by being warned of it and taking her departure in the middle of the night for Tours. Here another danger of the same kind met her. Henry Plantagenet's younger brother Geoffrey had been left by his father only the castles of Chinon and Loudon in Touraine, and that of Mirabeau in Anjou, with their dependencies, and he could hardly therefore, even with his dubious prospect of succeeding at some future time to the chief possessions of his family, flatter himself that if he should set about wooing the Duchess of Aquitaine in the common fashion he would, in present circumstances, have much chance of success. But either not being aware of or disregarding his brother's pretensions, and thinking that such an op-

portunity of making his fortune was not likely again to present itself, he also, like Thibaud of Blois, resolved to try force, and posted himself at a port on the Loire, called Le Port de Piles, by which he supposed that Eleanor would pass, for the purpose of waylaying her and carrying her off. She received intelligence of his scheme, however, and, changing her route, got safe to her own town of Poitiers. From this she sent to Henry, then in Normandy, to tell him of her arrival, and of the perils through which she had made her way. He instantly set out to join her, taking with him only a few attendants, and travelling so as to attract as little observation as possible; and they were married on Whit-Sunday (May the 18th), not quite six weeks after Eleanor's separation from Louis. Henry was not yet twenty years of age, and his bride was full thirty; "but with a good share of beauty," observes Lord Lyttelton, "and more of vivacity, she had still youth enough to gain the heart of a young man, though not to preserve it very long." His lordship nevertheless declines affirming that Henry was really in love,—that his acceptance of Eleanor's offer of her hand was prompted by any other passion than his ambition. There were certainly some strong considerations to be got over, apart altogether from their difference in age.

Thus was Henry already lord of nearly the half of France. From the situation of his previous possessions, he was of all the vassals of the French crown the one whom a union with Eleanor was fitted the most to aggrandize. As the duchy of Normandy, which he derived from or through his mother, was conterminous on the south with his three paternal earldoms of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine, so his wife's states of Poitou and Guienne lay immediately to the south of these last, the whole forming an unbroken continuation of territory extending from the English Channel to the Pyrenees. To these acquisitions, maternal, paternal, and matrimonial, he soon added another much more splendid than any or all of them, which he may be said to have mainly won for himself by his own right hand. For a brief space

he was detained on the continent by having to take arms against a formidable confederacy organized by King Louis, who had now at length opened his eyes, and turned them with amazement and consternation upon his youthful vassal, suddenly become his rival and almost his equal, and had got his own brother the Earl of Dreux, Henry's brother Geoffrey, Eleanor's other disappointed suitor the Earl of Blois, and King Stephen's son Eustace, to join him in an invasion of Normandy. But this attack was repulsed in a campaign of less than six weeks' duration; not only were the invaders driven out of the country to the last man, and an insurrection which they had excited of some of the Anjevin barons effectually crushed, but Henry, pursuing his enemies into France, laid waste a part of that country without Louis daring to turn round and give him battle. This work done, and a peace arranged with the French king, he lost no time in setting about the great enterprise to which all things now seemed to concur in calling him. He landed in England on the 6th of January, 1153, at the head of a force of three thousand foot and a hundred and forty knights. There was some fighting, but no considerable action; and, after the principal impediment in the way of an accommodation had been removed by the death of Stephen's son Eustace by a fever, the effect in all probability of the agitation and rage into which he was thrown by the pending negotiation in which he was about to be sacrificed, an agreement was made on the 7th of November, by which Stephen adopted Henry for his son and successor, giving the kingdom of England, as it was expressed, after his own death, to him and his heirs for ever. Stephen did not survive this treaty quite a year; he died at Canterbury on the 25th of October, 1154; and Henry became king. He was in Normandy when Stephen's death occurred; and he was detained at Barfleur for some weeks by adverse weather; but he set sail at last while the storm still raged with little abatement, and after a dangerous passage he landed in the New Forest, not far from Hurst Castle, on the 7th of December. He was crowned, with his queen, at Westminster, on Sunday

the 19th; and the commencement of his reign, according to what was then the custom, is reckoned from that day.

Of course, in the circumstances, Henry did not now think of resigning Anjou to his brother Geoffrey, whose late confederacy with the French king and attack upon Normandy, an act amounting to rebellion in him, could not but be considered as depriving him of any claim he might have under his father's will and Henry's forced engagement to fulfil its provisions. To obviate all objections, however, Henry obtained from the pope a dispensation releasing him from that compulsory oath. A few years after this he recovered the ceded district of the Vexin for Normandy by the arrangement of marriage between his eldest son and a daughter of King Louis; and he subsequently acquired what amounted to the actual possession of Bretagne by the negotiation of another marriage between his third son, Geoffrey, and the Lady Constantia, or Constance, daughter and heiress of Conan, prince of that country. The extent of territory subject to the English king even in France was now greater than that which acknowledged the sway of Louis. If a line had been drawn from north to south only a few miles to the west of Paris, or nearly about the meridian of Boulogne, all to west of it would have been found to belong to Henry, from the English sea to the Spanish mountains; while the dominion of Louis on the other side of Gaul scarcely extended farther south than to the Loire, all the region beyond that river being in possession of the Earls of Toulouse. Henry, besides, almost as soon as he came to the throne, had recovered the three northern counties of England from the Scottish king, and even compelled him to do homage for the whole of Scotland to the south of the Forth; he soon after reduced Wales; and finally, in 1172, he effected the conquest of Ireland. The details of the valour and policy by which all this was done, of the patience, the foresight, the vigilance, the incessant exertion, the utter disregard of toil and danger, by which so many additions to his original inheritance were won and preserved, and by which all his states, old and new, were governed,

and the authority of law and order maintained in them, must be sought for in the records of history. Those were the days in which a king of England, to hold his place, really required to be, in all senses, about the ablest man in his dominions; if he was not of such heroic mould, he was almost sure to be thrown down, in that convulsive and stormy condition of things which had not yet subsided since the breaking up of the Roman empire had thrown Europe into a state of social chaos. Nothing, in fact, was fixed and stable; nowhere was the ground firm beneath men's feet; hardly any political arrangement or part of the mechanism of government was brought to such working order as to go on in any degree of itself or as a matter of course; all rights and claims were disputed and in conflict with one another; the boundaries of states, public and private inheritances, the provinces of the civil and ecclesiastical powers, the positions and privileges of the different classes of the community, all remained as yet in many respects unsettled and the subject of fierce contention both by argument and occasionally by force. Of all this confusion the king had to be, as far as possible, the ruler or moderator; and to hold his own besides, often in harness and the battle-field, and when nothing would stand him in much stead if he had not a strong arm and a stout heart. Let us now see how Henry was furnished in body and mind, in capacity and moral disposition, for this post in the front and at the head of the community, according to the testimony of those who knew him best and were the best qualified to understand and describe him.

He has been drawn at full length, and with much elaboration, by the famous letter-writer of the twelfth century, Peter of Blois (so styled from the place of his birth), who appears to have come over to England about 1169 or 1170, and was afterwards for many years in habits of daily and intimate intercourse with the king as his private secretary. The account occurs in a letter from Peter to his friend Walter, Archbishop of Palermo, who had requested from him a complete and exact picture of the great English king, both in his outer and

inner man, a theme which his correspondent declares would, in his opinion, overtask the powers of the Mantuan (that is, Virgil) himself, or, as he afterwards still more strongly puts it, would be too much for either Maro or Tully. So far, however, he adds, as the subject is within his capacity, he will speak without envy or detraction. The letter has no date, but appears to have been written about the year 1180. He begins by remarking that, as it is related to the commendation of David that he was ruddy, so it might still be seen that King Henry had in earlier life been in a moderate degree of that complexion, although his colour was now somewhat gone, and his hair also touched with grey, from his advanced years.* His head was compact and

* The original is, "De David legitur, ad commendationem decoris ejus, quoniam rufus erat. Vos autem dominum regem subrufum hactenus extitisse noveritis, nisi quia colorem hunc venerabilis senectus et superveniens canities aliquantulum alteravit." The writer of an amusing article on 'Ancient Collections of Private Letters,' in the 'Quarterly Review' for April, 1837 (vol. lviii., pp. 414-464), renders the latter of these sentences thus:—"You are aware that his complexion and hair were a little red, but the approach of old age has altered this somewhat, and the hair is turning grey." Peter of Blois's Latin is not purer than that of the generality of the writers of his age; but he would not have used *noveritis* for *novistis*, as this translation would imply that he did. As to the sense in which he uses *rufus* and *subrufus*, there may be more doubt. In our English version of the Bible, David is described as ruddy, or of a florid complexion; but the word in the Vulgate is *rufus*, which, at least in middle-age Latin, may signify either red-faced or red-haired. King William II., however, was certainly called Rufus from the redness of his complexion—either because it was excessive, or perhaps to distinguish him from his father of the same name, who may have been a man of a dark complexion. On the other hand, the immediately subsequent mention of the beginning greyness (*superveniens canities*) may seem to favour the notion that Peter of Blois means here to speak of David as having been red-haired, and of Henry as having also had originally hair of a reddish colour. Dr. Lingard, however, we observe, un-

round-shaped—"spherical" is the rhetorical secretary's term—of fitting form and dimensions, according to the craniological philosophy of that day, "to be the seat of great wisdom, and the special sanctuary of deep counsel." Yet its size was perfectly proportioned to that of the sustaining neck and the general frame. The eyes also were round, and of soft expression—"dove-like and simple, or single" (in the Scriptural sense), are the terms employed —while he was unexcited; but under the emotion of anger or any other disturbing passion they flashed fire, and, as it were, lightened. His hair as yet showed no signs of becoming bald, but he prevented it from growing long by clipping. The general form of the face was quadrangular, like that of a lion. His nose was handsome and of suitable size, his chest broad, his arms muscular, his legs of the proper shape for a good rider,* his instep arched and high. Some deformity, however, had been produced in one of his feet by the nail of a toe having grown into the flesh; and his hands also, upon which he never wore a glove, except when he carried a falcon, gave token of his neglect of them by a certain clumsiness or grossness of appearance. He discarded all ornament alike in boots and bonnet, and all his clothes were disencumbered of everything superfluous.†

derstands, as we have done, that what is indicated is Henry's florid complexion. (*Hist. Eng.*, ii. 194, edit. of 1837.) We may notice, by the bye, that the writer in the 'Quarterly Review' has throughout his article inadvertently designated Henry II. as Henry Beauclerc, whereas it was his grandfather, the first Henry, who was known by that name.

* The Latin is "equestres tibiæ," which the writer in the 'Quarterly Review,' amusingly enough, translates, "his shins like a horse's." We presume there can be no doubt that what we have given in the text is the true meaning. At any rate, the *tibiæ* described as *equestres* must be equestrian, not equine, shins or shanks—those of a horseman, not of a horse.

† The original is "Vestibus utitur expeditis;" and the Quarterly Reviewer's translation is, "He uses—a tight dress." *Vestis expedita* is not, we believe, a classical Latin phrase, and its signification may perhaps admit of some doubt; but it ought to mean rather a light than a tight dress.

A characteristic of his mother's race that he inherited was a strong tendency to corpulency; but he appears to have succeeded in keeping it down much more than his great-grandfather, the Conqueror, both by frequent fastings and by a life of movement and activity almost without example. His habit was scarcely ever to sit down, except while he was upon horseback or at his meals. Whether at mass or at council, or in whatever business he had to transact, he kept upon his feet from morning to night. When engaged in war, he would, if necessary, get over as much ground in one day as would take an ordinary commander four or five; and in this way he often got the better of his enemies by coming upon them when they did not look for him. Both in mounting his horse and in riding he had still preserved to this, the latter part of his life, all the alacrity of youth. During peace his favourite recreation was hunting or hawking; and bows, swords, arrows, and hunting tackle were almost constantly in his hands, except when he was reading and when he was at council, or occupied with affairs of state. But both business and books had their full share of his time. "For he does not," says his secretary, "lie still, like other kings, in his palace, but, journeying rapidly from province to province, inquires into the conduct of all his officers, especially judging those whom he has constituted the judges of others. No man is more sagacious in counsel, gifted with a greater flow and rush of elocution, more firm in dangers, less confident in prosperity, in adversity more constant. . . . As often as he can obtain a breathing time from the cares and anxieties of state, he spends it either in reading by himself, or in labouring to untie the knot of some difficult question in converse with a circle of learned clerks." Such literary assemblages and discussions, it is added, were held in the palace every day. In the rest of the letter Henry is warmly praised, though in general terms, for his moderation both in eating and drinking, his liberality and charity, his magnificence in the construction, on the one hand, of warlike defences and strongholds, on the other of palaces, lakes for fish,

and enclosures for wild animals, his kindness to the afflicted and affability to the poor, although he bore himself with a more lordly mien, it is subjoined, to the high and proud—always, with a certain resemblance to the divinity, endeavouring to depress the haughty and to raise up the depressed. A remarkable sentence follows, to the effect that, although in conformity with the custom of his kingdom, Henry exercised the most potent and effectual influence in elections (*in electionibus faciendis potissimas et potentissimas habeat partes*), yet he ever kept his hands pure and free from all venality. The elections here referred to are of course elections to bishopries and other dignities or benefices in the church; for there were as yet no elections to civil offices in England. The steadiness of the king both in his likings and dislikings is also noted: if he had once loved any one, we are assured, he scarcely ever withdrew his regard; but he was as rarely known to admit to his familiarity or favour any one to whom he had once conceived an aversion.

Peter of Blois was an ecclesiastic; he held, among other preferments both in England and abroad, the archdeaconries both of London and Bath; and he was, like the generality of his profession, firmly attached to the great cause of the independence of the church, and the supremacy of the spiritual over the temporal power. It might, and probably would, have been different a few years before; but at the time when this letter was written he had no quarrel with the English king even on such questions; on the contrary, he lauds him warmly for his piety, and his zealous maintenance of the rights of the clergy, and especially for the reverence in which he held the memory of the blessed and glorious martyr—the murdered and since canonized Becket, or St. Thomas—whom, says the archdeacon, in all straits he looks up to as his chief patron. In the position he occupied at court, also, he would of course be disposed to take a favourable view of the character of his royal master. The picture he has drawn, indeed, may be admitted to be somewhat sparingly shaded; some features may be softened down, and others may be altogether concealed. But, so far at

least as his evidence is positive, it may be safely received; and, in fact, it is confirmed in all the main particulars by other contemporary testimony, or by what Henry's history and conduct throughout his life show him to have been. It is true that other writers of his own age,—Giraldus Cambrensis, for instance, and Radulphus Niger—have delineated him in much darker colours; but their animosity is at least as evident and as strong as Peter of Blois's partiality; and they, and others who join them in the same strain, had individually as much reason to dislike Henry, as the archdeacon had to feel grateful and attached to him. His chief habitual defect appears to have been a tendency to violent explosions of rage. It is several times alluded to in the letters of Peter of Blois, from whose notices we learn that there were times when his majesty was not to be spoken to without considerable risk or great caution; but some of the exhibitions of his fury, as reported by other authorities, almost go beyond credibility. "When his wrath is fairly kindled," says Peter in one place, "he is a lion, or something yet more truculent." Giraldus Cambrensis tells us, that in the paroxysms of his passion, to quote his description as translated by Lingard, "his eyes were spotted with blood, his countenance seemed of flame, his tongue poured a torrent of abuse and imprecation, and his hands were employed to inflict vengeance on whatever came within his reach." On one occasion, we are told, the learned modern historian proceeds, referring to a letter of Thomas of Becket's, "When Humet, a favourite minister, had ventured to offer a plea in justification of the king of Scots, Henry, in a burst of passion, called Humet a traitor, threw down his cap, ungirt his sword, tore off his clothes, pulled the silk coverlet from his couch, and, unable to do more mischief, sate down, and gnawed the straw on the floor." Another time, it is added, on the same authority, "when a page presented a letter, the king attempted to tear out his eyes, nor did the boy escape without severe scars." These were doubtless demonstrations, supposing them not exaggerated in the recital, that had better have been

avoided; but Henry had often that to contend with which was enough to make the wisest mad; such outbreaks do not appear to have been frequent; and, if the storm was sufficiently terrific while it lasted, it never lasted long. Nor were the rash and furious words usually followed by any corresponding ferocity of action. If Henry was passionate, he was certainly neither vindictive nor cruel. He may have put little restraint upon his passions in other respects as well as in giving way to excesses of rage, and he had probably his share in the general licentiousness of his time; but he nowhere revolts us by showing either want of heart or any thing of coarseness or baseness of nature. It is probable, from all that history and tradition tell us of him, that there was always as much of sentiment as of sensuality in his licentiousness. His affection for his children, so long as they would suffer him to love them, seems to have been only too tender and indulgent; and even after their repeated ingratitude he was always to the last ready to forgive them and to take them again to his heart. Ambitious he was, indisputably, and fond of power; and as such, he was necessarily unscrupulous, and in pursuing his great and aspiring schemes, would at times break his way in a somewhat reckless and startling fashion through restraints that checked more timid spirits. Having also frequently to act by policy as well as by force, and to contend with the one as much as with the other—for it was an age of overreaching and trickery—he may have sometimes gone farther in the way of artifice and deception than would now be thought correct. But a fair consideration of his conduct as recorded does not at all bear out the charge made against him by some hostile declaimers—principally or exclusively ecclesiastics—during his contest with the church, that he was a shameless and systematic liar, that he never pledged his word except with the intention of breaking it at the first opportunity. This is the mere extravagance of party malice or passion. When Cardinal Viviani, after conversing with Henry, declared that he had never known his equal in lying, we can only conclude that the churchman found

himself no match in diplomatic subtlety and stratagem for the king.

Henry's course of prosperity and success encountered no check, scarcely anything to disturb for a moment its even and onward flow, till after he had been between seven and eight years King of England. The portion of his reign from the middle of the year 1162 till the end of 1170 was mostly spent in a contest with one of his own subjects. The famous Thomas-à-Becket is said to have been born in London in 1117, and his legendary history, which may have some foundation in fact, makes him to have been the son of a citizen of English race, Gilbert Beck, Beckie, or Becket, by the daughter of a Saracen chief, who, when he had been taken prisoner in the east, whither he had followed his Norman lord to the holy wars, had fallen in love with him, contrived to release him from his captivity, and afterwards followed him to England, and found him out by inquiring wherever she went for London and Gilbert, the only two English words she knew. Thomas-à-Becket, like his father, attached himself to the Norman conquerors of his native land; his accomplishments and his obsequiousness had before the end of the reign of Stephen raised him to high favour with Theobald, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who induced him to take deacon's orders, and made him archdeacon of his metropolitan church; he was presented to Henry soon after his accession, and he was almost immediately appointed to the high office of chancellor of the kingdom, to which were speedily added the custody of the castle of Berkhampstead, the government of the Tower of London, and other preferments. He was now the most powerful subject in England, the man whom the king most delighted to honour, the familiar friend of his sovereign, and his constant and intimate associate in his private life, in his amusements and pleasures, as well as in the government of the realm. One of Becket's biographers tells us that after they had finished their serious affairs they would often play together like two boys of the same age. This continued till Henry crowned his long unvarying favour by making

Becket Archbishop of Canterbury, in May, 1162. From that moment his former friend, who had been indebted to him for so much, for all that he had and all that he was, became his rival and his enemy. Becket, indeed, was now in every respect a changed man. The gay, careless, luxurious layman (for as such he had been hitherto considered, notwithstanding his deacon's orders), the man of gallantry in every sense of the term (for he had also borne arms with distinguished reputation), was transformed at once into a cold, rigid, ascetic priest, hard and unimpressible as a man of stone. All that he had hitherto appeared, all that had seemed his nature and very self, was thrown off as if it had been a masque or disguise. It is unnecessary, however, to assume that Becket was insincere or dishonest either in the part he had made a show of sustaining till now, or in this sudden metamorphosis. It is rather proof of his inherent honesty, as well as of his force of character, that he would not seem to be what he was not, that he would not become a churchman in name without becoming one in reality. But, with this spirit, his new position brought him immediately into collision with Henry. A contest for supremacy between the church and the state was not a new thing in England. Ever since the Conquest the subjugation of the spiritual to the temporal power had been a prominent and steadily pursued part of the policy of the crown. The Conqueror had placed the Archbishop of Canterbury upon an eminence of rank and political position, such as was scarcely occupied by any other subject in Christendom; but in doing this he had strenuously aimed at the same time at making the church part and parcel of the state; so that the primate, with all the splendour of his station, and the other bishops, should in fact form rather a baronage or nobility, the supporters and servants of the crown, than a separate power. This system, however, was entirely opposed to the pretensions and aims of the court of Rome, and to the notions generally entertained by all orders of ecclesiastics in that age. The papal power, professing to consider all legitimate royalty and other civil authority

to be derived from itself, and even to be resumable at its will and pleasure, and maintaining the state to be everywhere thus the creation of the church, always resolutely refused to acquiesce, except occasionally in the way of compromise, in any arrangements which seemed to proceed upon an opposite idea or principle. Hence in the time of Rufus and Henry I. the contest between these kings and Archbishop Anselm about investitures, or the right of nominating to offices in the church, which the archbishop and the clergy held to be in the pope, but which the crown insisted upon retaining in its own hands. The first Henry had made good his claims in regard to this matter, and the other subjects of difference between the two interests had not since occasioned any serious disagreement. It is probable, however, that during the weak irregular government of Stephen the spiritual power had made some encroachments, if not in regard to investitures, in another direction. It was a still more important question upon which Henry now found himself opposed by Becket. This king was as little likely as any one of his predecessors to tolerate such of the pretensions of the clergy as would have either allied them as a body with a foreign power, or withdrawn them as individuals from subjection to the ordinary laws of the realm. It can hardly be doubted that so long as Becket held the office of chancellor (which he threw up as soon as he obtained the primacy) he had gone vigorously along with his royal master in discountenancing, and, where necessary, resisting, all such pretensions. Now, however, when Henry insisted that clerks, or ecclesiastical persons, when charged criminally, should be tried in the king's courts, and punished, if found guilty, in the same way with other subjects, the archbishop declared this to be a violation of the rights of the church, and set himself to oppose what he denounced as a sacrilegious innovation with all the powers of his office. Whether the system which Henry wished to enforce was in conformity with the ancient customs of the kingdom, as he maintained that it was, may indeed be disputed. It was manifestly, at any

rate, the only system compatible with the good government of the kingdom. The highest punishments that the ecclesiastical courts could inflict were flagellation, fine, imprisonment, and degradation; and the crime of murder itself, when committed by a clergyman, was usually expiated by a whipping when the case was left in their hands. On the other hand the archbishop probably also conceived himself to be bound in duty to make the stand he did for the claims set up by the church. There is no difficulty in understanding how the two parties should see the question differently from their opposite points of view; and they both gave by the whole course of their conduct all possible evidence of their sincerity. After other proceedings, Henry assembled a great council at Clarendon, in Wiltshire, at Christmas, 1163, and there demanded the assent of Becket and the other prelates to sixteen constitutions or articles, embodying what he maintained to be the ancient law or custom of the realm upon the matters in dispute. Becket, who had before refused to promise obedience to a much less comprehensive enactment, was now prevailed upon by the entreaties of his brethren to sign these constitutions; but he would not affix his seal to them. Even his signature, which had been wrung from him by importunity, was no sooner given than it was bitterly repented of, and he made no scruple openly to accuse himself of the most criminal weakness in doing what he had done. The contest was now renewed with greater animosity on both sides than ever, and before the end of the year Becket had clandestinely withdrawn himself from England, and taken refuge in France, under the protection of King Louis. He remained abroad, firmly refusing to make any concession; but at last, in July, 1170, he and Henry held a conference in a meadow near Freitville, or Freteval, on the borders of Touraine, when the form of a reconciliation was gone through, and the archbishop soon after set out on his return to England. He reached Canterbury on the 3rd of December, and with the exception of making a visit to London, remained there in quiet for the next three

weeks. Meanwhile, however, accounts had been brought to Henry in Normandy, that before he had embarked at Wissant, he had sent forward letters of excommunication or suspension against the archbishop of York, the bishop of London, and others of the prelates who had stood by the king in the late controversy. Several of these prelates instantly came themselves over to Rouen, and informed the king of this extraordinary proceeding. Furious with indignation Henry hastily exclaimed, "Of the dastards who eat my bread is there no one who will deliver me from this ungrateful, turbulent, incorrigible priest?" Four knights who heard the words, soon after suddenly and secretly started for England. On that same day, Saturday the 25th, the archbishop was present in his cathedral, at the performance of the solemnities of Christmas, and preached to a crowded auditory from the words "I am come unto you to die in the midst of you." After his sermon he excommunicated some individuals who, he said, had for the last seven years been busy in wronging and insulting himself and the church. On the Tuesday following, being the 28th, the four knights arrived from Normandy. On the afternoon of the next day, accompanied by twelve others, they made their way into the archbishop's house; he was prevailed upon by his friends to proceed to the church; thither, however, the conspirators followed him; they demanded that he should absolve the excommunicated bishops, but, unbending to the last, he bid defiance to their menaces; upon which he was struck down by repeated blows at the foot of the altar. Henry was still keeping his Christmas festival at Bure, in Normandy, when tidings of the event were brought to him. There can be no reasonable doubt that he was profoundly affected with horror at the crime that had been committed almost in his name, as well as alarmed for the consequences. He shut himself up in his closet for three days, admitting no one and refusing all nourishment. It was not till after a negociation of two years that he obtained from the Court of Rome, a full absolution, on his appearing in the cathedral of Avranches, and there pub-

licly taking his solemn oath on the Gospels, that he was innocent of the murder of the archbishop both in word and deed. Meanwhile, he had acquired new power and glory by the conquest of Ireland; circumstances were also changed in other respects; new objects had in part withdrawn him from the controversy with the church which had occupied him almost to the exclusion of everything else, for the preceding six or seven years; and now that Becket was removed the pretensions of the clergy, although they may have remained the same in words, had actually become something very different and much less formidable. Henry therefore now also engaged, that if any customs hostile to the liberties of the ecclesiastical order had been introduced into his kingdom since his accession, they should be abolished. And four years after, in a great council held at Northampton, the constitutions of Clarendon were so far repealed as that, among other concessions of less moment, clergymen were exempted from being personally arraigned before a secular judge for any crime, unless it were against the forest laws, or regarded a lay fee for which they owed service to a lay lord. But, although we learn this from a letter written by the king to the pope, Alexander III., which is preserved by the contemporary Latin annalist Ralph de Diceto (himself a churchman), it may be doubted if the satisfaction thus given to the clergy proved, after all, much more than a form of words.

Before this, however, Henry had become involved in new troubles, and had encountered the first gust of the storm that was to wrap the afternoon of his reign and his life in darkness and ruin. In the year 1170, in the midst of his contest with Becket, he had had his eldest son Henry consecrated and crowned as conjoint king with himself. The ceremony was performed in Westminster Abbey by the Archbishop of York; and a theory that has satisfied some modern historians is, that Henry's object in this proceeding was simply to spite Becket and to diminish the authority he derived from his station, by showing that a King of England could be crowned without

the assistance of the Archbishop of Canterbury. It is certain, indeed, that Becket resented what had been done as an invasion of the privileges of his see, and this was the principal ground on which he had applied for, and obtained from the pope, the letters of excommunication against the Archbishop of York and the other prelates who had assisted him at the coronation, his display and threatened employment of which had probably been the occasion of his murder. But all the circumstances seem to show that Henry was principally actuated by affection for his son, and a desire to place him in a position of honour and of splendour, although his age, only fourteen, of course precluded him from being as yet entrusted with any share in the government. The young prince, however, or, as he was now called, the young king, or sometimes Henry III., made no creditable return, whether it was fondness or policy that had chiefly moved his father thus to advance him. He appears to have been rather weak than ill-disposed; his new title probably made him giddy; and, easily led in any direction, he was much more likely, in his position, to be led wrong than right. All cordiality between Henry and Queen Eleanor had long been at an end; his infidelities and her jealous temper had completely divided and alienated them; and Eleanor's natural resource was to endeavour to gain over her sons to make common cause with her against their father. About the end of the year 1172, the young king Henry, who was married to the daughter of the French king, Louis VII., and had just been crowned a second time along with his wife, startled his father by a sudden demand, that he should immediately resign to him either the dukedom of Normandy or the sovereignty of England. At this time the boy was not yet sixteen, and his father was himself still under forty. The preposterous proposal is believed to have been prompted by Queen Eleanor and King Louis; from the day on which it was made, and of course instantly rejected, the young king, we are told, spoke not one word more of peace to his father; a few months after, while he was with his father at Chinon, on their way

back to Normandy from Limoges, he arose during the night and secretly withdrew himself to the court of his father-in-law; his flight was speedily followed by that of his two younger brothers Richard and Geoffrey, upon the former of whom their father had conferred the earldom of Poictiers, upon the latter the dukedom of Bretagne, and who had been left with their mother in Guienne; and lastly their mother set out to join her sons, but, being caught as she travelled in man's attire, was by her husband's orders put into immediate confinement, nor was she afterwards released, except once for a short space, while Henry lived.

The war that followed between Henry and his sons, aided by King Louis, did not last long. Attacked as he was on every side at once—in Brittany, in Normandy, in Anjou, in Guienne, in England; from France, from Toulouse, from Scotland—the vigour of the old king, as he was called, carried everything before it; and a peace and reconciliation were arranged after a few months. It was during this contest that Henry performed his famous penance at the tomb of Becket. The desire to see, in the quarrel between Becket and Henry, a struggle between the old Anglo-Saxon population and their Norman conquerors has probably been carried much too far by the eminent living French historian Augustin Thierry: the controversy was in the main and essentially, there can be no doubt, a trial of strength between the church and the state, between the temporal and the spiritual powers, between the crown and the pope, between the laity and the clergy; nor do we believe that the accident of Becket being of Anglo-Saxon lineage went for anything in the case. There is no good evidence that the circumstance ever was appealed to or taken notice of either on the one side or the other. It may be conceded, however, that both parties would naturally wish to secure whatever support could be derived from the sympathy of the great body of the people, and that in this way the native English, who had been already for some time rising again from the state of prostration to which they were struck down by the

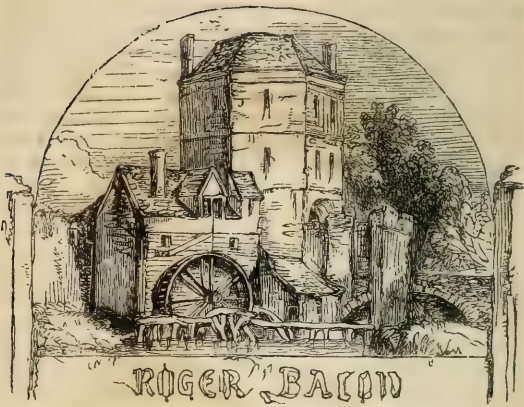
Conquest, would both be led to take the greater interest in the dispute, and may have been benefited by it. Their devotional and superstitious feelings also were, no doubt, strongly excited by many of the proceedings to which the clergy resorted; and we may well conceive that they would be transported to a state of the highest enthusiasm, first, by horror at the barbarous and sacrilegious murder of Becket, and afterwards, by the miracles with which the kingdom resounded as having been performed at his tomb. But these were feelings which there is every reason to believe were shared in an equal degree by the generality of their Norman masters. The king himself was probably by no means exempt from them. With all the licence that he allowed himself in some respects, he was neither without the piety nor above the superstition of his age; and the circumstances in which he now stood, with troubles gathering around him, and the consciousness pressing upon him that he had, by his hasty and passionate words, materially contributed to Becket's death, were very likely to awaken his devotion and penitence. It seems impossible to regard him as merely acting a part, assuming the outward appearance of a reverence and contrition which he did not feel, in this penitential pilgrimage, when the whole proceeding and his demeanour throughout are fairly considered. He set sail from Barfleur early on the morning of the 8th of July, 1174. It blew fresh at the time, and, the gale increasing after the ship had got under way, some apprehension began to be felt, upon which Henry, coming forward so as to be seen by all, exclaimed, with eyes uplifted to heaven, "If what I have in my mind be for the peace of my clergy and my people, if God have determined to restore such peace by my arrival, then may he in his mercy bring me safe into port; but, if he have resolved still further to scourge my kingdom in his wrath, may it never be given me again to set my foot on land." He landed at Southampton on the morning of the 10th, and instantly getting on horseback, set out for Canterbury, pursuing his journey all night, and taking no other sustenance than a little bread and water. He

came within sight of the metropolitan church at the dawn of the next day, Friday the 11th, and then dismounting, and throwing off both his silk apparel and his boots, he walked in the garb of a pilgrim, and barefoot, over the flinty road for the three remaining miles of the way. When he entered the city, his footsteps were observed to leave their marks in blood upon the pavement. Proceeding forthwith to the cathedral, he entered it along with the thronging inhabitants of the city, collected by the ringing of the bells, and, prostrating himself with his face to the ground, wept and sobbed aloud, while the Bishop of London announced from the pulpit that Henry King of England was here come to invoke God and the holy martyr for the salvation of his soul; to protest that he never either ordered or desired the death of the martyr; and to submit his naked flesh to be scourged for the hasty and imprudent words uttered by him, by which the murderers might pretend that they had been excited to the act. After this the king descended to the crypt where the archbishop's body was interred, and there, stripping off his clothes and kneeling down on the tombstone, he submitted his bare back to be scourged with a knotted cord by all the bishops and monks that were present, each giving him three, four, or five strokes, while he pronounced the words, "As the Redeemer was scourged for the sins of men, so be thou for thy own sin." He spent all the rest of the day and the following night in the crypt in prayer and fasting; and the next morning, after hearing mass, he left Canterbury without tasting anything save a draught of the holy water kept at the martyr's tomb. He rode to London; but when he had finished his journey he was taken ill, and he was confined for some days by fever. On the fifth night of his illness a messenger arrived at the palace and insisted upon instant admission to the king. He brought the news of the capture of the king of Scotland at Alnwick, by Ranulf de Glanville. And it turned out that this great event had taken place on the very Saturday on the morning of which Henry had risen an absolved and reconciled man from the shrine of the martyr.

For some years from this time Henry was left at peace, although in 1179 his two eldest sons, Henry and Richard, took arms against each other, and Poitou and Guienne were for a time disturbed and devastated by their dissension. But in 1183 war again broke out between the sons and the father. Sometimes he was opposed to one, sometimes to two of them; sometimes to Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey, all at once. Both the two elder were soon cut off; Henry, by fever, on the 11th of June, at Chateau Martel, near Limoges; Geoffrey, early in 1185, by being thrown from his horse and trampled to death, in a tournament at the court of the new French king Philip II. (Augustus), whose aid he had sought against his father. Richard, however, continued in rebellion, or rather, repeatedly defeated and forgiven, still again and again took up arms, whenever a favourable moment seemed to present itself. He had a story that he was fond of relating, about a countess of Anjou, one of his ancestry, who never went to church, and at last, on being taken there one day by force, flew out of the window, on the elevation of the host, and was never more seen; and he used to ask if it was to be wondered at that, sprung from such a stock, the household to which he belonged should be divided against itself. "What comes from the devil," said he, "to the devil must return." Mutual hatred, he professed to believe, was the doom of his family—the fatal inheritance which none of them would ever renounce. At last, at a conference held at La Ferté Bernard, in Maine, on the 18th of November, 1188, Richard, on his father's refusal to comply with his demands, turned round in indignation to the French king, who stood by, and, having ungirt his sword and fallen upon his knees, offered his homage to Philip, in Henry's presence, for all the territories that the latter held in France. Philip accepted his allegiance, and the war was renewed as soon as the term of the truce expired. By this time Henry's spirits, as well as his health, seem to have been broken; his operations in the field were languid and ineffective, and he was soon reduced to the necessity of suing for peace. The matter

in regard to which Richard and Philip had pretended to feel most keenly was Henry's detention of Alice, the sister of the French king, who many years before had been affianced to Richard, and his refusal to allow their marriage to take place. He professed to wish to marry her to his youngest son John; but it was suspected that he loved the young and beautiful princess himself, and that her heart, too, was his. Now, however, he offered to resign everything, Alice included: he proposed that she should, in the meantime, be placed in such custody as might be thought fittest, and delivered either to Richard or Philip, on their return from their projected expedition to the Holy Land. The French princess, we may mention, after all was not married to Richard. Though he had demanded her so clamorously before, when he became king he refused to have her; and she eventually became the wife of William Earl of Aumale and Ponthieu, by whom she had a daughter, who married Ferdinand III. King of Castile, and was the mother of Eleanor, the queen of our Edward I. Henry and Philip met to arrange a peace on the 28th of June, 1189, on a plain between Tours and Azay-sur-Cher. Henry agreed to everything that was demanded of him. He became very ill before the conference closed, and was carried from the place in a litter to his quarters, where a few days after the articles of the treaty were sent to him for his ratification. They were read to him one by one as he lay on his bed; and when he had heard the one which secured from punishment all who had been engaged on the side of Richard in the late war, either openly or secretly, and allowed them, although they had hitherto been his own subjects, liberty to continue the vassals of his son, he asked how many and who were the persons whose faith and allegiance he would thus have to lose. The first that was named to him was his youngest son John, his favourite son, of whose affection and fidelity he had never had a doubt, for whose sake, in great part, it had been that he had resisted the demands of Richard, and brought himself to the state in which he was. When he heard it pronounced he raised himself

convulsively half up in the bed, and, with a wild look, asked if it was true that this son, whom he had so loved and trusted, for whom he had done and suffered so much, had actually deserted him. He was assured that so it was. He then fell back, and, turning his face to the wall, said, "Well, then! henceforth let all things go as they may; I care nothing more about myself or the world." A few days after he was removed to the Castle of Chinon, and there, on the 6th of July, he breathed his last. Geoffrey, his son by Rosamund Clifford, was with him to the end.



Some part of this biography will make the rest more intelligible if made a preliminary explanation. Before the appearance of Wood's History of Oxford (1674), no one had added anything to the summaries of Leland, Bale, and Pits, which are little more than ill-understood lists of works. The name of Bacon was known far and wide as a magician; and the better informed could only judge from such fragments as had been published, and from the traditional reputation of what remained in manuscript, that he was a philosopher of the highest genius. These printed fragments are as follows, so far as we can collect them, being all that was published down to the appearance of Dr. Jebb's edition of the 'Opus Majus:' which closes the list—

1. 'De mirabili Potestate Artis et Naturæ et Nullitate Magiæ,' Paris, 1542, 4to.; Basil., 1593, 8vo.; in English,* Lond., 1597, 4to.; Hamb., 1608 and 1618, 8vo.;

* These two are in the same book.

in French, Par., 1612, 8vo.; also in French, by Girard, Par., 1557 and 1629; in vol. v. of Zetzner's 'Theatrum Chemicum,' Argent., 1622, 8vo., and 1659 (?); in English, by T. M., Lond., 1659, 12mo.

2. 'Perspectiva,' 'Specula Mathematica,' and 'De Speculis Ustoriis,' Francof., 1614, 4to., whether as one book or three we do not know; the 'Perspectiva' was reprinted in 1671, also at Frankfort.

3. 'De Retardatione Senectutis,' Oxon., 1590, 8vo.; translated, 'The Cure of Old Age,' by R. Browne, M.D., Lond., 1683, 12mo.

4. 'De Secretis Operibus Artis et Naturæ,' Hamb., 1618, 8vo., edited by John Dee.

5. The 'Thesaurus Chemicus,' Franckfort, 1603 and 1620, 8vo. (?) contains the 'Specula Mathematica,' the 'Speculum Alchymiæ,' and some other tracts, which Tanner puts down altogether as 'Scripta sanioris medecinæ in arte chemiæ.'

6. 'Speculum Alchymiæ,' Norimb., 1581, 4to.; Basil., 1561, 4to.; Ursellis, 1602, 8vo.; in English, in 'Collectanea Chymica,' Lond., 1684, 8vo.; also* in English, Lond., 1597, 4to.

7. 'Practica Magistri Rogerii,' Venet., 1513 and 1519.

8. 'Epistolas Notis illustratas' (we take the title from Tanner), Hamb., 1618, 8vo.

9. 'Fratris Rogeri Bacon, Ordinis Minorum, Opus Majus, ad Clementem IV. Pontif. Rom.,' Londini, 1733, fol. By Dr. Jebb.

The little that is known of the greatest of English philosophers before the time of his celebrated namesake, shows how long the effects of contemporary malice might last, before the invention of printing had made an appeal to posterity easy. His writings, destroyed or overlooked, only existed in manuscript or mutilated printed versions, till nearly the middle of the last century. In the mean time tradition framed his character on the vulgar notions entertained in his day of the results of experimental

* These two are in the same book.

science; and the learned monk, searching for the philosopher's stone in his laboratory, aided only by infernal spirits, was substituted for the sagacious advocate of reform in education, reading, and reasoning; and—what was equally rare—the real inquirer into the phenomena of nature.

Roger Bacon died in 1292, in about the seventy-eighth year of his age, which places his birth near the year 1214; roughly speaking, he lived from the time of the Interdict in the reign of John, to the beginning of the interference with Scotland in that of Edward I. His age is that of Cardinal Cusa, Thomas à Kempis, Matthew Paris, Albertus Magnus, Raymond Lully, Sacrobosco, &c., to whom we add, as they are sometimes confounded with him, and not for their own note, two theologians, Robert Bacon and John Bacon (died about 1346.) The former was a priest of the thirteenth century, whom it would be hardly necessary to notice but for the fact that some of our historians have made him the brother of Roger Bacon, and the two have been often confounded. He is stated to have studied successively at Oxford and Paris; and in 1233, when his friend and teacher, Edmund Rich, was removed from the treasurership of Salisbury Cathedral to the archbishopric of Canterbury, Robert Bacon was his successor. The archbishop was canonized by the title of St. Edmund; and Bacon wrote his life. Matthew Paris states that in 1233 Robert Bacon preached before Henry III. at Oxford, and spoke openly against the favourite, Peter des Roches (or De Rupibus), of Poitou, Bishop of Winchester, who had given great offence by the introduction and promotion of many of his countrymen. Serious disturbance was apprehended, and the king appeared to waver; on which, says the historian, a witty court chaplain, called *Roger* Bacon, asked his Majesty what was most dangerous to seamen. The king answered that seamen best knew, on which the chaplain rejoined, "Petræ et Rupes; ac diceretur, Petrus de Rupibus." This story is the likely origin of the connexion between Robert and Roger, and also of the account which states that Roger Bacon, the

subject of this article, preached before the king on the same occasion. Robert Bacon joined the order of preaching friars in his old age, and died in 1248, whence the story (certainly false) that Roger died in that year. ('Biogr. Britann.;' Tanner, 'Biblioth. Britan. Hibern.;' Wood, 'Hist. et Ant. Oxon.')

Roger Bacon was born near Ilchester, in Somersetshire, of a respectable family. He was educated at Oxford, and, according to the usual custom of his day, proceeded to Paris, which was then the first university in the world. The course of study in vogue, however unfavourable to independence of thought, did not give so great a preponderance to the works of Aristotle as was afterwards the case. The theology of the day had set strongly against philosophy of every species. In 1209 a council at Paris condemned and burnt, if not the works of Aristotle, at least the mutilated and interpolated translations from the Arabic which then existed. But when, towards the middle of the century, Latin versions from the Greek began to appear, and the philosophy contained in them to be warmly advocated by the new orders of Franciscans and Dominicans, and particularly by Albertus Magnus (died 1282), the reputation of Aristotle advanced so rapidly, that he had gained the exclusive title of "the Philosopher" by the time Roger Bacon wrote his 'Opus Majus.' But Bacon in no sense became an Aristotelian, except in that which comprehends all who are acquainted with the opinions and methods of the Greek philosopher. Better versed in the original than most of his contemporaries, he freely criticises all he meets with (especially the merit of the translations, which he says he would burn, if he could), and is himself an early and sufficient proof that the absurdities of his successors ought not to be called "Aristotelian," any more than Aristotle himself "the Philosopher." Bacon could read Aristotle without danger of falling into idolatry: his antagonists could have erected a system of verbal disputes upon the Principia of Newton, if they had possessed it.

After his return to Oxford, with a doctor's degree

granted at Paris, which was immediately also confirmed by the former university, he took the vows of a Franciscan in a convent possessed by that order at Oxford, on the persuasion, it is said, of Robert Greathead or Grostête, bishop of Lincoln, of whom we shall presently speak. It has been conjectured that he had already done so before his return to Oxford, but this appears to have arisen from his having been known to have resided in a Franciscan convent while at Paris. From the time of his return, which is stated to have been A.D. 1240, he applied himself closely to the study of languages, as well as to experimental philosophy. In spite of the vow of poverty, he does not appear to have wanted means, for he says himself that in twenty years he spent 2000 livres (French) in books and instruments; a very large sum in those days.

The vow of the Franciscans was poverty, manual labour, and study; but the first two were soon abandoned. On this subject we notice a writing of Bacon, of which (except in Dr. Jebb's list) we can find only one casual notice (in Vossius, 'De Hist. Lat.' art. "Bacon.") It is said that he answered a work of St. Bonaventure, general of his order, which treated of the above-mentioned vow; but which side either party adopted is not stated.

The enmity of his brethren soon began to show itself: the lectures which he gave in the University were prohibited, as well as the transmission of any of his writings beyond the walls of his convent. The charge made against him was that of magic, which was then frequently brought against those who studied the sciences, and particularly chemistry. The ignorance of the clergy of that time as to mathematics or physics was afterwards described by Anthony-a-Wood, who says that they knew no property of the circle except that of keeping out the devil, and thought the points of a triangle would wound religion. Brought up to consider philosophy as nearly allied to, if not identical with, heresy itself, many of them might perhaps be honest believers in its magical power; but we can hardly doubt that there were a few

more acute minds, who saw that Roger Bacon was in reality endeavouring to evoke a spirit whose influence would upset the power they had acquired over the thoughts of men, and allow them to read and reflect, without fear of excommunication, or the necessity of inquiring what Council had authorized the book. Not that we mean to charge those minds in every instance with desiring such power for their own private ends: there has always been honest belief in the wickedness of knowledge, and it is not extinct in our own day. The following detached passages of the 'Opus Majus' no doubt contain opinions which its author was in the habit of expressing:—

"Most students have no worthy exercise for their heads, and therefore languish and stupefy upon bad translations, which lose them both time and money. Appearances alone rule them, and they care not what they know, but what they are thought to know by a senseless multitude.—There are four principal stumbling-blocks in the way of arriving at knowledge—authority, habit, appearances as they present themselves to the vulgar eye, and concealment of ignorance combined with ostentation of knowledge.—Even if the first three could be got over by some great effort of reason, the fourth remains ready.—Men presume to teach before they have learnt, and fall into so many errors, that the idle think themselves happy in comparison; and hence both in science and in common life we see a thousand falsehoods for one truth.—And this being the case, we must not stick to what we hear and read, but must examine most strictly the opinions of our ancestors, that we may add what is lacking, and correct what is erroneous, but with all modesty and allowance.—We must, with all our strength, prefer reason to custom, and the opinions of the wise and good to the perceptions of the vulgar: and we must not use the triple argument; that is to say, this has been laid down, this has been usual, this has been common, therefore it is to be held by. For the very opposite conclusion does much better follow from the premises. And though the whole world be possessed by

these causes of error, let us freely hear opinions contrary to established usage."

As might be supposed, Roger Bacon cultivated the acquaintance of men who held sentiments similar to the above, which could not please his brethren. Among them we have mentioned Grostête, bishop of Lincoln, who usually resided at Oxford. This prelate, who was a good mathematician, and a resolute opponent of undue interference on the part of the see of Rome (*terrificus papæ redargutor*, says Camden), had opposed Innocent IV., who attempted to appoint his nephew, a boy, to a prebend at Lincoln. On being excommunicated, Grostête appealed from the tribunal of Rome to that of Christ; and so prevalent was the opinion of his antipathy to the pope, that a story is gravely told by Knyghton (cited by Blount, 'Censura,' &c.), that the Bishop of Lincoln, after his death, appeared to Innocent in a dream, and exclaiming "*Surge, miser, veni in judicium!*" actually stabbed his Holiness, who was found dead next morning. It is needless to say that Innocent IV. died a natural death, and useless to speculate upon the means by which such a circumstance as the preceding, if true, could come to be known. But perhaps the memory of Grostête may have been one reason of the willingness with which succeeding popes continued Bacon's imprisonment, to which we shall soon come; for though they might hold his spirit guiltless of the death of Innocent, they long remembered what he had done in the flesh; and when Edward I. and the University of Oxford, long after, applied to Clement V. for the canonization of Grostête, they received for answer that the pope would rather his bones were thrown out of consecrated ground.

In the mean time a pope was elected, to whom we owe the production of the 'Opus Majus.' This was Clement IV. (elected 1265), who had previously, when cardinal-bishop of Sabina, been legate in England. Here he had heard of Bacon's discoveries, and earnestly desired to see his writings; but, as before stated, the prohibition of the Franciscans prevented his wish being complied with.

After his election as head of the Church, Bacon, conceiving that there would be no danger nor impropriety in disobeying his immediate superiors at the command of the pope, wrote to him, stating that he was now ready to send him whatever he wished for. The answer was a repetition of the former request; and Bacon accordingly drew up the 'Opus Majus,' of which it may be presumed he had the materials ready. It appears that he had mentioned the circumstances in which he stood; for Clement's answer requires him to send the work with haste, any command of his superiors or constitution of his order notwithstanding, and also to point out, with all secrecy, how the danger mentioned by him might be avoided. The book was sent in the year 1267, by the hands of John of London, a pupil of whom he speaks highly, and who has usually obtained some notice from the very great praise which Bacon in one place appears to give him, when he says that he only knows two good mathematicians, one of whom he calls John of London. But from some other circumstances Dr. Jebb concludes, with great probability, that this John was not the pupil above mentioned, but John Peccam, a London Franciscan, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who was well known as a mathematician, and whose treatise on Optics, 'Perspectivæ communis libri tres,' was printed at least six times between 1542 and 1627, at Nuremberg, Venice, Paris, and Cologne.

Before the 'Opus Majus,' Bacon, according to his own account, had written nothing except a few slight treatises, "capitula quædam." Before he took the vows he wrote nothing whatever; and afterwards, as he says to Clement, he would have composed many books for his brother and his friends, but when he despaired of ever being able to communicate them, he neglected to write.

With the 'Opus Majus' he sent also two other works, the 'Opus Minus' and the 'Opus Tertium,' the second a sort of abstract of the first, and the third a supplement to it. These exist in manuscript in the Cottonian Library, but have not been printed. It appears that,

after the death of Clement, which took place in November, 1268 (not 1271, as stated by some; the latter date is that of the election of Clement's successor, the see having been vacant two years and three-quarters), he revised and augmented the second of these works. What reception Clement gave them is not known: some say he was highly gratified, and provided for the bearer; others, that he at least permitted an accusation of heresy against the writer. Both stories are unlikely: for Clement could hardly have received the work before he was seized with his last illness.

Till the year 1278 Bacon was allowed to remain free from open persecution; but in that year Jerome of Ascoli, general of the Franciscan order, afterwards pope, under the title of Nicholas IV., being appointed legate to the court of France, this was thought a proper opportunity to commence proceedings. Bacon, then sixty-four years old, was accordingly summoned to Paris (Dr. Jebb implies that he had already removed his residence there, to another convent of his order), where a council of Franciscans, with Jerome at their head, condemned his writings, and committed him to close confinement. According to Bale, or Balæus (cited by Dr. Jebb), the charge of innovation was the pretext, but of what kind was not specified: according to others, the writings of Bacon upon astrology were the particular ground of accusation. We cannot learn that any offer of pardon was made to the accused upon his recantation of the obnoxious opinions, as usual in such cases; which, if we may judge from the 'Opus Majus,' Bacon would have conceived himself bound to accept, at least if he recognised the legality of the tribunal. A confirmation of the proceeding was immediately obtained from the court of Rome. During ten years, every effort made by him to procure his enlargement was without success. The two succeeding pontiffs had short and busy reigns; but on the accession of Jerome (Nicholas IV.), Bacon once more tried to attract notice. He sent to that pope, it is said, a treatise on the method of retarding the infirmities of old age, the only consequence of which was increased rigour and

closer confinement. But that which was not to be obtained from the justice of the pope, was conceded to private interest, and Bacon was at last restored to liberty by the intercession of some powerful nobles, but who they were is not mentioned. Some say he died in prison; but the best authorities unite in stating that he returned to Oxford, where he wrote a compendium of theology, and died some months, or perhaps a year and a half, after Nicholas IV. (who died April, 1292). We have adopted 1292 from Anthony-à-Wood, as the most probable year of his death, though foreign works frequently state that he died in 1284. He was buried in the church of the Franciscans at Oxford. The manuscripts which he left behind him were immediately put under lock and key by the magic-fearing survivors of his order, until, not so lucky as those of another wizard, Michael Scott, they are said to have been eaten by insects.

Of the asserted works of Bacon there is a very large catalogue, cited mostly from Bale and Pits, in the preface to Dr. Jebb's edition of the 'Opus Majus.' They amount to five on grammar, six on pure mathematics, seventeen on mechanics and general physics, ten on optics, six on geography, seven on astronomy, one on chronology, nine on chemistry and alchemy, five on magic, eight on logic and metaphysics, nine on medicine, six on theology, twelve miscellaneous; a hundred and one in all. But it is most likely that the greater part of these were extracts from the 'Opus Majus,' &c., with separate titles, that some are not genuine, and that others are more properly attributable to the two other Bacons already mentioned. The principal manuscripts of the 'Opus Majus' are, one in Trinity College Library, Dublin, discovered by Dr. Jebb, which forms the text of his edition, two in the Cottonian Library, one in the Harleian, one in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, one in that of Magdalen College, two in the King's Library, all containing various parts of the work. These are independent of the 'Opus Minus' and 'Opus Tertium' in the Cottonian Library, already mentioned, of some in Lambeth Palace, in the Bodleian

Library at Oxford, and a host of others at home and abroad which we cannot specify. The Dublin manuscript is the only entire one with which Dr. Jebb was acquainted. It is a folio of 249 leaves, beautifully written on thick paper, with a good margin, and in double columns. It is not dated, but from the character of the writing it is judged to be of the reign of Henry VIII., or perhaps the early part of that of Elizabeth. The geometrical figures are neatly drawn in the margin. Pope Clement's letters are in the Vatican Library.

It only remains for us to take a general view of the character of Roger Bacon's writings, and of the contents of the 'Opus Majus.' It is surprising how little is known of this work, the only one in print to which we can appeal, if we would show that philosophy was successfully cultivated in an English university during the thirteenth century. It is of course in Latin, but in Latin of so simple a character, that we know of none in the middle ages more easy to read: and it forms a brilliant exception to the stiff and barbarous style of that and succeeding times. We think we see the thoughts of the author untranslated, though the idiom is often that of an Anglo-Norman; by which we mean that we frequently find Latin words used in their modern English sense, as, for instance, *intendere* for *in animo habere*, meaning the same as our word to *intend; præsumere* for *sibi arrogare* in the sense of to *presume*. We should perhaps rather say that the English words receive their meaning from the corrupted Latin, and not *vice versâ*, in which case the work of Roger Bacon may become useful in tracing the change, and the more so on account of the great simplicity of the style.

The charge of heresy appears to be by no means so well founded as a Protestant would wish. Throughout the whole of his writings Bacon is a strict Roman Catholic, that is, he expressly submits matters of opinion to the authority of the Church, saying (Cott. MSS. cited by Jebb) that if the respect due to the vicar of the Saviour, "vicarius Salvatoris," alone, and the benefit of the world, could be consulted in any other way than by

the progress of philosophy, he would not, under such impediments as lay in his way, proceed with his undertaking for the whole church of God, however much it might entreat or insist. His zeal for Christianity, in its Latin or Western form, breaks out in every page; and all science is considered with direct reference to theology, and not otherwise. But at the same time, to the credit of his principles, considering the book-burning, heretic-hunting age in which he lived, there is not a word of any other force except that of persuasion. He takes care to have both authority and reason for every proposition that he advances: perhaps, indeed, he might have experienced forbearance at the hand of those who were his persecutors, had he not so clearly made out prophets, apostles, and fathers to have been partakers of his opinions. "But let not your Serenity imagine," he says, "that I intend to excite the *clemency* of your Holiness, in order that the papal majesty should employ force against weak authors and the multitude, or that my unworthy self should raise any stumbling-block to study." Indeed the whole scope of the first part of the work is to prove, from authority and from reason, that philosophy and Christianity cannot disagree; a sentiment altogether of his own revival, in an age in which all philosophers, and mathematicians in particular, were considered as at best of dubious orthodoxy.

The reasoning of Bacon is generally directly dependent upon his premises, which, though often wrong, seldom lead him to the prevailing extreme of absurdity. Even his astrology and alchemy, those two great blots upon his character, as they are usually called, are, when considered by the side of a later age, harmless modifications, irrational only because unproved, and neither impossible nor unworthy of the investigation of a philosopher, in the absence of preceding experiments. His astrology is *physical*. "With regard to human affairs, true mathematicians do not presume to make certain, but consider how the body is altered by the heavens, and the body being altered, the mind is excited to public and private acts, free will existing all the same." An

age which is divided upon the question of the effect of the moon upon lunatics, and of which the philosophers have collected no facts decisive against many alleged effects of the same planet upon plants, can ask no more of a philosopher of the thirteenth century than that he should not be too positive. The fame of Leibnitz has not suffered from the *pre-established harmony* one half as much as that of Bacon from his astrology and alchemy, which were believed in to a much greater extent by many of the learned of his time, and the united effect of which would seem to us sense and logic, compared with the metaphysical folly, all his own, of the eminent philosopher just cited.

This planetary influence appears to have been firmly believed in by Bacon, and in particular the effect of the constellations on the several parts of the human body. Perhaps he was rather prejudiced in favour of a doctrine which was condemned by the same men who thought mathematics and philosophy savoured of heresy. And it must be remembered that the pretended science was almost universally allowed existence, even by those who considered its use unlawful; nor can we infer that the church disbelieved it, because that body discouraged it, any more than that it rejected infernal spirits, because it anathematized magic.

We must draw a wide distinction between the things which Bacon relates as upon credible authority, and the opinions which he professes himself to entertain from his own investigations. In almost every page we meet with something now considered extremely absurd, and with reason. But before the day of *printing* there was very little *publishing:* a book which was written in one country, found its way but slowly into others, one copy at a time; and a man of learning seldom met those with whom he could discuss the probability of any narrative. The adoption of the principle that a story must be rejected because it is strange, would then have amounted to a disbelief of all that had been written on physics; a state of mind to which we cannot conceive any one of that age bringing himself. Nor can we rightly decide

what opinion to form of Bacon as a philosopher, until we know how much he rejected, as well as how much he believed. These remarks apply particularly to his alchemy: he does not say he had made gold himself, but that others had asserted themselves to have made it; and his account of the drink by which men had lived hundreds of years is a relation taken from another. Voltaire, in his Philosophical Dictionary, has overlooked this distinction, and has much to say in consequence. It was, however, no very strange matter that Bacon, who (if the 'Speculum Alchemiæ' be really his, of which, from the style, we doubt) believed with many others that sulphur and mercury were the first principles of all bodies, should endeavour to compound gold, or should give credit to the assertions of those who professed to have done so. But there is not in Bacon's alchemy any direction for the use of prayers, fasting, or planetary hours.

The great points by which Bacon is known are his reputed knowledge of gunpowder and of the telescope. With regard to the former, it is not at all clear that what we call gunpowder is intended, though some detonating mixture, of which saltpetre is an ingredient, is spoken of as commonly known. The passage is as follows:—

"Some things disturb the ear so much, that if they were made to happen suddenly by night, and with sufficient skill, no city or army could bear them. No noise of thunder could compare with them. Some things strike terror on the sight, so that the flashes of the clouds are beyond comparison less disturbing; works similar to which Gideon is thought to have performed in the camp of the Midianites. And an instance we take from a childish amusement, which exists in many parts of the world, to wit, that with an instrument as large as the human thumb, by the violence of the salt called saltpetre, so horrible a noise is made by the rupture of so slight a thing as a bit of parchment, that it is thought to exceed loud thunder, and the flash is stronger than the brightest lightning."—*Opus Majus*, p. 474.

There are passages in the work 'De Secretis Operibus,' &c. (cited by Hutton, 'Dictionary,' article "Gun-

powder"), which expressly mention sulphur, charcoal, and saltpetre as ingredients. But, independently of the claim of the Chinese and Indians, there is an author, Marcus Græcus, whose work, 'Liber Ignium' (now existing only in Latin translations from the Greek), is cited by Dr. Jebb from a manuscript in the possession of Dr. Mead, and who appears to have been considered by both as older than Bacon. Dr. Hutton, into whose hands Dr. Mead's manuscripts passed, found this writer mentioned by an Arabic physician of the ninth century. Græcus gives the receipt for gunpowder, namely, one part of sulphur, two of willow-charcoal, and six of saltpetre. Two manuscript copies of Græcus were also found in the Royal Library of Paris. But it does not appear that Græcus was known for a long time after Bacon: even Tartaglia knew nothing of him; for he says, in his work on Artillery, that the oldest writers known to him use equal parts of the three ingredients.

With regard to the telescope, it must be admitted that Bacon had *conceived* the instrument, though there is no proof that he carried his conception into practice, or *invented* it. His words are these:—"We can so shape transparent substances, and so arrange them with respect to our sight and objects, that rays can be broken and bent as we please, so that objects may be seen far off or near, under whatever angle we please; and thus from an incredible distance we may read the smallest letters, and number the grains of dust and sand, on account of the greatness of the angle under which we see them; and we may manage so as hardly to see bodies, when near to us, on account of the smallness of the angle under which we cause them to be seen: for vision of this sort is not a consequence of distance, except as that affects the magnitude of the angle. And thus a boy may seem a giant, and a man a mountain, &c." The above contains a true description of a telescope; but if Bacon had constructed one, he would have found that there are impediments to the indefinite increase of the magnifying power; and still more that a boy does not appear a giant, but a boy at a smaller distance.

That the remarks of Bacon are derived from reflection and imagination only, is further apparent from his asserting that a small army could be made to appear very large, and that the sun and moon could be made to descend, to all appearance, down below, and stand over the head of the enemy. At the same time it is worth notice, that these ideas of Bacon did, in after times, produce either the telescope, or some modification of it, consisting in the magnifying of images produced by reflection, and that before the date either of Jansen or Galileo. Thomas Digges, son of Leonard Digges, in his 'Stratiotikos,' London, 1590, page 359 (second edition, the first being 1579), thus speaks of what his father had done, in the presence, as he asserts, of numerous living eye-witnesses:—

"And such was his Felicitie and happie successe, not only in these conclusions, but also in y^e^ Optikes and Catoptikes, that he was able by Perspectiue Glasses, duely scituate upon conuenient angles, in such sort to discouer every particularitie of the country round about, wheresoeuer the Sunne beames might pearse: as sithence Archimedes (Bakon of Oxford onely excepted) I have not read of any in action euer able by means natural to perform the like. Which partly grew by the aid he had by one old written book of the same Bakon's Experiments, that by strange aduenture, or rather Destinie, came to his hands, though chiefely by conioyning continuall laborious Practise with his Mathematicall Studies."

And the same Thomas Digges, in his 'Pantometria,' London, 1571, Preface (republished in 1591), had previously given the same story, with more detail, omitting, however, all mention of Bacon. He says that his father —"sundrie times hath by proportionall Glasses duely situate in conuenient angles, not onely discouered things farre off, read letters, numbred peeces of money with the very coyne and superscription thereof, cast by some of his freends of purpose upon Downes in open Fields, but also seuen miles off declared what hath beene doone at that instant in priuate places. There are yet living diuerse (of these his dooings) *Oculati Testes*."

The question has been agitated whether the invention of spectacles is due to Bacon, or whether they had been introduced just before he wrote. He certainly describes them, and explains why a plane convex glass magnifies. But he seems to us to speak of them as already in use. "Hence this instrument is useful to old persons and those who have weak eyes."

The 'Opus Majus' begins with a book on the necessity of advancing knowledge, and a dissertation on the use of philosophy in theology. It is followed by books on the utility of grammar and mathematics; in the latter of which he runs through the various sciences of astronomy, chronology, geography, and music. The account of the inhabited world is long and curious, and though frequently based on that of Ptolemy, or the writings of Pliny, contains many new facts from travellers of his own and preceding times. His account of the defects in the calendar was variously cited in the discussions which took place on the subject two centuries after. The remainder of the work consists of a treatise on optics and on experimental philosophy, insisting on the peculiar advantages of the latter. The explanation of the phenomena of the rainbow, though very imperfect, was an original effort of a character altogether foreign to the philosophy of his day. He attributes it to the reflection of the sun's rays from the cloud; and the chief merit of his theory is in the clear and philosophical manner in which he proves that the phenomenon is an appearance, and not a reality. Between the two last-mentioned books is a treatise, 'De Multiplicatione Specierum,' entirely filled with discussions somewhat metaphysical upon the connexion and causes of phenomena.

Our limits will not allow us to enter further into details: nor could we, in any moderate space, do justice to the varied learning of the author, or distinctly mark even the chief of the numerous singular and now exploded notions which are introduced; nor, as far as we know, does there exist any full account of the contents to which we can refer the reader.

The following amusing extract will show the sort of reputation which Roger Bacon acquired:—

"How Friar Bacon made a brazen head to speak, by the which he would have walled England about with brass.

"Friar Bacon reading one day of the many conquests of England, bethought himself how he might keep it hereafter from the like conquests, and to make himself famous hereafter to all posterities. This (after great study) he found could be no way so well done as one; which was to make a head of brass, and if he could make this head to speak (and hear it when it speaks) then might he be able to wall all England about with brass. To this purpose he got one Friar Bungey to assist him, who was a great scholar and a magician (but not to be compared to Friar Bacon), these two, with great pains, so framed a head of brass that in the inward parts thereof there was all things like as in a natural man's head: this being done, they were as far from perfection of the work as they were before, for they knew not how to give those parts that they had made motion, without which it was impossible that it should speak. Many books they read, but yet could not find out any hope of what they sought, that at the last they concluded to raise a spirit, and to know of him that which they could not attain to by their own studies. To do this they prepared all things ready, and went one evening to a wood thereby, and, after many ceremonies used, they spake the words of conjuration, which the devil straight obeyed, and appeared unto them, asking what they would. Know, said Friar Bacon, that we have made an artificial head of brass, which we would have to speak, to the furtherance of which we have raised thee, and, being raised, we will here keep thee, unless thou tell to us the way and manner how to make this head to speak. The devil told him that he had not that power of himself. Beginner of lies, said Friar Bacon, I know that thou dost dissemble, and therefore tell it us quickly, or else we will here bind thee to remain during our pleasures. At these threatenings the devil consented to do it, and told them, that with a

continual fume of the six hottest simples it should have motion, and in one month's space speak, the time of the month or day he knew not: also he told them, that if they heard it not before it had done speaking all their labour should be lost; they, being satisfied, licensed the spirit for to depart.

"Then went these two learned friars home again, and prepared the simples ready, and made the fumes, and with continual watching attended when this brazen head would speak. Thus watched they for three weeks without any rest, so that they were so weary and sleepy that they could not any longer refrain from rest. Then called Friar Bacon his man Miles, and told him that it was not unknown to him what pains Friar Bungey and himself had taken for three weeks' space, only to make and to hear the brazen head speak, which, if they did not, then had they lost all their labour, and all England had a great loss thereby: therefore he intreated Miles that he would watch whilst that they slept, and call them if the head speak."

Miles then begins his watch, and keeps himself from sleeping by merrily singing.

"After some noise the head spake these two words, *Time is.* Miles, hearing it to speak no more, thought his master would be angry if he waked him for that, and therefore he let them both sleep, and began to mock the head . . . . After half an hour had passed, the head did speak again two words, which were these, *Time was.* Miles respected these words as little as he did the former, and would not wake them, but still scoffed at the brazen head, that it had learned no better words, and have such a tutor as his master . . . . Miles talked and sung till another half hour was gone, then the brazen head spake again these words, *Time is past*, and therewith fell down, and presently followed a terrible noise, with strange flashes of fire, so that Miles was half dead with fear. At this noise the two friars awaked, and wondered to see the whole room so full of smoke; but that being vanished they might perceive the brazen head broken and lying on the ground. At this sight they grieved, and called

Miles to know how this came. Miles, half dead with fear, said that it fell down of itself, and that, with the noise and fire that followed, he was almost frighted out of his wits. Friar Bacon asked if he did not speak? Yes, quoth Miles, it spake, but to no purpose; I 'll have a parrot speak better in that time that you have been teaching this brazen head. Out on thee, villain, said Friar Bacon, thou hast undone us both: hadst thou but called us when it did speak, all England had been walled round about with brass, to its glory and our eternal fames. What were the words it spake? Very few, said Miles; and those were none of the wisest that I have heard, neither. First he said, Time is. Hadst thou called us then, said Friar Bacon, we had been made for ever. Then, said Miles, half an hour after it spake again, and said, Time was. And wouldst thou not call us then? said Bungey. Alas, said Miles, I thought he would have told me some long tale, and then I purposed to have called you: then after an hour after he cried, Time is past, and made such a noise that he hath waked you himself, methinks. At this Friar Bacon was in such a rage that he would have beaten his man, but he was restrained by Bungey; but, nevertheless, for his punishment he, with his art, struck him dumb for one whole month's space. Thus the great work of these learned friars was overthrown, to their great griefs, by this simple fellow."—From 'The Famous Historie of Fryer Bacon.'

HENRY II. was succeeded on the English throne by his eldest surviving son, Richard I.; he by his younger brother John; he by his son Henry III.; he by his son the first and greatest of the Edwards. The reigns of these four kings fill the whole of the thirteenth century, with a few years of the end of the twelfth, and a few of the beginning of the fourteenth: Richard I. having reigned from 1189 to 1199; John from 1199 to 1216; Henry III. from 1216 to 1272; Edward I. from 1272 to 1307. Old Froissart observes that it was an opinion commonly entertained by Englishmen, and the truth of which had been often exemplified from the days of King Arthur, that between every two valiant kings of England there was most commonly one of less sufficiency both of wit and of prowess. How far this rule may have obtained in more antient times we shall not stop to inquire, but

from the Norman Conquest it may be said to have held good, with but slight exception, for nearly four centuries and through a succession of more than a dozen sovereigns. From the Conqueror to Henry IV. inclusive, the only interruption to such a regular alternation of the good and the bad, or at least of the strong and the weak, had been the coming together of Henry II. and his son Richard I., followed by that of John and his son Henry III. Even here there was the balance of the two valiant kings against the two of less prowess and wisdom.

At any rate there can be no question about the old notion having proved true in the case of the first and second Edwards; for, as Froissart says, "the good King Edward the First was right valiant, sage, wise, and hardy, adventurous and fortunate in all feats of war, and had much ado against the Scots, and conquered them three or four times; for the Scots could never have victory nor endure against him: and after his decease his son of his first wife was crowned king and called Edward the Second, who resembled nothing to his father in wit nor in prowess, but governed and kept his realm right wildly, and ruled himself by sinister counsel of certain persons, whereby at length he had no profit nor laud; for, anon after he was crowned, Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, who had often before given much ado to the said good King Edward the First, conquered again all Scotland, and brent and wasted a great part of the realm of England, a four or five days' journey within the realm, at two times, and discomfited the king and all the barons of England at a place in Scotland called Stirling, by battle arranged the day of St. John Baptist, in the year of our Lord 1314." And many other were the disasters and disgraces of Edward of Carnarvon's unhappy twenty years' reign, besides the loss of Scotland and the defeat and rout of Bannockburn.

On the 24th of January, 1308, about six months after his accession, Edward II. was married at Boulogne to Isabella, daughter of the French king, Philip IV. (surnamed le Bel, or the Fair); five kings in all, and four queens, including the bride and bridegroom, being

present at the ceremony. Edward was in his twenty-fourth year; the French princess was only in her thirteenth, but was already famous as the greatest beauty in Europe. "One of the fairest ladies of the world," Froissart calls her. In tradition and history, however, she lives as little less than a beautiful demon. Never has beauty, never has a marriage been more fatal than hers was to herself, to her husband, to both their native lands. The radiant girl who now gave Edward her hand was in the end to deprive him of his crown and of his life; a long imprisonment of eight and twenty years was to be the dower of her own widowhood; and from their union was to spring a quarrel between their two countries, which it was to take nearly a century of bloodshed and desolation to fight out:—

"Mark the year, and mark the night,
When Severn shall re-echo with affright
The shrieks of death through Berkeley's roofs that ring;
Shrieks of an agonizing king!
She-wolf of France, with unrelenting fangs,
That tear'st the bowels of thy mangled mate,
From thee be born who o'er thy country hangs
The scourge of heaven!

He who was thus to prove "the scourge of heaven," to his mother's land and race was her eldest son Edward, born at Windsor Castle on Monday the 13th of December, 1312. Young Edward appears to have been known till near the end of his father's reign as Earl of Chester; he was summoned to parliament by that title in 1320, and in each of the four following years. In May, 1325, Isabella proceeded to France on the pretence of negotiating a treaty of peace between her husband and her brother Charles IV., the new king of that country; and in September following she was joined there by her son Edward, who with his father's consent set sail, splendidly attended, to be invested by the French king with the dutchy of Guienne and the earldom of Ponthieu, which his father had consented to resign to him. He did homage for the two fiefs, and received investiture; but, although he had promised his father to hasten his return,

he remained abroad till the 24th of September of the next year, when he landed at Orwell in Suffolk with his mother, come, with her paramour Mortimer, to make open war upon her husband. The last instrument issued in the name of Edward II. was on the 20th of January, 1327; on the next day he is understood to have formally resigned his crown in the castle of Kenilworth to commissioners sent to him by the parliament; his son was proclaimed as Edward the Third on Saturday the 24th. His reign, however, for some reason which is not known, was reckoned as having commenced on the 25th. His father is supposed to have been murdered in his dungeon in Berkeley Castle on the 21st of September.

The new king, a boy of fourteen when he was thus raised to the throne, was of course at first king only in name, and all power and authority were in the hands of his mother and Mortimer. He was marvellously alert, however, in assuming manhood in various ways. If he was not allowed any share in the government of the country, he was thought already old enough both to rule an army and to rule a wife. Within a few months after his accession, he put himself at the head of a great force, and went forth to fight the Scots; and in the beginning of the next year he was married at York to Philippa, the second daughter of William Count of Hainault, to whom he had been contracted by his mother shortly before their return from the continent.

Edward's first campaign, however, must detain us for a little; for the incidents were both remarkable in themselves, and they have been recorded in much detail by the writer to whom we must be principally indebted throughout our sketch. Froissart, indeed, is not so much a great historian as a great historical painter—the greatest that ever painted in words. He is extremely inaccurate in dates and names, and other such prosaic matters, and even in his own proper line he may be suspected of having sometimes intermixed a little fancy with his facts; yet he may be always trusted, better than almost any other writer, for what is after all the most important truth, the characteristic spirit or inner life of what he

describes; and even in this part of his chronicle, which relates to events that happened before he was born, and in which therefore he writes to a greater extent than in the latter portions of it from report, he has thrown in much of what he had actually seen along with what he had only heard, and, if the sketching be in so far a copy, the colouring at least is his own. The account of the demonstration (for it was hardly more) which Edward made on the northern border is a great deal too long to be extracted in full; but we will select some of the more striking incidents, or those in which the young English king figures the most conspicuously. As we abridge the narrative, we will retain as much as possible of our author's style and manner, adhering for the most part to the excellent old English translation by Lord Berners.

When Robert de Bruce, King of Scotland, we are told, heard how that the old king, Edward the Second, was taken and deposed down from his regality and his crown, and certain of his counsellors beheaded and put to destruction, then, although he was himself become very old and ancient, and sick (as it was said) of the great evil and malady, he bethought him that he would defy the young king, Edward the Third, because he was young, and that the barons of the realm were not all of one accord, as it was said. So about Easter, 1327, he sent his defiance to the young Edward and to all the realm, sending them word how that he would enter into the realm of England, and bren before him, as he had done before time. When the King of England and his council perceived that they were defied, they caused it to be known all over the realm; and commanded that all the nobles, and all other, should be ready apparelled, every man after his estate; and that they should be, by Ascension-day next after, at the town of York, standing northward. An embassy was sent to Sir John of Hainault, lord of Beamond, by which his assistance was obtained with a body of foreigners for the sum of fourteen thousand pounds. This was a brother of the Earl of Hainault, who had the preceding year accompanied Queen Isabella

on her expedition to England, and had only recently returned to his own country. He and his men of war now landed at Dover, whence they rode straight to the town of York, where the king, and the queen his mother, and all his lords, with a great host, were tarrying their coming. They arrived at York within three days of Pentecost. The English were lodged two or three leagues off, all about in the country; the foreigners in the suburbs of the city, an abbey of monks being assigned to Sir John for himself and his household. Then the narrative proceeds:—"The gentle King of England, the better to feast these strange lords and all their company, held a great court on Trinity Sunday in the Friars, where he and the queen his mother were lodged, keeping their house each of them apart. All this feast the king had well five hundred knights, and fifteen were new made. And the queen had well in her court sixty ladies and damozelles, who were there ready to make feast and cheer to Sir John of Hainault and to his company. There might have been seen great nobles, plenty of all manner of strange victual. There were ladies and damoselles, freshly apparelled, ready to have danced if they might have leave. But incontinent after dinner there began a great fray between some of the grooms and pages of the strangers and of the archers of England, who were lodged among them in the same suburbs; and anon all the archers assembled them together with their bows, and drove the strangers home to their lodging; and the most part of the knights and masters of them were as yet in the king's court, but, as soon as they heard tidings of the fray, each of them drew to their own lodging, in great haste such as might enter, and such as might not get in were in great peril. For the archers, who were to the number of three thousand, shot fast their arrows, not sparing masters nor varlets. . . . And the Englishmen that were hosts to these strangers shut fast their doors and windows, and would not suffer them to enter in to their lodgings: howbeit some got in on the back side, and quickly armed them, but they durst not issue out into the street for fear of the arrows. Then

the strangers broke out on the back side, and brake down pales and hedges of gardens, and drew them into a certain plain place, and abode their company, till at last they were a hundred and above of men of arms, and as many unharnessed, such as could not get to their lodgings. And, when they were assembled together, they hasted them to go and succour their companions, who defended their lodgings in the great street." At the lodging of the Lord D'Enghien, where there were great gates both before and behind, opening into the great street, the English archers were shooting fiercely at the house, and many of the foreigners were hurt; but three good knights, whose names are given, although they could not get into their lodgings to arm them, yet did as valiantly as though they had been armed. "They had great levers in their hands, the which they found in a carpenter's yard, with the which they gave such strokes that men durst not approach to them. They three beat down that day, with such few company as they had, mo than sixty. For they were great and mighty knights." In the end the English archers were discomfited and put to the rout, after about three hundred men had been slain on both sides. "I trow," concludes the hearty old chronicler, "God did never give more grace and fortune to any people than he did as then to this gentle knight, Sir John of Hainault, and to his company. For these English archers intended to none other thing but to murder and to rob them, for all that they were come to serve the king in his business. These strangers were never in so great peril all the season that they lay, nor they were never after in surety till they were again at Wissant in their own country. For they were fallen in so great hate with all the archers of the host, that some of the barons and knights of England showed unto the lords of Hainault, giving them warning that the archers and other of the common people were allied together to the number of six thousand, to the intent to bren or to kill them in their lodgings, either by night or by day. And so they lived at a hard adventure; but each of them promised to help and aid other, and to

sell dearly their lives or they were slain. So they made many fair ordinances among themself by good and great advice; whereby they were fain oftentimes to lie in their harness by night, and in the day to keep their lodgings, and to have all their harness ready and their horses saddled. Thus continually they were fain to make watch by their constables in the fields and highways about the court, and to send out scout-watches a mile off, to see ever if any such people were coming to themward as they were informed of, to the intent that, if their scout-watch heard any noise, or moving of people drawing to the cityward, then, incontinent, they should give them knowledge, whereby they might the sooner gather together, each of them under their own banner, in a certain place, the which they had advised for the same intent. And in this tribulation they abode in the said suburbs by the space of four weeks, and in all that season they durst not go far fro their harness, nor fro their lodgings, saving a certain of the chief lords among them, who went to the court to see the king and his council, who made them right good cheer. For, if the said evil adventure had not been, they had sojourned there in great ease, for the city and the country about them was right plentiful. For, all the time of six weeks that the king and the lords of England, and mo than sixty thousand men of war, lay there, the victuals were never the dearer; for ever they had a penny worth for a penny, as well as other had before they came there; and there was good wine of Gascoign, and of Anjou, and of the Rhine, and plenty thereof; with right good cheap, as well of pollen* as of other victuals; and there was daily brought before their lodgings hay, oats, and litter, whereof they were well served for their horses, and at a meetly† price."

How admirably in this way does the garrulous, graphic, picturesque old chronicler bring before us England and the English five hundred years ago! Immediately after we have an equally curious picture of the Scots, and how they went to war, no doubt drawn or at least filled up

* Poultry. † Meet, fit, reasonable.

from Froissart's own observation when he visited the northern part of the island some years later. About four weeks after the fray at York, the army set out and marched forward to the city of Durham, "a day's journey within the country called Northumberland, the which at that time was a savage and a wild country, full of deserts and mountains, and a right poor country of everything saving of beasts; through the which there runneth a river, full of flint and great stones, called the water of Tyne." It was now found that the Scots had effected the passage of the Tyne without being noticed. They had passed at Haydon, about fifteen miles above Newcastle. "These Scottish men," says Froissart, "are right hardy, and sore travelling in harness and in wars. For, when they will enter into England, within a day and a night they will drive their whole host twenty-four mile, for they are all on horseback, without it be the traundals and laggers of the host, who follow after a-foot. The knights and squires are well horsed, and the common people and other on little hackneys and geldings; and they carry with them no carts nor chariots, for the diversities of the mountains that they must pass through in the country of Northumberland. They take with them no purveyance of bread nor wine, for their usage and soberness is such in time of war that they will pass in the journey a great long time with flesh half sodden, without bread, and drink of the river water without wine; and they neither care for pots nor pans, for they seethe beasts in their own skins. They are ever sure to find plenty of beasts in the country that they will pass through. Therefore they carry with them none other purveyance, but on their horse, between the saddle and the panel, they truss a broad plate of metal, and behind the saddle they will have a little sack full of oatmeal, to the intent that, when they have eaten of the sodden flesh, then they lay this plate on the fire, and temper a little of the oatmeal; and, when the plate is hot, they cast of the thin paste thereon, and so make a little cake, in manner of a cracknel or biscuit, and that they eat to comfort withal their stomachs. Wherefore it is no great marvel

though they make greater journeys than other people do. And in this manner were the Scots entered into the said country, and wasted and brent all about as they went, and took great number of beasts. They were to the number of four thousand men of arms, knights, and squires, mounted on good horses; and other ten thousand men of war were armed after their guise, right hardy and fierce, mounted on little hackneys, the which were never tied nor kept at hard meat, but let go to pasture in the fields and bushes."

The account that follows of the movements and counter-movements of the two hosts is one of the most curious and characteristic passages in Froissart, and a pretty full abstract of it will introduce the reader better than can be done in any other way both to Edward and his historian, and to at least one leading department of life in England in the fourteenth century.

The English, infuriated by what they saw and heard of the devastations of the invaders, followed them for two whole days by the guidance of the smoke that marked their destructive course; but, although they were wasting, burning, and pillaging only five miles ahead, they could not be overtaken. It was then determined to make for the Tyne, and, crossing that river, to wait on its northern bank for the return of the Scots. The march or ride is described as in the highest degree toilsome and dangerous, many men and horses being lost among the mountains, rocks, and marshes, and through the continual alarms that were occasioned by the shouting of those that were foremost at the harts, hinds, and other savage beasts, they were continually starting, when those in the rear thought they had got engaged with the enemy, upon which they hastened to their assistance over all impediments, "with helm and shield ready appareled to fight, with spear and sword ready in hand, without tarrying for father, brother, or companion." "Thus," continues the chronicler, "rode forth all that day the young King of England, by mountains and depths, without finding any highway, town, or village. And, when it was against night, they came to the river of Tyne, to the

same place whereas the Scots had passed over into England, weening to them that they must needs repass again the same way. Then the King of England and his host passed over the same river, with such guides as he had, with much pain and travail, for the passage was full of great stones. And, when they were over, they lodged them that night by the river side. And by that time the sun was gone to rest, and there was but few among them that had either axe or hook, or any instrument to cut down any wood to make their lodgings withal; and there were many that had lost their own company, and wist not where they were. Some of the foot-men were far behind, and wist not well what way to take; but such as knew best the country said plainly they had ridden the same day twenty-four English miles; for they rode as fast as they might, without any rest, but at such passages as they could not choose. All this night they lay by this river side, still in their harness, holding their horses by their reins in their hands, for they wist not whereunto to tie them: thus their horses did eat no meat of all that night nor day before; they had neither oats nor forage for them: nor the people of the host had no sustenance of all that day nor night, but every man his loaf that he had carried behind him, the which was sore wet with the sweat of the horses; nor they drank none other drink but the water of the river, without it were some of the lords that had carried bottles with them; nor they had no fire nor light, for they had nothing to make light withal, without it were some of the lords that had torches brought with them. In this great trouble and danger they passed all that night; their armour still on their backs, their horses ready saddled." All the next day it rained so that neither sustenance nor forage could be procured, so that they themselves were forced to fast; and their horses had nothing but leaves of trees and herbs. About noon they learned from some country people that they were fourteen miles from Newcastle and eleven from Carlisle, and that these were the nearest towns. Upon this it was determined to send to Newcastle; and there was a cry, we are told, in the king's

name made in that town, that whosoever would bring bread, or wine, or any other victual, should be paid for it forthwith at a good price; it being at the same time proclaimed that the king and his host would not depart from the place where they were till they had heard some tidings of the enemy's whereabout. By the next day at noon the purveyors returned with what they had been able to procure in this way: it was not over much. But "with them," it is added, "came other folks of the country, with little nags, charged with bread, evil baken, in paniers, and small pear wine in barrels, and other victual, to sell in the host, whereby great part of the host were well refreshed and eased." In this state they remained for eight days, including the three in which they had been in a manner without bread, wine, candle or other light, fodder, forage, or any manner of purveyance; the scarcity even after this being still so great that a penny loaf of bread was sold for sixpence, and a gallon of wine, that was worth but sixpence, for six groats. "And yet, for all that, there was such rage of famine, that each took victuals out of other's hands, whereby there rose divers battles and strifes between sundry companions; and yet beside all these mischiefs it never ceased to rain all the whole week, whereby their saddles, panels, and countersingles were all rotten and broken, and most part of their horses hurt on their backs; nor they had naught wherewith to shoe them that were unshod, nor they had nothing to cover themself withal from the rain and cold, but green bushes and their armour; nor they had nothing to make fire withal, but green boughs, the which would not burn because of the rain." All this while they had heard nothing of the enemy; discontent began to spread in the camp; it was determined to repass the river, and proclamation was made that whosoever should first bring to the king certain information of where the Scots were should be made a knight and have land to the value of a hundred pounds a year settled upon him and his heirs for ever. On the fourth day, about three in the afternoon, a squire, one of fifteen or sixteen who had set forth in the hope of winning this reward,

came riding at a quick pace up to the king, and, beginning, "An it like your grace, I have brought you perfect tidings of the Scots your enemies," stated that he had actually been taken prisoner by them, and brought before the lords of their host, who, when he told them his object, had dismissed him without ransom, that he might inform Edward that they were only three miles off, stationed on a great mountain, and as desirous to find and fight with the English as the English could be to meet with them. The name of the lucky squire was Thomas de Rokesby. "As soon," continues our author, "as the king had heard this tidings, he assembled all his host in a fair meadow to pasture their horses; and besides there was a little abbey, the which was all brent, called in the days of King Arthur, Le Blanch Land. There the king confessed him, and every man made him ready. The king caused many masses to be sung, to houzel all such as had devotion thereto; and incontinent he assigned a hundred pounds sterling of rent to the squire that had brought him tidings of the Scots, according to his promise, and made him knight with his own hands before all the host. And, when they had well rested them,* and taken repast, then the trumpet sounded to horse, and every man mounted, and the banners and standers† followed this new-made knight, every battle by itself in good order, through mountains and dales, ranged as well as they might, ever ready appareled to fight; and they rode and made such haste that about noon they were so near the Scots that each of them might clearly see other." The Scots were posted in three battles, or divisions, on the lower part of the hill, with a rocky river at their feet, and precipitous rocks on each flank. This new river was the higher part of the Wear, and the Scots were on its right or south bank, not far from Stanhope. The English commanders immediately drew up their forces on their own or the north side. "And when their battles were set in good order, then some of the lords of England brought their young king a horseback before all the battles of the

* For the night, apparently. † Standards.

host, to the intent to give thereby the more courage to all his people; the which king in full goodly manner prayed and required them right graciously that every man would pain them to do their best, to save his honour and common weal of his realm. And it was commanded upon pain of death, that none should go before the marshals' banners, nor break their array, without they were commanded. And then the king commanded that they should advance toward their enemies fair and easily." The Scots, however, though formally invited by a deputation of heralds-at-arms to come down from their vantage ground, and have the battle fought fairly in the plain, either that or the following day, as they might themselves choose, wisely refused to stir. "Sirs," they answered, "your king and his lords see well how we be here in this realm, and have brent and wasted the country as we have passed through; and, if they be displeased therewith, let them amend it when they will, for here we will abide so long as it shall please us." On this it was resolved by the English to remain where they were all that night. It was the night of St. Peter's day, in the beginning of August. They lay in their arms on the hard and stony ground. "They had no stakes nor rods," continues Froissart, "to tie withal their horses, nor forage, nor bush withal to make any fire. And when they were thus lodged, then the Scots caused some of their people to keep still the field whereas they had ordained their battles, and the remnant went to their lodgings, and they made such fires that it was marvel to behold. And between the day and the night they made a marvellous great bruit with blowing of horns all at once, that it seemed properly that all the devils of hell had been there." This mere show and bravado was repeated on both sides for three days, all the fighting being a little skirmishing between small parties that occasionally came forth from either army, and crossed the stream, some on horseback, some on foot; and the English, who learned from their prisoners that the Scots, though they had plenty of beef, were run short of meal, had made up their minds to remain till

famine should force their cautious and unassailable enemy either to fight or surrender. But behold! on the morning of the fourth day, when they looked at the mountain, no Scots were to be seen; they had quietly made off in the middle of the night. About noon, however, they were discovered not far off, upon another mountain, in a still stronger position, by the same river side, having now a great wood on one of their flanks, enabling them to go and come secretly whenever they chose. The English immediately took their station on an eminence over against them,—in Stanhope Park, according to the common account; the enemy were again repeatedly invited to come over and fight fairly in the intermediate plain; but they were deaf to all such proposals; and thus the two hosts remained looking at one another for the long space of eighteen more days. The first night, however, the Lord William Douglas, taking with him about two hundred men of arms, crossed the river at a distant point, and suddenly breaking into the English host about midnight, with the cry of "A Douglas! A Douglas! ye shall all die, thieves of England!" slew or carried off no fewer than three hundred men: the gallant leader spurring on, and still alarming the night with his family battle-cry, had even advanced to the king's tent, two or three of the cords of which he struck asunder before he was driven off. This surprise made the English afterwards keep strict watch and ward. At last the Scots again made their escape during the night; and it was determined to pursue them no farther. The young king is said to have wept bitterly in yielding to this necessity. Before they commenced their retreat, or their return to the south, "diverse of the English host," we are told, mounted on their horses and passed over the river, and came to the mountain whereas the Scots had been, and there they found mo than five hundred great beasts ready slain, because the Scots could not drive them before their host, and because that the English men should have but small profit of them; also there they found three hundred cauldrons made of beasts' skins, with the hair still on them, strained on stakes over

the fire, full of water and full of flesh to be sodden, and more than a thousand spits* full of flesh to be roasted; and more than ten thousand old shoes made of raw leather, with the hair still on them, the which the Scots had left behind them; also there they found five poor Englishmen prisoners bound fast to certain trees, and some of their legs broken." On the second day about noon the English army, well nigh worn out with fatigue, reached a great abbey two miles from Durham; on the morrow the king went forward to that city, and visited the venerable old cathedral and made his offering; and here every man found his carriage which he had left thirty-two days before in a wood at midnight, when they first started in pursuit of the Scots. "The burgesses and people of Durham had found and brought them into their town at their own costs and charges. And all these carriages were set in void granges and barns in safeguard, and on every man's carriage his own cognizance or arms, whereby every man might know his own. And the lords and gentlemen were glad when they had thus found their carriages. Thus they abode two days in the city of Durham, and the host roundabout, for they could not all lodge within the city; and there their horses were new shod. And then they took their way to the city of York; and so within three days they came thither, and there the king found the queen his mother, who received him with great joy, and so did all other ladies, damozelles, burgesses, and commons of the city."

Before the end of the year a peace was made with Scotland; and in a parliament assembled at York in March following, Edward renounced for himself and his successors all claims of superiority over the crown of that country; and shortly after, his sister the Princess Jane or Joanna (called De la Tour, from having been born in the Tower of London) was carried to Berwick by her mother, and there affianced to David, the Prince of Scotland, as yet only in his fifth year. The great Bruce died within a year after (on the 7th of July, 1329),

* Lord Hailes says the French term, *hastiers*, means stands on each of which several spits were turned.

and was succeeded by his infant son as David the Second; about two years after whose accession Edward Baliol made a sudden inroad into the country, and got himself crowned at Scone, but was driven out again in a few weeks. In a second invasion, however, in the following year, 1333, in which he was assisted by the English king, the Scots were defeated by Edward, on the 19th of July, in the great battle of Halidon Hill, near Berwick; upon which that town was forced to surrender, nearly every other stronghold in the kingdom immediately followed its example, and the young King David took refuge in France. Baliol, however, whom these events had again seated on the throne, was again driven out within a year; the war was carried on for some years, in the course of which Edward once, in the summer of 1336, proceeded as far north as to Inverness, carrying fire and sword wherever he appeared; but no permanent occupation or subjugation could be effected; as soon as the English army disappeared the Scots were again in arms; in May 1341 David and his queen returned from France; and at last, in the beginning of 1343, a truce was concluded which left the two countries at peace for nearly four years.

But long before this time a great domestic revolution had changed every thing at the court of England. The arrogance of Isabella and Mortimer, who had early in the new reign been created Earl of March, and the general conviction of their criminal intimacy, had very soon begun to disgust the nation; and the alarm of a powerful party had been excited by the condemnation and execution, in the beginning of 1330, of Edmund earl of Kent, one of the king's uncles, on pretence of high treason, his real crime being, as was universally believed, that he was hated and dreaded by the favourite. Even Edward himself, now eighteen, was staggered by after-reflection upon this act, though he had been induced, in the persuasion of the earl's guilt, to give his consent to it at the time. Already married, too, and a father, for his son Edward, afterwards so famous as the Black Prince, had been born at Woodstock on the 15th of June,

1330, he no doubt felt the state of tutelage, or at least of exclusion from all share in the government, in which he was kept by his mother and Mortimer, every day more galling. It is said that the king confided his feelings to the Lord Montacute; and by his advice it was resolved to make an attempt to seize Mortimer at a parliament which was to be held at Nottingham in October. At this parliament the favourite appeared "in such glory and honour," says Stow, "that it was without all comparison. No man durst name him any other than Earl of March; a greater rout of men followed at his heels than on the king's person; he would suffer the king to rise to him, and would walk with the king equally, step by step and cheek by cheek, never preferring the king, but would go foremost himself with his officers." While he took up his own lodgings with the queen and her son in Nottingham Castle, he directed that the highest of the other nobility, including the king's cousin, the Earl of Lancaster, should be lodged in the most distant parts of the town or without it. The conspirators, however, opened their design to Sir William Eland, who had long been keeper of the castle; and he engaged to admit them during the night by a subterraneous passage, leading from a point at a considerable distance on the west side of the rock, of the existence of which Mortimer was not aware. On the night of the 19th of October, accordingly, having concerted their plans with the king, Montacute and his associates entered by this passage. They were joined by Edward on the principal staircase. Advancing in silence, and with their naked swords in their hands, they soon came to a room, where the voice of Mortimer was heard conversing. Leaving the king without, they rushed in, and slaying two knights, who endeavoured to oppose them, laid hold of the earl. The queen, who was in bed in the adjoining chamber, the door of which was open, cried out "Bel filz, Bel filz, Ayez pitié de gentil Mortimer" (Fair son, fair son, have pity upon gentle Mortimer); she then rose, and, rushing into the room, passionately exclaimed that he was a worthy knight, her well-beloved cousin,

her dearest friend; but he was quickly secured and hurried off. At a parliament held at Westminster about a month after, he was condemned, with little form of trial, to die the death of a traitor; and he and one of his confederates were hanged together at the Elms at Tyburn, on the 29th of November. "He hung," Stow tells us, "two days and two nights by the king's commandment, and then was buried in the Grey Friars' Church," now Christ's Hospital, in Newgate Street. Yet Mortimer's attainder was reversed in 1352, and his honours restored to his grandson; his great-granddaughter married Lionel Duke of Clarence, the third son of Edward III.; his great-great-granddaughter and ultimately sole heir, Ann Mortimer, by her marriage with Richard Plantagenet Earl of Cambridge, conveyed her right to the crown thence derived to the House of York; her grandson mounted the throne as Edward IV.; and it has been occupied ever since the death of Henry VII. by her descendants. As for Queen Isabella, she was, upon her fall from power, reduced to an income of 3000*l.* a year (which was afterwards increased to 4000*l.*), and ordered to confine herself in what some authorities call her manor of Risings near London, others Rising Castle, on the coast of Norfolk, where once a year her son paid her a visit of ceremony, and where she survived almost forgotten by the world for nearly eight and twenty years. She died on the 22nd of August, 1358, and was then buried in the choir of the same church of the Grey Friars where the body of Mortimer had been laid.

In 1328, an event occurred which suddenly gave a new direction to the exertions and ambition of the English king, and changed altogether the policy of the remainder of his reign. Hitherto, the object that may be said to have mainly occupied him had been that inherited from his father and his grandfather, the subjugation of Scotland; his efforts were now to be withdrawn to a much more extraordinary, daring, and magnificent scheme, that of the conquest of France. Upon this attempt he adventured on the strength of a right which he professed to derive through his mother. Isabella, it will be recol-

lected, was the daughter of the French king Philip IV. Philip died in 1314, and was succeeded by his eldest son Louis X. (styled Le Hutin, or the Quarrelsome). Louis died in 1316, and was in the first instance succeeded by a posthumous son, named John, who, however, as he lived only a few days, is not usually reckoned among the kings of France. It was then determined, for the first time, that the French crown, by what was called the Salic law, did not descend to females; and, to the exclusion of the daughter of Louis, Joanna, Countess of Evreux, afterwards Queen of Navarre, his brother became king as Philip V. (surnamed the Long). In like manner, when Philip died in 1322, although he left four daughters, he was succeeded by his next brother, Charles IV. (styled Le Bel, or the Fair). The event which happened in 1328, and which we have described as having been attended with important consequences both to France and to England, was the death of Charles IV. He also left two daughters, but no son. In these circumstances, according to the two last precedents, it seemed that the heir to the crown was to be sought for in the nearest male who could claim through an unbroken male descent; the principle apparently being, as in other cases in which male descent only was recognised, that females should be regarded as nullities, or should not be introduced into the genealogical tree at all. The individual thus circumstanced was indisputably Philip of Valois, whose father, Charles of Valois, was the second son of Philip III. (the Hardy), and the younger brother of Philip IV. (the Fair). Against his right, however, Edward III. set up a principle or rule of succession which was at least new. He admitted that females were excluded from actually reigning in France, otherwise the Queen of Navarre would have succeeded her father Louis X., and would have excluded not only both himself and his present competitor, but also the two last kings, Philip V. and Charles IV. But he contended that, although females could not be called to the throne themselves, they nevertheless conveyed a right of succession to their male descendants; and that he therefore,

as the grandson, through his mother, of Philip IV., had a preferable claim to Philip of Valois, who was only the grandson of Philip III. If this had been the whole case, Edward's pretensions might have had some plausibility; it might have been conceived and understood how, in conformity with the general principles of feudalism, a female, though excluded in her own person from a certain office or possession, might still serve as a link for transmitting a right to it to her male descendant. She might be held only as it were to step aside and allow him to take her place in a function which her sex was deemed to disqualify her from discharging. But the real weakness and inadmissibility of Edward's claim lay in the necessity he was under of qualifying this principle upon which he founded it by a limitation entirely opposed to the genius and spirit of the feudal system, and which would have made the law of descent a self-contradictory mass of confusion and absurdity. For, if a female universally might transmit a right which she could not herself exercise or enjoy to her male descendant, then in the present case, before Edward, who was the grandson, through a female, of Philip IV., would come all the existing and possible male descendants of the three subsequent kings, Louis X., Philip V., and Charles IV., all of whom left daughters, though no sons. To this conclusion the principle upon which Edward took his stand, stated broadly and without limitation, would incontrovertibly have led. He therefore drew an ingenious distinction, and maintained his own right as the son of the daughter of Philip IV. to be preferable to that of the son of any daughter of any of the kings that had since reigned, on the ground that he alone had been born in the lifetime of his grandfather. The novelty and gratuitous nature of this assumption would alone have formed its sufficient answer and refutation. But it was fraught with the most absurd and inconvenient consequences. If there be one principle which more than another may be said to belong to the essence of the feudal system of descent, it is that the position and rights of a line in relation to other lines are not to

be affected by the date of the birth of any individual forming a link of it. Thus, no priority of birth can enable a nephew to come in before a son. So absolutely does this principle operate, that, even if there be no son in existence at the time of the death of a married man, his next relation does not inherit, or only inherits conditionally, till the time has passed within which it is possible that his widow should bring him a son. We had an instance in the case of the descent of the English crown on the death of the late king, William IV., when the present queen assumed the government at first only as it were provisionally, or with reservation of the rights of any possible unborn cousin. But the claim set up to the crown of France by Edward III., on the death of Charles IV., would have contravened this essential principle in the most flagrant and wholesale manner. It would have excluded in his favour more than half a dozen lines, all otherwise entitled to come in before that to which he belonged—those, namely, of the descendants, actual or possible, of the two daughters of Charles IV., of the four daughters of Philip V., and of the daughter of Louis X., all of which kings had reigned since his ancestor Philip IV. And this transposition it would have made permanently; these seven lines would all have been extruded out of their proper places by his for ever, or at any rate until some one of them, possibly the last of all, should be again suddenly lifted over the heads of all the rest, and made the first, by the operation of the same strange principle which Edward contended had now produced that effect in his favour.

Strange as were the principles or grounds upon which Edward advanced his claim to the French crown, his means of enforcing it seemed at least proportionally inadequate, and his chances of success still more slight and visionary. It was not a case of the heads of two great national parties, dividing between them the adherence and support of the community. Edward had no party in France; the kingdom the succession to which was disputed was wholly with his opponent. The English crown had even been stripped in the course of the last

century and a half of the greater part of the territories which it anciently possessed in France. Bretagne, Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine had all been wrested from it in the disastrous reign of John; and the loss of Poitou had followed in that of his equally unfortunate son Henry III. Of all the vast continental possessions of that great king the second Henry, there remained only the Duchy of Aquitaine or Guienne; and even that had fallen more than once into the hands of the French monarchs, and the prevalent popular feeling was probably already more French than English. Edward's bold project, therefore, was nothing less than to effect the conquest of France by the sole force of England; and that, too, while he had already upon his hands the war with Scotland, the object of which was also the subjugation of that kingdom, and the annexation of its crown to his own. The latter scheme, indeed, he found himself obliged to abandon soon after he had involved himself in his contest with France. But Scotland continued, nevertheless, for a time to divide his attention, if not his ambition; and at least, it may be said, to occupy his left arm.

Strangest of all was the measure of success he attained. In September, 1339, he entered France from Flanders, with a small army of fifteen thousand men, and immediately proceeded to lay waste the country. In January following, by the advice of his ally Jacob von Artaveldt, the famous brewer of Ghent, and leader of the democratic interest in Flanders, he publicly assumed the title of King of France, and quartered the French lilies with the English lions. On the 24th of June, 1340, he obtained a great naval victory over the fleet of Philip off Blakenberg. Hostilities were then for some time suspended: but arms were resumed in the summer of 1345 with much more formidable preparations on both sides. On the 26th of August, 1346, was won the ever memorable victory of Creci by seven or eight thousand English from a hundred or a hundred and twenty thousand French, in which eighty of the enemy's banners were captured, while in the carnage of that and the following

day above thirty thousand of them were slain, including twelve hundred knights and eleven persons of princely rank, among the rest the aged John, King of Bohemia, from whom the Princes of Wales are said, though doubts have been lately cast upon the old story, to have borrowed their plume of three ostrich feathers, with the motto *Ich dien* (I serve). The young Prince of Wales, called the Black Prince from the colour of his armour, shared, at any rate, among the foremost, boy as he was (he had just entered his fifteenth year), in the peril and glory of the day. Assisted by the Earls of Warwick and Oxford, he commanded the first division of the little army which bore the brunt of the battle. The king himself remained with the reserve. Pressed by the multitude of the enemy, "they with the prince," says Froissart, "sent a messenger to the king, who was on a little windmill hill. Then the knight said to the king, Sir, the Earl of Warwick and the Earl of Oxford, Sir Reynold Cobham, and other such as be about the prince your son, are fiercely fought withal and are sore handled; wherefore they desire you that you and your battle will come and aid them; for if the Frenchmen increase, as they doubt they will, your son and they shall have much ado. Then the king said, Is my son dead or hurt, or on the earth felled? No, Sir, quoth the knight; but he is hardly matched; wherefore he hath need of your aid. Well, said the king, return to him, and to them that sent you hither, and say to them that they send no more to me for any adventure that falleth, as long as my son is alive; and also say to them that they suffer him this day to win his spurs; for, if God be pleased, I will this journey* be his, and the honour thereof, and to them that be about him." The king's answer, when it was brought to them, only gave new life and courage to the heroic combatants. "This Saturday," the old chronicler further writes, "the Englishmen never departed fro their battles for chasing of any man, but kept still their field, and ever defended themself against all such as came to assail them. This battle ended about even-

* Day.

song time. On this Saturday, when the night was come, and that the Englishmen heard no more noise of the Frenchmen, then they reputed themself to have the victory, and the Frenchmen to be discomfited, slain, and fled away. Then they made great fires, and lighted up torches and candles, because it was very dark. Then the king availed * down from the little hill whereas he stood, and of all that day then his helm came never off on his head. Then he went with all his battle to his son the prince, and embraced him in his arms and kissed him, and said, Fair son, God give you good perseverance: ye are my good son: thus ye have acquitted you nobly: ye are worthy to keep a realm. The prince inclined himself to the earth, honouring the king his father. This night they thanked God for their good adventure, and made no boast thereof; for the king would that no man should be proud, or make boast, but every man humbly to thank God." As for Philip of Valois, he had only been able to escape with his life from this disastrous field. "In the evening," says Froissart, "the French king, who had left about him no mo than a threescore persons, one and other, whereof Sir John of Hainault was one, who had remounted once the king, for his horse was slain with an arrow, then he said to the king, Sir, depart hence, for it is time; lese † not yourself wilfully; if ye have loss at this time, ye shall recover it again another season. And so he took the king's horse by the bridle, and led him away in a manner per force. Then the king rode till he came to the castle of La Broyes; the gate was closed, because it was by this time dark. Then the king called the captain, who came to the walls, and said, Who is it that calleth there this time of night? Then the king said, Open your gate quickly, for this is the fortune of France. The captain knew that it was the king, and opened the gate, and let down the bridge. Then the king entered, and he had with him but five barons, Sir John of Hainault, Sir Charles of Montmorency, the Lord of Beauvieu, the Lord Daubigny, and the Lord

* Descended † Lose, ruin.

of Montford. The king would not tarry there, but drank and departed thence about midnight; and so rode by such guides as knew the country, till he came in the morning to Amiens, and there he rested."

Within two months after the defeat and rout of the French at Creci, another great victory broke the power of the Scots. As soon as King David found Edward fairly engaged in his continental war, he made preparations for crossing the borders. Setting out from Perth at the head of an army of three thousand men-at-arms, and thirty thousand others mounted on hackneys, he advanced by Edinburgh and Roxburgh, entered Cumberland, took the pile, or castle, of Liddel, and then, burning and wasting as he passed, directed his course into the bishopric. The energetic English king allowed no one of his family to be idle, any more than himself, and seems to have made it a principle to accustom his sons at the earliest possible age to at least the consciousness of the duties of their high position, and the sense if not the actual exercise of authority and power; he had left the nominal guardianship of the kingdom in the hands of his second son Lionel, a boy only eight years old; the actual charge and direction of affairs he had intrusted to his queen, the admirable Philippa. In those days, when the chivalrous spirit was at its height, heroism was the virtue of both sexes, as well as of all classes; a few years before this, the principal military personage that had figured in a war for the possession of the duchy of Bretagne was the famous Jane, Countess de Montfort; while her husband, one of the rival claimants, lay fast bound in a French prison, she took what would have been his place in the command of fortresses, at the head of armies, and in the thick of battles;* and now Queen

* When besieged in Hennebon by Charles of Blois, "the Countess herself," says Froissart, "ware harness on her body, and rode on a great courser fro street to street, desiring her people to make good defence; and she caused damozelles and other women to cut short their kirtles, and to carry stones, and pots full of chalk, to the walls, to be cast down to their enemies. This lady did there an hardy enter-

Philippa was to do the same thing in the absence of Edward. The English force that had been hurriedly assembled to meet the Scots amounted to a body of fifteen or sixteen thousand men, and a considerable part of it was composed of the clergy of the northern counties—the class of persons that could be most easily spared or got at, and quite as ready and as apt for the work to be done as any others. "The queen of England," says Froissart, "who desired to defend her country, came to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and there tarried for her men, who came daily fro all parts. When the Scots knew that the Englishmen assembled at Newcastle, they drew thitherward, and their couriers came running before the town; and at their returning they brent certain small hamlets thereabout, so that the smoke thereof came into the town of Newcastle; some of the Englishmen would a issued out to have fought with them that made the fires, but the captains would not suffer them to issue out." The two armies, however, at last encountered, on the 17th of October, at Nevil's Cross, in the neighbourhood of the city of Durham. On the English side, after the divisions were all drawn up in array—the first under the command of the Bishop of Durham, the second under that of the Archbishop of York, the third under that of the Bishop of London, the fourth under that of the Arch-

prise; she mounted up to the height of a tower to see how the Frenchmen were ordered without; she saw how that all the lords and other people of the host were all gone out of their field to the assault; then she took again her courser, armed as she was, and caused three hundred men a horseback to be ready, and she went with them to another gate, whereas there was not assault; she issued out, and her company, and dashed into the French lodgings, and cut down tents and set fire in their lodgings; she found no defence there, but a certain of varlets and boys, who ran away." On another occasion, in a sea-fight, we are told, "the Countess that day was worth a man; she had the heart of a lion, and had in her hand a sharp glaive, wherewith she fought fiercely."

bishop of Canterbury, each warlike prelate, however, having a lay lord as his coadjutor—"the queen," Froissart informs us, "went fro battle to battle, desiring them to do their devoir,* to defend the honour of her lord the King of England, and, in the name of God, every man to be of good heart and courage, promising them that, to her power, she would remember them as well, or better, as though her lord the king were there personally. Then the queen departed fro them, recommending them to God and to Saint George. Then, anon after, the battles of the Scots began to set forward, and in like wise so did the Englishmen; then the archers began to shoot on both parties; the shots of the Scots endured but a short space, but the archers of England shot fiercely, so that when the battles approached there was a hard battle; they began at nine and endured till noon. The Scots had great axes, sharp and hard, and gave with them many great strokes; howbeit, finally the Englishmen obtained the place and victory." The slaughter was considerable on both sides, but far the greatest on that of the Scots, fifteen thousand of whom, including many of their chief nobility, were left dead on the field. The greatest loss of all, however, was the capture of their young and gallant king. Refusing to fly, he had, after receiving two dangerous wounds from arrows, one of which pierced his head, been dragged or fallen from his horse; but still he fought on; till at last, overpowered by numbers, he was disarmed and carried off by John Copland, a gentleman of Northumberland, who did not, however, secure his prize without a violent struggle, in which the king, deprived of his sword, wounded him with his gauntlet. David Bruce remained in captivity in England for more than ten years.

Meanwhile Edward was engaged abroad in the memorable siege of Calais, the garrison of which, after a blockade of nearly a year, was forced to surrender by famine, on the 4th of August, 1347. All our readers are no doubt familiar with the scene of the appearance in the English camp of Eustace de St. Pierre and his five fellow-

* Duty.

townsmen, come to offer themselves, barefoot and bare-headed, and with halters about their necks, as sacrifices to appease the anger of their long-baffled conqueror, in which Queen Philippa again shines forth so nobly. The story rests upon the authority of Froissart, but has no air of improbability or even of much fanciful embellishment. When Sir Walter Manny, we are told, "presented these burgesses to the king, they kneeled down, and held up their hands and said, 'Gentle king, behold here, we six, who were burgesses of Calais, and great merchants, we have brought to you the keys of the town and of the castle, and we submit ourself clearly into your will and pleasure, to save the residue of the people of Calais, who have suffered great pain: Sir, we beseech your grace to have mercy and pity on us through your high nobless.' Then all the earls and barons, and other that were there, wept for pity. The king looked felly on them, for greatly he hated the people of Calais for the great damages and displeasures they had done him on the sea before. Then he commanded their heads to be stricken off. Then every man required the king for mercy, but he would hear no man in that behalf. Then Sir Walter of Manny said, 'Ah, noble king, for God's sake, refrain your courage; ye have the name of sovereign nobless, therefore now do not a thing that should blemish your renown, nor to give cause to some to speak of you villainy; every man will say it is a great cruelty to put to death such honest* persons, who by their own wills put themself into your grace to save their country.' Then the king wried away from him, and commanded to send for the hangman, and said, 'They of Calais had caused many of my men to be slain; wherefore these shall die in like wise.' The queen, being great with child, kneeled down, and sore weeping said, 'Ah! gentle sir, sith I passed the sea in great peril, I have desired nothing of you: therefore now I humbly require† you, in the honour of the son of the Virgin Mary, and for the love of me, that ye will take mercy of these six burgesses.' The king beheld the queen, and stood still in a study a

* Honourable. † Request.

space, and then said, 'Ah, dame, I would ye had been as now in some other place; ye make such request to me that I cannot deny you; wherefore I give them to you to do your pleasure with them.' Then the queen caused them to be brought into her chamber, and made the halters to be taken fro their necks, and caused them to be new clothed, and gave them their dinner at their leisure; and then she gave each of them six nobles, and made them to be brought out of the host in safeguard, and set at their liberty." Calais, thus won, remained an English town for more than two centuries—till it was lost in the reign of Mary, in the year 1558.

The remaining course of the war with France may be very summarily sketched. After the fall of Calais a succession of armistices or truces suspended hostilities for about six years. Meanwhile King Philip had died in 1350, and been succeeded by his eldest son John. By this time Edward had come to perceive how little impression his brilliant but insulated successes had made upon the real strength of his adversary—how little a way—or, rather, no way at all—he had advanced towards the conquest of France by the mere winning of a great battle or two, and the capture and retention of a single town. In the end of the year 1353, therefore, he renewed more formally an offer which he had already made to Philip, of renouncing his claim to the French crown on condition of being acknowledged as sovereign of Guienne, Poitou, and the other territories in France which the English kings had hitherto held as vassals. The negotiations consumed some time, but ended in nothing: several months were then spent in preparations for the renewal of the war; at last, in October, 1355, the Black Prince, who had been for some years intrusted with the government of Guienne, took the field at the head of an army of sixty thousand men, with which, advancing from his capital of Bordeaux, he made a circuit through Armagnac and Languedoc, spreading devastation wherever he went, and laying, it is affirmed, more than five hundred towns and villages in ashes in the space of seven weeks. In the summer of the next year he pro-

ceeded to repeat the same experiment in a different direction: this time the force with which he set out amounted to only about twelve thousand men, and with these he boldly crossed the Garonne, and penetrated into the heart of France. For some weeks he pursued his destructive course without opposition; but, at last, when making for Poictiers, and within a short distance of that city, he suddenly found himself enveloped by a French army, commanded by King John, more than four times as numerous as his own. Then, on the 19th of September, was fought the battle of Poictiers, making that other name worthy to be associated for ever in story and in song with Creci, of which both the extremity of peril and the glorious deliverance were now more than renewed. The French host was beaten back at all points, and in the end utterly routed, scattered, and annihilated by Prince Edward and his handful of English. Most of the chief nobility of France were either slain or captured: King John himself fell into the hands of the victors. The illustrious captive was treated with noble courtesy both by the Black Prince and by the king his father; but, although the extraordinary fortune of Edward had now placed in his power the persons of the kings of both the countries which he had so long been endeavouring to subdue, it soon appeared that he was still as far from the conquest of either as ever. King David was liberated by a treaty concluded in 1357; and in 1360 peace was made with France by the treaty of Bretigny, in which Edward renounced his claim both to the French crown and to the possession of Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, and Maine, on condition of being acknowledged the full sovereign of Guienne, Poitou, and Ponthieu. This treaty set King John at liberty; but three years after, on finding himself unable to pay the instalments due upon the sum that had been agreed upon for his ransom—three million gold crowns—he honourably returned to his imprisonment; and he died in England, in the palace of the Savoy, London, in the beginning of April, 1364. His eldest son immediately mounted the throne of France as Charles V. Charles, from the com-

mencement of his reign, had betrayed a disposition to extricate himself as soon as an opportunity should occur from the obligations of the treaty of Bretigny, the renunciations stipulated by which had never, in fact, been actually made on either side. Meanwhile the course of circumstances favoured his views. The King of England was no longer the man he had been either in ardour or in energy; his heroic son had also fallen into ill health, the effect of exposure in an expedition, to be lamented on every account, which he had made in the winter of 1366-7 into Spain, to assist Pedro the Cruel in his contest for the throne of Castile with his illegitimate brother Enrique; and much disaffection had been excited both in Poitou and Guienne by the severe exactions of the English government, rendered necessary by the expenses of this expedition, and by the debts incurred in the late war. In the beginning of the year 1369 Charles openly took his ground by summoning the Black Prince, as Duke of Aquitaine, to appear in his court as a vassal, and answer the complaints of the people of that duchy. The most memorable event of the short war that followed was the sad and atrocious massacre by the English prince of the inhabitants of Limoges, the capital of his country of the Limosin, after he had recovered the town, which had a short time previously been taken by, or had given itself up to, the French general, the Duke of Berri. "It was great pity," says Froissart, "to see the men, women, and children that kneeled down on their knees before the prince for mercy, but he was so inflamed with ire that he took no heed to them, so that none was heard, but all put to death as they were met withal, and such as were nothing culpable: there was no pity taken of the poor people, who wrought never no manner of treason, yet they bought it dearer than the great personages, such as had done the evil and trespass. There was not so hard a heart within the city of Limoges, an if he had any remembrance of God, but that wept piteously for the great mischief that they saw before their eyen; for mo than three thousand men, women, and children were slain and beheaded that day. God have mercy on

their souls! for I trow they were martyrs." Disease by this time seems to have debilitated and perverted the very moral nature of the prince. He was soon after obliged to sheathe his sword, and come home to England, where he lingered, in such debility and suffering as allowed him to take very little actual share in public affairs, although his name remained influential, till his death on the 8th of June, 1376. The war in France, meanwhile, had prospered so ill, that by the year 1374 Edward, who had retained and still used the title of king of that country, had lost all the territory he had ever possessed there, with the exception only of Calais, Bordeaux, and Bayonne, and a few detached localities between those two last-named towns. No peace, however, was ever made while Edward lived. After the death of the Black Prince the chief ascendancy in the government was acquired by his younger brother John of Gaunt (that is, Ghent, the place of his birth), Duke of Lancaster. The king himself, who had lost Queen Philippa in 1369, had, in the weakness of old age, sunk under the dominion of a female favourite, Alice Perrers or Piers. She was a married woman, and had been lady of the bedchamber to Queen Philippa; and she is said to have been eminently distinguished by her wit and talent, as well as by her beauty, an influence to which Edward had all his life been extremely sensible, although in his better days he had at least never allowed it to master the soldier or the king. This artful woman, however, soon acquired so much power over him, and abused it with so much insolence, that shortly before the death of the Black Prince the parliament had passed an ordinance declaring that, whereas complaint had been made before the king that some women had pursued causes and actions in the king's courts by way of maintainance, and for hire and reward, which thing displeased the king, the king forbade that any woman should do it hereafter, "and in particular Alice Perrers, under the penalty of forfeiting all that the said Alice can forfeit, and of being banished out of the realm." Alice, notwithstanding, still remained about the king's person;

while Edward, wasting with disease, lay, to quote the words of Stow, "neglecting the benefit of time that God had given him, like as he should never have died; trusting the fond fables of the oft-named Alice when she affirmed he should recover his health, so that at that time he talked rather of hawking and hunting than of any thing that pertained to the saving of his soul; only he granted pardon of death for offences throughout his kingdom to the inhabitants." "Being now," continues this old chronicler, "suddenly taken with the day of his death, he began to have manifest signs thereof; what Alice Piers then did any man may judge, although we set them not down in writing; for, as soon as she saw the king had set foot within death's door, she bethought her of flight; yet before she went, that all men might perceive that she loved not the king for himself, but for that which was his, she took the rings from his fingers which for the royalty of his majesty he was wont to wear. Thus yielding him such thanks for his benefits, she bade him adieu, and so withdrew herself from him. The king, keeping thus at the point of death, was left not only of her the said Alice Piers, but of other the knights and esquires, who had served him, allured more with his gifts than his love. Amongst a thousand, there was only present at that time a certain priest (other of his folks applying the spoil of what they could lay hands on), who, lamenting the king's misery, and inwardly touched with grief of heart for that, amongst so many counsellors which he had, there was none that would minister to him the word of life, came boldly unto him, and admonished him to lift up the eyes as well of his body as of his heart unto God, and with sighs to ask mercy of him, whose majesty he well knew he had grievously offended; whereupon the king, listening to the words of the priest, although he had a little before wanted the use of his tongue, yet then taking strength to him, seemed to speak what was in his mind; and then, what for weakness of his body, contrition of his heart, and sobbing for his sins, his voice and speech failed him, and, scarce half pronouncing the word Jesu, he with this last word made

an end of his speech, and yielded up the ghost." He died at Richmond in Surrey (then called Shine or Sheen), about seven o'clock on the evening of Sunday the 21st of June, 1377; leaving the throne to his grandson, Richard II., son of Edward the Black Prince, by his wife Joan, called the Fair Maid of Kent, the daughter of his great uncle Edmund, Earl of Kent, and previously the wife of Thomas Holland, who in her right had assumed the title of Earl of Kent in 1360, but died in the end of the same year, upon which his widow immediately gave her hand to the Prince of Wales.

The children borne to Edward III. by his wife Queen Philippa were, Edward the Black Prince, in 1330; Isabel, who became the wife of Ingelram de Coucy, in 1332; Joan de la Tour, in 1335; William of Hatfield, in 1336; Lionel, afterwards Duke of Clarence, in 1338; Blanche de la Tour, who died in childhood in 1340; John of Ghent, afterwards Duke of Lancaster, in 1340; Edmund, afterwards Duke of York, in 1341; Mary, afterwards Duchess of Bretagne, probably in 1342; Margaret, afterwards Countess of Pembroke, in 1346; William, in 1349; and Thomas, afterwards Duke of Gloucester, in 1355.

It has been observed, in regard to Edward III., by Sir James Mackintosh, that "though his victories left few lasting acquisitions, yet they surrounded the name of his country with a lustre which produced strength and safety; which perhaps also gave a loftier tone to the feelings of England, and a more vigorous activity to her faculties." "During a reign of fifty years," it is added, "Edward III. issued writs of summons, which are extant to this day, to assemble seventy parliaments or great councils: he thus engaged the pride and passions of the parliament and the people so deeply in support of his projects of aggrandisement, that they became his zealous and enthusiastic followers. His ambition was caught by the nation, and men of the humblest station became proud of his brilliant victories. To form and keep up this state of public temper was the mainspring of his domestic administration, and satisfactorily explains the

internal tranquillity of England during the forty years of his effective reign. It was the natural consequence of so long and watchful a pursuit of popularity, that most grievances were redressed as soon as felt, that parliamentary authority was yearly strengthened by exercise, and that the minds of the turbulent barons were exclusively turned towards a share in their sovereign's glory. Quiet at home was partly the fruit of fame abroad."

Beyond that of most of our great men, has the fame of Wiclif* undergone fierce dispute within the last few years. From regarding him with reverence as "the Morning Star of the Reformation," it has come to be more than questioned whether he was a reformer at all, or whether a certain superior craft was not the motive that incited him throughout his career. It will be convenient to leave the consideration of this matter till we have looked at the leading events of his life, when we shall be better prepared to estimate his character. To assume a controversial tone—as it would be scarcely possible to avoid doing if we entered into the discussion of the various views and statements that have been put forth respecting him—is not at all our intention. We

* There are about twenty variations of the mode of spelling the name. Wiclif, Wicliffe, and Wycliffe are the most common modes. In strict propriety we ought to write *De* Wiclif.

have examined the several statements; we shall be content with expressing our own opinions.

There is some uncertainty about both the year and the place of John Wiclif's birth: the place which seems most probable, however, is a little village pleasantly situated near the junction of the rivers Greta and Tees, about six miles from Richmond in Yorkshire; the year 1324. What is known of his life commences with the year 1340, when he entered as a commoner at Queen's College, Oxford, then newly founded; his name is in the list of the first scholars. From Queen's he soon removed to Merton College, at that time highest in repute at the University; where he greatly distinguished himself. The theology taught at this period was that of the schoolmen, who, as Bacon afterwards said of them, "did, out of no great quantity of matter, spin out those laborious webs of learning which are extant in their books . . . admirable indeed for the fineness of the thread, but of no substance or profit." In this scholastic discipline Wiclif became so deeply versed, that his contemporary Knighton, a bitter enemy and a competent judge, declared he was without an equal (*in scholasticis disciplinis incomparabilis.*) Nor was he skilled in this alone; he appears to have pursued, with almost equal success, the whole round of moral, philosophical, and legal studies as then taught. According to the standard of his time he was an eminently learned man.

The earliest of Wiclif's publications, so far as is known, was written in 1356; it was first printed in 1840. The work itself does not occupy more than fourteen small pages, and is of little value on its own account, but deserving attention, as Wiclif's first work, written when he was thirty-two years old, a period in a man's life when his character is fixed and his tone of thought determined, and when consequently the opinions he has formed will almost certainly colour the actions of the remainder of his life. We may therefore spend a few minutes in looking at this production and at the circumstances which called it forth. In 1349 a fearful pestilence occurred in England. It had marched slowly from the east,

ravaging every country it passed through. Nearly the whole of Europe was visited by it. The voice of the terrified nations affirmed that only a tithe of the human race had escaped; that all children born since it were deficient in the number of their teeth; that even the brute creation was not spared, their corpses being so many as to fill the air with a horrible taint. So severe indeed was the visitation, that, in this country at least, it long served as an epoch from which legal documents were dated. The Scriptures told that pestilence had of old been the scourge wherewith an offended God had punished the sins of the nations; and the people devoutly believed that this had been sent for such a purpose. The plague ceased, but sober men saw with sorrow that the rulers and the priests had not heeded the heavenly warning, and to the faithful the wickedness that stalked abroad seemed like an awful defiance of the divine power. Under such circumstances and prompted by some such feelings was it that Wiclif wrote 'The Last Age of the Church.' Taking for his guide the prophecies of Abbot Joachim, a mystic who lived in the twelfth century, and combining therewith a cabalistic computation of the Scriptural prophecies, and turning also to the verses of the Sybil, he thought the end of the world was at hand, and announced its speedy dissolution. He was mistaken, and lived to see that he was mistaken. But although his prophecy failed, there is much in the tract that shows the man as he then was, and throws a bright light on his future career. It proves that he had thus early come to have identified in his mind religion with the whole life of man, to look upon it as reaching to all his duties and employments, that he, indeed, regarded it as the animating principle of the whole of the political and social institutions. It proves that he had cast an anxious look around him, and, dissatisfied with the state of the world, he was more dissatisfied with the ministers of religion, whom he boldly and broadly charges with a disregard of their higher functions, and an indulgence in a greedy and unholy rapacity. It may in a word be said, that the object of the tract is to declare the troubles that

will fall upon the church and the world, on account of the simony of the priests, and the encroachments and exactions of the papal power.

These feelings were brought out more strongly a few years later. In 1360 he engaged in what a recent historian calls "a fierce but ridiculous controversy with the different orders of friars." To the stern moral dignity of Wiclif the controversy did not seem a ridiculous one, and indeed it hardly seems to us more ridiculous than that of Luther with Tetzel and the Dominicans. These friars had been established in England for more than a century, and had obtained considerable influence. Although vowing poverty, they had acquired great wealth; under the guise of sanctity they had concealed, it was affirmed, gross depravity. They had almost from the first been at enmity with the secular clergy, and were especially obnoxious to the University of Oxford. Before Wiclif, they met with a steady opponent in Fitz-Ralph, chancellor of Oxford, and afterwards Bishop of Armagh, who carried his charges against them to the papal throne. Fitz-Ralph died in 1360, from which time Wiclif pursued the war fiercely, and only ceased to prosecute it with his life. Of the works he produced against them at this period it is not certain that any remain. Two pieces, one which he presented to the court of Richard II., and the other which seems to have been written a year or two before his death, were printed by Dr. James in 1608, and serve to show the nature of his quarrel. It was not, as Dr. Lingard implies, merely a charge against them for depending upon alms, which Wiclif asserted to be repugnant to the Gospel; though upon that he strongly insisted, but rather that they misled the unwary, by holding out to them false hopes of pardon, and by their untrue representations obtained their property from them, leading them to trust to these worthless pardons thus purchased by money, instead of setting before them the great Gospel truth. He charges them with doing this that they might obtain the wealth of their dupes. They become, he says in his bitter and plain-spoken language, "confessors, preachers, and rulers

commonly of all men, and they teachen them not their foul sins, for winning of stinking muck and lusts of their own bellies, that is foul worm's meat and a sack of dirt." And elsewhere, "St. James directs to visit the fatherless and motherless children, and widows in their tribulation, and to keep man unfouled from the world, that is, from pride, covetise, and vanities. But friars do all the contrary, for they visiten rich men, and by hypocrisy getten falsely their alms, and withdraw from poor men; but they visiten rich widows for their muck, and maken them to be buried at the Friars, but poor men come not in there." This was Wiclif's quarrel, and this continued to be his quarrel with them, that while intent only on driving a lucrative and disgraceful trade, they were deceiving the souls of those who trusted to them: no ridiculous controversy that, to a man of Wiclif's mind! As he said, so doubtless he thought—"Friars be worse enemies and slayers of man's soul, than is the cruel fiend of hell by himself. For they under the habit of holiness lead men and nourish them in sin, and be special helpers of the fiend to strangle men's souls." It is not our business to palliate the violence of Wiclif's language, but only to represent his feelings, and a cold statement in the calm phraseology of our day would poorly express the vehemence of his indignation. These words were not probably written till long afterwards, but these were no doubt his sentiments then. His controversy with the friars marks the commencement of his career as a reformer.

The year following that in which he engaged in this controversy he was chosen master of Baliol College, and presented to the living of Fillingham, a valuable benefice in the diocese of Lincoln. Four years afterwards he was appointed warden of Canterbury Hall, by Archbishop Islip, the founder of that college.*

* In the Gentleman's Mag. 1841, an attempt was made to show that the warden of Canterbury Hall was another John Wiclif (or *Wiclive*). The writer proves that there was another of that name, then rector of Mayfield in Sussex, for which living he was indebted to the friendship of Islip,

Originally the archbishop had appointed Woodhall, a friar, to be warden, and had founded eleven scholarships, three to be held by monks, and eight by clerks, or secular clergymen. At this time the dispute between these orders was at its height, and the peace and security of the infant establishment were soon disturbed by the bickerings of its inmates. To such a length were they carried, that Islip felt himself called upon to interfere, and he determined to prevent the probability of a recurrence of the quarrel by removing the monks, and substituting for them seculars. Islip did not live long after this change; and, on the succession of Langham to the vacant see, Woodhall appealed to him, as visitor of Canterbury Hall, to remove Wiclif, who, he affirmed, had procured his appointment at a time when Islip was incapable from sickness of judging aright. He was successful; but Wiclif in his turn appealed from the new archbishop to the pope; his holiness, however, ratified the decision of Langham, but not till after a delay of nearly four years. Meanwhile Wiclif had done nothing to propitiate the papal power, but he had done some things to offend it. In 1365 Urban V. renewed the papal claim to a domination over the sovereignty of England, which had been conceded to the holy see by John; and he demanded the payment of an annual tribute of a thousand marks, together with the arrears of the last thirty years. Edward III. was little disposed either to acknowledge his subjection or to pay the money. He submitted the claim of the pontiff to his parliament, which on the next day, and without dissent from laymen or clergy, declared his submission to the pope to be beyond the power of any sovereign to render, and engaged,

but he does not succeed in identifying him with the warden of Canterbury; if the wardens of Canterbury and Baliol could be shown to be different persons, it would, however, remove some difficulties that had been pointed out long before this curious discovery was made (see Vaughan's 'Life of Wycliffe,' i. 272, note). Wiclif nowhere mentions his connexion with Canterbury Hall himself, but it seems to be referred to by his contemporaries.

if the demand were persisted in, to oppose it with the whole power of the nation. Urban was intimidated by an opposition so much more resolute than he expected. A monk, however, published a tract, in which he re-asserted the right of the pontiff to the tribute, and ventured to declare, that England was justly forfeit on account of the non-payment of it; and hence he presumed to assert that the clergy were absolved from their subjection to the English king. To controvert his argument he challenged Wiclif by name. The reformer was not the man to submit quietly to such a challenge. He speedily replied to it, though, as he declared, he was not ignorant that the object of his antagonist was to involve him in difficulties with the pope, and to obtain for himself, and his order, the papal favour. Wiclif gives a statement of the debate in parliament, and of the reasons there adduced against the grant; and then, in his own name, shows that the papal claim, and the grant on which it was founded, were dishonest, and that therefore, as the conditions were bad, the consequences that were asserted to result logically from them were bad also. Wiclif in this tract calls himself the king's chaplain, and it is a proof of the eminence to which he had attained, that he should be singled out for this encounter, unless it arose from his prior controversy.

In 1368, before the dispute respecting the wardenship of Canterbury Hall was determined, Wiclif exchanged the rectory of Fillingham for that of Ludgershall, also in the diocese of Lincoln. After the award of the pontiff was received, Woodhall remained two years before he could obtain the king's confirmation, which was, it is said, then only procured by a bribe of two hundred marks. But another and more important dignity was at this time conferred upon Wiclif by the University. In 1372 he was elected Professor of Theology, and at the same time he took the degree of D.D. This is a most important period in his life. It is evident that he had already attained a high position in the esteem of those who were most competent to judge of his abilities, but it is probable that his election to this office may have arisen from their

gratitude for his services in opposition to the growing influence and power of the monks, and his fervid declaration against the continuous encroachment of the pope. But if it were for these less immediately *religious* services that he received the appointment of professor of divinity, it is not to be doubted but, in accordance with his repeatedly declared sentiments of the responsibility of the ministers of religion, he would address himself devoutly to the important duties of the office he had undertaken. He appears, indeed, from this time to have more earnestly and more rigorously set himself to the study of the Scriptures. In those days the Scriptures were not unknown to the teachers of religion, as has been sometimes asserted, but the knowledge of them does not appear to have been general or exact. Wiclif's quotations from them were now more frequent; his expositions of them always exhibited them as the ultimate rule. It is probable that from this time we may date the establishment of his main doctrinal views, and also his departure from the received theology. It is not possible in our brief space to extract from the works that appear to belong to this period, but we may say that, if they have been correctly dated, he now distinctly set forth those truths which caused him to be branded as a heretic. His lectures on the Decalogue afford striking proofs of the clearness and vigour of his powers, and exhibit his leading views of religion with much distinctness. These views were very different from those generally received, and must have excited much surprise —much enmity, and much deep attachment. As we shall have to speak of his opinions more hereafter, we may conveniently leave any further remarks upon them for the present.

The papal claims occupied much of the attention of Edward III., especially in the latter part of his reign. An embassy had been sent to the pope, Gregory XI., in 1373, respecting the appointment of bishops, the reservation of benefices, and other matters in which Edward and his parliament declared that the pontiff had largely encroached on the ancient customs. Some partial concessions were made, but the English king was far

from being satisfied with the extent of them, and it was resolved in 1374 to send another embassy. The name of Wiclif stands second on the list of commissioners, the first name being that of the Bishop of Bangor, who had been employed in the previous negotiation; with them were united five other persons. The conference was held at Bruges, where the papal nuncios met them. Wiclif appears to have stayed in this city from August, 1374, till July, 1376. What results were obtained are not exactly known. For Wiclif himself the consequences were probably of much importance. At this time, it will be remembered, the pope's residence was at Avignon, and the papal court had attained to a rather bad eminence. It is not probable that, with his strong feelings of the responsibility of the office of a minister of religion, Wiclif would become more attached to the dignitaries of the church from the closer intercourse he would now have with them. His visit to Bruges may have produced as strong an impression on his mind as was wrought on that of Luther by his journey to Rome. In fact, according to Dr. Vaughan, "his rebukes, which had hitherto been directed toward the head of the church but distantly and by implication, are applied in that quarter, soon after this time, with unsparing severity."

During his absence at Bruges the king marked his satisfaction with his conduct, by conferring on him the rectory of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, and a prebendal stall in the collegiate church of Westbury, in the diocese of Worcester. The principal commissioner, on the other hand, received his reward from the pope, who translated him to the see of Hereford, and a few years after to that of St. David's. A few months only elapsed after the return of Wiclif, when he was summoned to appear before a convocation to answer the charge of holding heretical doctrines. What was the exact nature of the heresies does not appear; they were probably not definitely stated, owing to a strange scene that occurred. The convocation was held at St. Paul's, February 19, 1377, and that edifice was crowded by the populace, as well as by the clergy, long before the reformer made his ap-

pearance. When he arrived it was between two of the most powerful nobles in the land, one the king's eldest surviving son, the celebrated John of Gaunt, the other Lord Percy, the Lord Marshal of England. With Gaunt Wiclif had probably become acquainted at Bruges, for, during his stay there, the duke had visited that city, as ambassador, to conduct some negotiations with the minister of the French monarch; and no doubt Wiclif, from his official position, would have some intercourse with him. The support of the duke and of Lord Percy arose most likely from political rather than religious motives. The dignity of these nobles scarcely sufficed to procure an approach through the crowd to Courtney, bishop of London, who presided on the occasion. Some slight tumult occurred in making their way, which, being perceived by the bishop, he called out "Lord Percy, if I had known beforehand what masteries you would have kept in the church, I would have stopt you out from coming hither." To this rough salutation the Duke of Lancaster replied, "He shall keep such masteries here, though you say nay." Percy desired Wiclif "to sit down, as he had many things to answer to, and needed to repose himself;" but the bishop declared it to be unreasonable that one cited before his ordinary should sit, and peremptorily affirmed that "he must and should stand." Gaunt replied that Percy's motion was but reasonable, and continued, "As for you, my Lord Bishop, who are grown so proud and arrogant, I will bring down the pride not only of you, but of all the prelacy in England." The bishop told him to "do his worst;" and after some further bickering, the duke vowed that sooner than submit to such words he would "pluck the bishop by the hair out of the church." The bystanders had been growing excited by these outrageous proceedings; and now, fancying the duke would proceed to violent acts, they rose in a body for their bishop, and the duke and his followers were compelled to a speedy flight. The Londoners, not content with driving the duke and his friends from the church, assembled in a tumultuous mob and proceeded to his palace, but he had made his escape, and they con-

tented themselves with reversing his arms. They then proceeded to the house of Lord Percy, which they damaged, but they did not succeed in finding its owner: an unlucky priest, however, whom they found, and imagined to be Percy in an assumed habit, they hung. The mayor and aldermen were afterwards removed from their offices for not suppressing the riot, but none of the rioters appear to have been punished. It does not seem that Wiclif took any part in these discreditable proceedings, nor that the mob attempted to injure him. Of course, he would be far more obnoxious than ever to his opponents, and from this period they appear to have pursued him with more determined hate.

After this meeting Wiclif devoted himself to his parochial duties, but in a few months he was summoned from them to answer new charges. Probably some of his more inveterate enemies had forwarded to Rome statements of his heterodox notions, for on the 22nd of May, 1377, the pope issued four bulls against him, addressed respectively to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the University of Oxford, and with these was sent a letter to the king, stating that information had been received from creditable persons that John Wiclif, rector of Lutterworth, and professor of theology, had been actively engaged in propagating certain detestable and erroneous notions utterly subversive of the church. These bulls authorise the incarceration of Wiclif, and his examination upon the various matters stated: the results of the examination were to be transmitted to the pope for his determination. The charges preferred are probably nearly similar to those that would have been brought forward at the convocation but for the unexpected disturbances. These charges, or "conclusions" as they are called, show that the pontiff was most moved by their appearing to question his pre-eminence. They state that Wiclif denied the political supremacy of the pope, and asserted that the whole race of men agreeing had not power to ordain such supremacy—that it was beyond the power of God himself to confer it. That he denied the efficacy alike of benediction and of excommu-

nication assumed by priests; that absolutions are valueless except as they agree with the law of God; and that the spiritual power of the ministers of religion does not differ in degree. These bulls vary only in trifling particulars. They impress alike on all to whom they are sent the urgent necessity of extirpating such detestable heresies, which they liken to those of Ganduno and Marcillus, condemned fifty years before by Pope John XXII. These men opposed the papal see on political grounds; and it is plain from the tone of the bulls that it was the attack on his temporal authority that disconcerted Gregory. Before these documents could arrive Edward III. had ceased to live, and his decease afforded Wiclif a little breathing time. The other parties to whom they were addressed did not take any public proceedings in connexion with them till several months had elapsed. The University of Oxford seriously demurred at receiving the bull, and, when they had received it, took no steps for furthering the object of it. The Archbishop of Canterbury, however, had no such scruples; he addressed a letter to the Chancellor of Oxford, directing him to make inquiries respecting the errors referred to in the papal mandate, and to forward to him the result of his investigations, with his own judgment thereon, sealed with the University seal: he also directs him to cite Wiclif to appear at St. Paul's to answer the charges, on the thirtieth court-day from the 18th of December, 1377. Wiclif appeared not at St. Paul's, but at Lambeth; but the result was not more hurtful to him than on the previous occasion. Gaunt was no longer supreme in the court, but the reformer had now another friend there. The Dowager-Princess of Wales, the king's mother, at this time possessed much influence, and she used it on this occasion on Wiclif's behalf. The Londoners, too, appear to have been now as much opposed to the bishops as they had before been to Wiclif's friends. They attended, and, by their clamours against the proceedings, created much confusion; and before the tumult could be appeased, a messenger from the princess commanded the bishops to abstain from any decision injurious to

Wiclif; they, as Walsingham indignantly says, "became soft as oil in their speech; so were they stricken with fear, you would think them as a man who hears not, or one in whose mouth are no reproofs." Before this convocation was held Wiclif had circulated an answer to the papal "conclusions;" which, somewhat altered or corrected, he put in at his trial. These modifications, and his answers or explanations to the "conclusions," have been declared to be "quibbles and evasions unworthy of a sensible or of an honest man." But the proofs adduced by the reverend historian, especially as coming from one so learned in the theology of the schools, are strangely inadequate to sustain so grave a charge. The explanations are undoubtedly strained, but the conclusions are strained too, and the whole bears the appearance of a scholastic wrangle. It would not be worth while to examine these answers here, could we afford the space, but we must repeat that to us they appear anything but evasive, although not consistent with our modes of reasoning. It does not appear that Wiclif had really expressed his opinions in anything like the form they bear in the pope's mandate; they were "conclusions" gathered out of his writings. In judging Wiclif in this matter it should not be forgotten either, that the only authority for the paper ascribed to him is Walsingham, who was most unfriendly to him, and it may be not literally exact. Wiclif concludes his paper by assuring his judges that he is a true son of the church; that he has not advanced any opinions without warrant from Scripture and the writings of holy doctors, as he is ready to show; but that he is most willing to retract whatever can be proved to be erroneous. The answers were admitted as sufficient by the bishops, and he was dismissed with a warning to avoid in future such questionable matters. By Wiclif the result was considered as a triumph, and the warning disregarded. He was immediately afterwards attacked on the subject of the papal infallibility by an anonymous writer whom he calls a "Motley divine" (Mixtus theologus), who appears to have been not a little startled by Wiclif's daring, and in

consequence to have thought it necessary to reassert the authority and infallibility of the pontiff in the strongest terms. Among other things he declared, according to Wiclif, that as the pope could not commit mortal sin, whatever he ordained must be just. To which Wiclif replied, that if so, he might remove any book from the Scripture, and introduce any novelty in its place; and thus, making the very Scripture heresy, establish heresy in its stead. From this Wiclif advances to more direct and stronger attacks on a power so enormous and so capable of abuse, and urges the more influential classes to cast off so intolerable a thraldom. He attacks with equal vigour his other positions, but the full swell of his indignation is reserved for the impious declaration that the pope and clergy could as fully absolve from sin as the Almighty himself. It is evident that he had now arrived at the point when he was prepared to oppose to the utmost the papal power.

That this power would soon have been brought to bear upon him, if Gregory had lived, is not to be doubted, but he was saved by the breaking out of the "Great Schism of the West." Pope Gregory XI. died on the 27th of March, 1378, and while the Italian cardinals elected and obeyed Urban VI., those attached to the interests of France chose Clement VII. Urban was acknowledged in England, but he had too much employment at home to prosecute an English heretic. For the next three years, therefore, Wiclif was left undisturbed. He spent most part of this time at Lutterworth, diligently pursuing the course he had already commenced.

The comparative tranquillity in which he now found himself, he left not unimproved. He had now resolutely bent the whole of his energy against the doctrine of the pope's infallibility, and he gladly seized the opportunity of exhibiting the absurdity of the tenet, afforded by the rival claimants. His 'Schism of the Popes,' which he now published, is a keen piece of controversy, and from the circumstances must have been very effective at the time it was produced. All reserve is now cast aside in his attacks on the rival heads of the church, whom he

contrasts with Christ and his apostles, and assimilates to Simon Magus.

From this time it may be said that he left the consideration of the political bearings of the papal usurpation, and directed his attention to the religious aspect of it. Henceforth, indeed, his writings and teaching were almost entirely religious. Very much of the confusion respecting Wiclif's opinions at various periods, and the support they gained for him from different parties of influence in the country, has arisen from inattention to the ground on which he received that support. The commencement of his career was signalized by his attacks on the mendicant friars. At that time they were opposed, as they had long been, as interlopers by the secular clergy, and Wiclif was hailed as a powerful champion by them and by the University of Oxford. Their admiration of him arose from *party* considerations, though his dislike to the friars rested on a far wider basis. During the greater part of the reign of Edward III. the king and the parliament were engaged in a determined struggle against papal encroachments. It was prolonged through the whole of his reign and the greater part of the reign of his successor, before it terminated successfully for the English monarch. When so learned and able a clergyman stepped forth as an opponent of the pope's supremacy, it is not surprising that he should be received with welcome, and be firmly upheld by the sovereign and his advisers, so long as he confined himself to the *political* bearings of the subject; and if he exceeded those limits a little, it would not in such an age be taken much heed of. Again, when with a more earnest zeal he set his face against the corruptions of the clergy of all ranks—when he denounced as hirelings such as sought after "filthy lucre" and neglected the spiritual advancement of their charges, and pronounced them the most desperate of sinners, backed as his animadversions were by the purity and even austerity of his own life—he would be sure to obtain the suffrages of serious men of all classes, who would bitterly regret the contradiction between the lives and the profession of

such priests. Nor is this an imaginary sketch. It appears to have been exactly the course of events in his life and teaching. His doctrinal views were either not propagated, or they did not attract much attention till the latter part of his life. Then a devoted band rallied round him, and, when those who had used him for temporary purposes had cast him off, they clung to him with an ever growing intensity of affection.

Nothing is more manifest in tracing his opinions than the increasing attention he gave to the Scriptures. In his last years they were the test to which he brought every doctrine, almost every opinion, or matter of practice. As his regard for the Scriptures increased, his anxiety to impart a knowledge of them to others increased also. At this time, of course, the version used in the church was the Latin Vulgate. There had been at various times portions of the Old and New Testament translated into the Saxon and English languages, but no complete translation had, it is probable, been made. Wiclif resolved to enable his countrymen to read the Word of God in their own tongue—a noble resolution nobly performed. Aided no doubt by some of the learned disciples who now surrounded him, he diligently commenced his undertaking, and in due time completed it. Before the invention of printing the publication of a book was a very different matter to what it now is. The only mode of making known the contents of a work then was by transcribing and circulating many copies, and this was the way in which Wiclif published his Bible. That it was diligently circulated there can be no question—from the number of copies of it remaining; and from the certainty that he would be anxious to diffuse as widely as possible the authority to which he so constantly appealed, and on the acknowledgment of which the acceptance of his views depended.*

Wiclif's version was not made from the original Greek, but from the Vulgate, of which it is a faithful represen-

* It is said, on the authority of Sir Thomas More, who

tation. The language is firm and nervous, and was no doubt perfectly intelligible at the time it was written. But nearly five centuries have passed since then, and many changes have taken place in our English. There is however, even now, little difficulty in understanding it, if the uncouth spelling be disregarded, and it is read with the pronunciation of the northern counties, as we have ascertained in several trials with different listeners. The New Testament has been three times printed: by the Rev. J. Lewis, the author of his Life, in 1731; by the Rev. H. H. Baber, in 1810; and again, and more carefully, in Bagster's 'Hexapla,' 1841. This last work contains the six principal English translations from that of Wiclif to the Authorized Version; and it is interesting to trace the influence of Wiclif's on all the succeeding versions. Most who examine them in this work, as they stand side by side, will agree with Professor Blunt, that "on comparing it with the authorized version of King James, it will be found that the latter was hammered on Wiclif's anvil." Besides its vast importance in a higher point of view, there can be no doubt that Wiclif's translation of the Scriptures did very much to fix our language. Except Mandeville's 'Travels,' it was the first English prose work of any importance. Wiclif's Old Testament has never been printed—it has been spoken of for some years as in preparation for printing at the Clarendon Press.

But the translation and publication of the Scriptures was not the only object that occupied his thoughts. Among the plans he had devised for spreading abroad his views of truth, was the formation of a band of what he termed his "poor priests." Wiclif had assumed a plain coarse garb, and they were clad like him. Their

asserts that he had seen Bibles of an earlier date than Wiclif's, that the Scriptures had been translated long before his time, but although parts had been at different times translated, there is good reason to doubt whether any *complete* translation had been made. See an excellent summary of the information on the subject in the Introduction to Bagster's 'Hexapla,' p. 5 et seq.

duty was to go about instructing the poor in the truths of the Gospel. They were to be unencumbered by worldly goods themselves, and they were not to acquire wealth for their order. They had no benefices, and the reasons for it he explained in a tract he promulgated, entiled 'Why poor priests have no benefices.' His principal reasons are—1. The fear of simony. 2. The danger of misspending the money of the poor. 3. The hope of doing more good by moving from place to place. Allowing for the difference of the times, they bear a strong resemblance to John Wesley's original "preachers;" and they were as effective. Wiclif was untiring in his labours; the amount of tracts he wrote is surprising, even allowing that he was much assisted in preparing them. His position and employment at this time were very similar to Luther's the years preceding his death. His pen was ever employed, and ever ready for fresh employment. But, important as were his own labours, it is probable that his poor priests did even more to diffuse his doctrines; and how widely they were diffused may be guessed from Knighton's angry assertion—taken as it may and ought to be with considerable abatement—that "his followers so increased that they everywhere filled the compass of the kingdom; insomuch that a man could not meet two people on the road, but one of them was a disciple of Wiclif." This, he affirms, arose from "the respect they always pretended for what they call 'Goddis Law,' to which they profess themselves to be in their opinions and actions strictly conformable."

While thus zealously employed in furthering the great purpose to which he had devoted himself, his life was an example of what he upheld as the character of a true priest. His conduct was unblameable, his attention to his pastoral duties unremitting. Three hundred of his sermons are said to be still remaining, and they fully prove his energy, fervour, and devotion—*he* was no idle, careless priest. Like Milton—who in many respects greatly resembled him—he believed that he who attempts a great work must live a life worthy of his undertaking; and the whole of his own conduct, and the judgment he

formed of others, were moulded by his exalted notion of the dignity of the priestly office.*

So long as Wiclif confined himself, in his attacks on the popes and their agents, to their political claims or their immoral conduct, he met with the support of the secular authorities; and also of the people, whose dislike of the papal supremacy was a national far more than a religious feeling. They could not endure that an Italian or a French priest should domineer over their country and their king, and they little liked that his representatives, though Englishmen, should usurp such power. They would not have a priest to rule over them. When Wiclif preached against the doctrinal errors of the popes, he was regarded with suspicion by those who had before most strenuously supported him, and soon indeed encountered from them strong opposition. In 1381 he published at Oxford his twelve "conclusions," in which he appears for the first time to have questioned the doctrine of transubstantiation. His view of it much resembled that of Luther, and which is still that of the Lutheran church. The Chancellor of Oxford immediately summoned a meeting of twelve doctors, who condemned the "conclusions" as heterodox, and adjudged that all who should teach them in the University should be placed under the ban of the greater excommunication, suspended

* Milton's tracts on 'Church Government,' 'Removing Hirelings from the Church,' &c., might have been written by Wiclif if he had lived in that day. Their views were very similar in these matters, and there is an approximation in Wiclif to Milton's opinions on Divorce. The men were greatly alike in character—stern, uncompromising, each gave himself up with his whole heart to the promotion of the objects he had in view, and both measuring other men by their own lofty standard, dealt out the harshest censure on such as fell short of it.—Milton, by the way, obliquely defends the violence of his own language by the example of Wiclif. The genius of the two was so different as obviously to prohibit comparison—it is in their inflexibility of purpose, their moral and religious severity of character, that the resemblance consists.

from all their offices and privileges, and imprisoned—and, that the chance of such errors spreading might be at once cut off, they condemned those who listened to them to a similar punishment. Wiclif was lecturing in the school of the Augustinians when their sentence was communicated to him. He appealed from them to the civil magistrate. Until the parliament, to which the matter was now referred, should meet, which was not till the next year, it is probable that Wiclif abstained from teaching his views at the University, but he developed them more clearly and fully in some tracts which he now published: one of them, entitled the 'Wicket,' has been three or four times printed, and is a powerful piece of controversial writing.

The year 1381 was signalized by the revolt of the commons under Wat Tyler, and many of Wiclif's enemies have with small success endeavoured to connect his name with that affair. It arose from causes sufficiently known to all acquainted with our history, and Wiclif is as little responsible for it, as Luther for the famous rise of the peasants after the publication of his doctrines. In May, 1382, Courtney, now Archbishop of Canterbury, summoned a council to consider the doctrines attributed to Wiclif. Eight bishops and fourteen doctors, with other learned persons, met on the 17th of May, at Grey Friars in London. The proceedings had scarcely commenced when the place in which they were assembled was shaken by an earthquake, to the great alarm of the doctors, who were disposed to attribute it to the Divine displeasure—an opinion in which Wiclif coincided. The archbishop, however, explained it differently, and the doctors, reassured, proceeded with their deliberations.* After three days' careful consideration they pronounced ten of the "conclusions" to be heretical, and the remaining fourteen to be erroneous. The heretical notions being

* Courtney said it was a symbol of the need there was of purifying the church from the pestiferous vapours that hung over it; Wiclif, that the earth trembled because they were about to put a heresy upon Christ, as it before trembled when they put his body to death.

those on the eucharist, his denial of the need of priestly absolution, his declaration that clerical endowments were unlawful, and his condemnation of the papal infallibility. Everything was done that appeared likely to impart force and solemnity to this decision. After an imposing procession through London, a friar was appointed to explain to the people from St. Paul's the enormity of the heresy. Copies of the sentence were forwarded to the leading bishops; and even to the clergy about Lutterworth. Messengers were dispatched to the king, and to the University of Oxford. Wiclif again appealed to the secular power. This appeal has been complained of as opposed to his principles: after all, it has been said, "the new apostle was in no haste to grasp the crown of martyrdom."* But Wiclif did not depart from his own principles. He held and taught that the secular power ought to preserve the lives and liberties of the subjects, and it does not seem that he asked the parliament to affirm the truth of his doctrines. The archbishop called on the king to put down by force the growing heresy; and the monarch readily answered the call, by issuing a writ to the Chancellor of Oxford, directing him to search out such as were suspected of holding these opinions, and to seize and imprison any who harboured Wiclif or his followers. In his appeal to the parliament Wiclif had somewhat more success. The king, at the instigation of the bishop, had promulgated an ordinance in the form of an act of parliament, directing all sheriffs, &c. to arrest any persons found preaching any of the doctines condemned at the convocation; but on the meeting of parliament this ordinance was declared to be illegal, the parliament itself having had no share in framing it—and they would not, they said, subject themselves to the jurisdiction of the prelates in a manner unknown to their

* Dr. Lingard is hard to please: he sneers at Wiclif for *not* seeking the martyr's crown, yet when one of his followers, a few years later, obtains it, he coolly says, "The enthusiast aspired to the crown of martyrdom, and had the satisfaction to fall a victim to his own folly!"—'Hist. of England,' iv. 188 and 332.

fathers. It was, in fact, a bold attempt of the bishop to introduce something very like the Holy Office into England.

But Wiclif's success ended here. He was now left to sustain the unequal conflict alone. His principal supporters at Oxford had been summoned before a synod to answer for their own delinquencies, and had been compelled to retract or explain away their obnoxious sentiments. John of Gaunt no longer stood by him. Perhaps sincerely shocked at his venturing to question so sacred a doctrine as transubstantiation was then generally believed to be, he earnestly recommended Wiclif to submit to his diocesan—and left him to his fate. Wiclif was soon summoned to appear before a convocation at Oxford, at which the archbishop presided, and several bishops were present. He delivered in two statements of his sentiments on the eucharist; one in Latin, the other in English. The former is declared to be unintelligible—it is fenced about with all the forms of scholastic dialectics, and may be passed by; the other, as it is in English, was probably meant for the unlearned, and is plain and perfectly comprehensible. It is evident that his matured and deliberate views were the same as we have already stated them to be. His bearing before the assembly was firm and manly—his enemies say haughty and obstinate. He did not retract. The result was that his opinions were again condemned, and himself deprived of his professorship of divinity, and banished from the University.

He was not further molested,—at least for the next two years. This interval was busily employed. A host of opponents sprung up against him after the adjudicaiton at Oxford, and he was not of a temper to let them pass unanswered. His intense energy was little impaired by age or anxiety, and his opponents still found him a ready antagonist. Bowed down by persecution, his life by illness made a living death, he wavered not, nor ceased from his labours. During his last years Wiclif suffered much from paralysis—the effect, no doubt, of his anxious and stormy life. His first attack was in 1379. Perhaps

the knowledge of his weak state prevented his enemies from pressing for the infliction of physical punishment. But a few months before his death he was cited by Urban II. to appear before him at Rome, to answer for his heresies. Wiclif was unable from illness to go, but he addressed a letter to his holiness in which he "tells his belief." The main points of it are his declaration of his entire dependence on Christ as the Son of God, and of his assurance of the supreme authority of Scripture. He acknowledges the pope to be Christ's chief vicar on earth—but adds, that he ought to follow the example of his master, who was the poorest of men when in this world. "This I take as wholesome counsel that the pope leave his worldly lordship to worldly lords, as Christ gave (charged) him, and move speedily all his clerks (clergy) to do so: for thus did Christ, and taught thus his disciples, till the fiend had blinded this world." He declares that if he were able he would go to the pope; but as he cannot, he supposes the pope will not show himself open anti-Christ by commanding him again to do that which God had rendered him unable to do. If his opinions can be proved to be wrong, he is ready to recant; if it be necessary to die for them, he is willing, "for that I hope were good for me."

As he was assisting at the celebration of mass by his curate in his parish church of Lutterworth, on the 29th of December, 1384, another and more fatal stroke of paralysis deprived him of the use of speech and of motion. He lingered two days, when his spirit ascended to that world where misapprehension and strife are alike unknown. His corpse was buried in the church; and there it rested, till forty years afterwards the Council of Constance, at the same time that it crowned itself with eternal infamy by its treacherous murder of John Huss and of Jerome, condemned Wiclif's doctrines, and directed that his corpse should be exhumed and burnt, "if it could be discerned from those of the faithful." The order was obeyed. Richard Fleming, bishop of Lincoln, in whose diocese Lutterworth was situated, directed the process. The reformer's remains were

taken up, burnt, and the ashes cast into the Swift, a little stream that runs at the foot of the hill on which the town is built. "Thus this brook," says Fuller, "hath conveyed his ashes into Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, they into the main ocean. And thus the ashes of Wiclif are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over."

We have endeavoured, as far as our limits would allow us, to exhibit Wiclif according to his own principles. It remains for us to add a few words on his sentiments, and express our own impression of his character. His opinions have been the subject of much disputation, and it is often said that they are so enwrapped in explanations and mystifications, that it is difficult to make out what they really were. But to one desirous to understand them, the difficulty soon disappears. The contemporary notices of him do not imply that there was any obscurity: the charges brought against him; his own defences; the references his followers make to him, do not suggest it. That his opinions will appear contradictory to one who extracts from his different writings, without regard to the circumstances and the time in which each was written, there can be no doubt; but if it be borne in mind that his creed, like that of every reformer, and especially of every religious reformer, was progressive—that his opinions were slowly formed, often forced upon his conviction after a long struggle against them—so that he would more than any other lament the necessity imposed upon him to admit, and especially to diffuse them,—if this gradual formation of his creed be remembered, the difficulty of reconciling the articles of it with the statements and reasonings to be found in others of his writings, will not surprise any candid inquirer, whether he admit the truth of the opinions or not. To us it appears he might truly be called the first Protestant — the first who boldly and firmly protested against the papal domination, both in relation to society and to individual man. His doctrinal views were in the main those afterwards adopted by Luther and the reformed churches—in others, he went far beyond them,

verging closely upon Puritanism; while to the last he held many things now only retained by the Romish church.

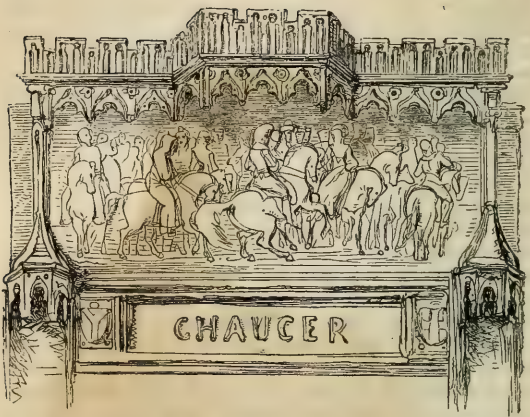
His moral character was unimpeached. His sincerity has been questioned, but to us it seems to stand firm and unshaken. His faults, however, are manifest. Living up to the lofty character he set before him, he stooped not to one who was unable to attain to the same elevation. A fierce polemic, he is unmeasured in the expression of his wrath against all whom he opposed. But we must not let our dislike of such violence lead us too far. A wise man has told us "not to condemn bitter and earnest writing." In truth, a man cannot beat down idols with a feather broom: and Wiclif's task was not merely to sweep the dust off those about the holy place. After all, Wiclif was abundantly repaid in his own coin. For every handful of mud he flung, a cart-load was thrown back upon him. Let him not be condemned for a fault common to every one who has undertaken so apparently hopeless a task as the destruction of a mighty system of evil. It is a fault that seems to spring out of the vehemence of temper natural and almost necessary to the character of a reformer. The vehemence of his language in some instances, and its cautiousness at other times, appear to have arisen from the fact that, *seeing* palpably the evil practices of the religious orders about him, and the consequences that resulted from them, he attacked them with an overflowing asperity—while in matters of *doctrine* he formed his opinions deliberately, was conscious of all the difficulties of the question, and spoke cautiously, moderately, and with an honest desire not to obtrude extreme opinions. This, at least, appears to us the true explanation.

We regard Wiclif as one of the noblest of our Worthies; and as long as true manly earnestness and Christian worth are honoured by his countrymen, his name will live in their remembrance, and be cherished with devout gratitude. A true, honest, noble-hearted man, he recognised the divinity within him, and followed its bidding—through evil and through good report. With him worldly honours were nought; the fear of man he knew not; he had a work to accomplish, and he turned

not aside from it. As long as he had a hand or a tongue to labour with, he ceased not to labour. Wiclif was the pioneer in the great struggle to release man from spiritual thraldom. He stood forth and proclaimed the forgotten truth, that the soul of man is responsible alone to its Creator; that no man can stand between his fellow-man and his Divine Master. The welcome with which his doctrine was met showed that the hollowness of the ground upon which men stood was felt. He died, but his work survived him. In this country a goodly band remained, and carried on what he had begun; and when they were silenced, his opinions were cherished in private, till on the introduction of the reformed doctrines they were lost in the broader stream. It is probable, indeed, that these secret dissentients within the English church largely contributed to the easy introduction of the reformed opinions here. On the Continent, too, his views found a home and a welcome. Carried into Bohemia immediately after his death, they there spread widely; nor did the martyrdom of John Huss stop their progress. The result was their accomplishment in the great Reformation.

The number of writings attributed to Wiclif, from tracts of a page up to large and elaborate works, which remain in MS. scattered through public libraries, is very great. Few of them have been printed, and it is not creditable to our literature that while the various societies established for the republication of the works of our earlier writers are loading their shelves with much worthless rubbish, only one work attributed to Wiclif (and that not known to be his) should have been printed. The Religious Tract Society, a few years back, published a volume of selections from his writings; but the language is modernized with very little judgment, and the work is of course of no value.

The authorities we have consulted for this sketch are Wiclif's own writings, so far as accessible to us; Walsingham, Knighton, and Wilkins; the Lives by Lewis and Vaughan; the Introduction to the 'Hexapla;' the various ecclesiastical histories; and the papers and prefaces by Dr. Todd.



Two undertakings of more than ordinary importance mark the second half of the fourteenth century, and suggest on various grounds an interesting and useful parallel. Pursuing one of these undertakings, the chief actor in it collected vast sums of treasure by the taxation of the people of England, drew from the peaceful and profitable avocations of industry the materials for army after army of English citizens, and poured them upon the soil of a neighbouring country, which he was determined at all costs to conquer. To found for England a new empire on the Continent, was the undertaking on which the brave, able, accomplished, but grasping and unscrupulous Edward III. concentrated the energies of a life. About the very same time that Edward began in earnest to prosecute this undertaking, there was a youth, buried in the seclusion of study, not less actively engaged in the promotion of another undertaking; that—too gigantic in its character probably to be determined upon, or even rightly estimated then—was doubtless dawning

little by little upon his mind. For this undertaking, he too drew supplies from all quarters, but his levies were of books, his treasure the accumulated stores of thought that time had bequeathed to the world. And when he had mastered all that could thus be obtained, he went forth into the world to study men, as well as man, before he attempted the conquest of the empire *he* meditated, over the hearts and minds of his fellows. And how fared these respective undertakings? Failures of course affected the ambitious student as well as the ambitious warrior, but we have not in the one case, as in the other, a record of them; let us therefore look simply at the successes of both, and the results. The battle of Creci, the first great encounter between the two nations, was won in 1346, and in the same year the first important poem of the first great English poet is understood to have been produced. Ten years later, Creci had been followed by Poitiers; the 'Court of Love,' by the noble 'Troilus and Cressida;' and by an announcement contained in the concluding lines of that work, which showed the poet had essayed and was satisfied as to his powers, and was preparing to give to England a work that should rival the divine comedy of the illustrious Italian (Dante) lately deceased. "Go, little book," wrote the poet—

> "go, little tragedy,
> Where God my maker, yet ere that I die,
> So send me might to make some comedy."

Sixteen or seventeen years more elapse, and the iron-willed sovereign bends beneath a fiat even more potent than his own, and in deep humiliation feels that he is utterly defeated; about the same time the poet is receiving from the lips of an illustrious contemporary an addition to the materials for the work that is to form the culminating point of his life and fame, the last of a long series of productions destined to be as permanent as the language itself which they have done so much to create, the 'Comedy,' in short, of which he has so long dreamed; —he is hearing from Petrarch the exquisitely pathetic story of Griselda. Edward dies in 1377, a broken-hearted

man; deserted, even on his palace-hearth, at the last hour, by those he had fed and clothed and honoured; he who would have conquered France cannot even now command the presence of a single lackey: when Chaucer dies, it is amidst the profound regrets of all who knew him personally or through his works; and as he goes "home" and takes his "wages," it is with the conviction that he has indeed done his "worldly task," in the foundation of what, all things considered, it is no national vanity to call the mightiest of Literatures. The parallel we have thus ventured to draw does not even end here. Whilst we still drink refreshing draughts from Chaucer's "well of English undefiled," and wonder to see how little of essentially differing qualities his greatest successors have infused into the national literature, the only effect, if there be any one now perceptible, of Edward's unjust attempt, or of his brilliant victories, is in the unhappy jealousy which these and similar events have left in the minds of the people who most suffered from them. Truly if the sword in its day is honoured at the expense of the pen, the pen in the long run repays itself with sweeping interest. We have said nothing in these remarks of the connexion between the two personages whose respective undertakings we have placed in juxtaposition with each other, but that connexion is not the least interesting or least important portion of the biography of either: we do not know whether Edward intentionally forwarded Chaucer's poetical undertakings, but it is clear that by his patronage they *were* forwarded—and greatly; whilst Chaucer, on the other hand, was one of the most trusted and valued of the king's servants; promoting Edward's views by his personal services in the field as a soldier, and still more influentially by his experience and wisdom in the cabinet as a diplomatist.

It is a curious though a very common characteristic of certain biographers, in dealing with cases where information is as desirable as it is meagre, to make the little less, by throwing all sorts of doubts upon the facts that we thought had been settled and realized. They have, in short, a horror of all speculations but those which

may tend to disturb existing beliefs. Unable to build themselves, they would deny to others the use of the necessary foundations. Why, for instance, must there be a doubt excited as to the date of Chaucer's birth? Most of the old writers say it took place in the second year of the reign of Edward III., 1328, and their statement is supported by a host of indirect evidences, which show that it must have been about the time they mention. But it is urged, that when Chaucer, in 1386, gave his deposition in the controversy between Lord Scrope and Sir Robert Grosvenor relative to the right of using a certain coat-of-arms (an important part of Chaucer's biography, to which we shall subsequently refer), he described himself "of the age of forty and upwards," and as having borne arms for twenty-seven years. Do the doubters therefore abide by their own necessary inference that he was born in 1345, and became a soldier at the ripe age of thirteen? Not a whit; they acknowledge that such a date cannot be correct; it has even been pointed out that other persons who were examined at the same time are known to have been from ten to twenty years older than the depositions make them. Whatever, therefore, the explanation of the phrase "forty and upwards," it is clear that it is not to be received in contradiction of the date that makes the poet to have been in his fifty-fifth year. Yet the doubt is raised just the same! So again as to the place of Chaucer's birth. In his prose work, the 'Testament of Love,' where the poet is as evidently and avowedly referring to himself as poet well can, he speaks of the City of London that is "to me so dear and sweet, in which I was forth grown; and more kindly love have I to that place, than to any other in earth; as every kindly creature hath full appetite to that place of his kindly engendure, and to wiln [wish] rest and peace in that stead [place] to abide." But then as some biographers have mistaken various other passages in that work, this passage also is to be doubted, nay, the whole production laid aside as one that cannot be relied on. It is true, that for a comprehensive and trustworthy Life of Chaucer greater care must be shown in

the use of the somewhat perplexing materials that wait the biographer's disposal than ever yet has been shown, but it is not by a system of wholesale negation that the work will be accomplished. Nothing can come of nothing, and, trite as the observation may be, there are some few for whom it still seems requisite to be asserted. Not simply useless, but mischievous, is that kind of biography which delights to reduce what at all events looks like flesh and blood to a pure skeleton, and has no objection to take away even a bone or two from that.

Chaucer then was born in 1328, in London; and there doubtless he spent his earliest years, until, as he says, he was "forth-grown." Of his parents we know nothing direct. A long list of persons has been collected, who during the period in question bore the name of Chaucer, which was derived from the old Norman word Chaucier or Chaussier, signifying a shoemaker; and used in that sense during the poet's life by Richard of Hampole, a hermit, who translated the Gospel of St. Mark, and died in 1394. The passage, "There cometh one mightier than I after me, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to stoop down and unloose," is thus rendered by Richard: "A stalworthier man than I shall come after me, of whom I am not worthy, downfalling or kneeling, to loose the thong of his chawcers." But that the poet's parents were certainly persons of wealth, probably also of consideration, may be assumed from the excellence of the education given to their son, and from the ready access which he found, on entering into public life, to the very person and favour of the sovereign. Chaucer, in a word, was born a gentleman; and the fact is of importance, not only for the incalculable benefit that it involved through the instrumentality of that education, but as showing us still more plainly than otherwise could have been shown the true nobility of the poet's mind. It is Chaucer who tells us, in the 'Wife of Bath's' tale, that he who ever intendeth to perform all kinds of gentle deeds is the greatest gentleman, and that he who will perform none of them—

"He is not gentle, be he duke or earl;"

and that the poet here speaks his own sentiments, while relating the sentiments of the knight's apparently aged and hideous bride, is clear from his ballad on the same subject, where it is inculcated that unless a man love virtue and fly vice,

> "He is not gentle, though he riche seem,
> All wear he mitre, crown, or diademe."

Where Chaucer was educated is uncertain; but the assertions of the older biographers that he was both at Cambridge and Oxford, and that he subsequently went to Paris, then the most famous and flourishing of all the European universities, is supported by the known facts in the lives of other eminent men, who became, like him, distinguished by their scholastic attainments. Grostête, Roger Bacon, and Michael Scott, all pursued the exact route ascribed to Chaucer. The poet is supposed to refer to himself under the designation of "Philogenet of Cambridge, clerk," in the 'Court of Love,' and the indications of a correct knowledge of the locality exhibited in the Reve's Tale are referred to as an additional corroboration of his residence in the neighbourhood. Even the very college is named—Clare Hall—at which he studied, and where he may have written his earlier poems, including the 'Court of Love.' Clare Hall, Speght says, is the same with that mentioned in the Reve's Tale, under the denomination of the Soleres or Scholars'. It is to be hoped the licentious freaks of the scholars, as described in that tale, are not to be received as characteristic of the order at the period that Chaucer was a member.

Two of Chaucer's most intimate friends appear to have been the "moral Gower" and the "philosophical Strode," whose names he has thus embalmed in his verse; and both were members of the University of Oxford at the time that all three must have been engaged in the business of mental culture. To them he dedicated his 'Troilus and Cressida;' and the poem itself, which is said to have been written at Oxford, may have been composed while in the daily enjoyment of their society.

But whether it was Oxford, or some other place, that the poet left at the termination of his English academical studies, we may rest assured that Leland was essentially correct in his general statement when he wrote, "At the period of his leaving Oxford, he was already an acute dialectician, a persuasive orator, an eloquent poet, a grave philosopher, an able mathematician, and an accomplished divine. These no doubt are lofty appellations; but whoever shall examine his works with a curious eye, will admit that I have sufficient ground for my panegyric." But the touches of the "finishing school," it appears, from the same authority, were still requisite, and were obtained. Chaucer went to Paris, where "he imbibed all the beauties, elegance, charms, wit, and grace of the French tongue, to a degree that is scarcely credible." And thus accomplished, and possessing a handsome person, which must have been trained and developed into strength and activity by martial exercises, the young poet returned to England, and prepared to enter into the ordinary business of life, from which alone, it is probable, he thenceforward derived his chief or entire support. At first he entered into the study of the law, and became a member of the Inner Temple; but the only result was, an affair in which he became subject to the law, instead of an expounder of it. Some friar having offended the poet in Fleet Street, he is said to have given him a beating, and to have been fined five shillings for the offence. But it was not in the time of the Third Edward that a young ambitious man, in the possession of all that nature could possibly confer upon her greatest favourites —whether of personal or mental advantages, and whose acquisitions were as remarkable as his endowments,—it was not then such a man could shut himself up in the dusty solitudes of the Temple chambers, and pore over legal treatises from morn to noon—from noon to dewy eve. It was not the moths of fashion that the dazzling radiance of the court of King Edward attracted, but England's bravest and ablest men, her noblest and most virtuous women, whose beauty, however conspicuous, formed the least of their qualifications. It was with such as these

that the palace halls of Windsor were thronged. To mention but two names, each sufficient to immortalize any court—there were then among the brilliant groups that surrounded Edward, his queen Philippa, the saviour of the illustrious citizens of Calais, and the Countess of Salisbury, the heroine of Froissart's charming narration, who not only resisted the king's unlawful love, but so purified the heart of the lover, that when the well-known accident happened at a ball, he founded the order of the Garter in her eternal honour: an act, all things considered, unequalled for its combination of chivalrous, poetical, and lover-like feeling.

It was among such personages the young poet desired to be, and his wishes were speedily gratified. And it is evident that he was at least as much admired as he could admire, notwithstanding his modest and retiring, if not even reserved habits. A pleasant tradition tells us that the Countess of Pembroke, the king's daughter, one of his patronesses, told him his silence created more mirth than his conversation; for he was very bashful and reserved in company, notwithstanding that life and spirit which appeared in his writings. But Chaucer had no desire to play the courtier—and he was understood. More than one of his poems are believed to have originated in conversations between the poet and the noble women who honoured themselves and him by taking an interest in his career. Thus, to appease them generally, when they professed to be offended by the strictures contained in some of his writings, he produced, at the command of Queen Philippa, 'The Legend of Good Women,' which, it has been pointedly observed, should rather be called 'The Legend of Bad Men.' Lydgate says—

> "The poet wrote, at the réquest of the queen,
> A Legendè of perfect holiness;
> Of good womén to findè out nineteen
> That did excel in bounty and fairèness;"

and the sly monk adds, for all his labour he found it impossible

"In all this world to find so great a number."

How the poet obtained admittance to the court we know not. In the absence of any facts tending to show that he was by birth entitled to expect as a matter of course the remarkable favour that was accorded to him, we do not see why we may not fall back upon the agreeable hypothesis that it was not social rank (though he had as much of it as was indispensable), but intellectual merit that really introduced him there. At all events such a supposition is supported in a remarkable manner by the known nature of his connexion with the man who, next to Edward and his son the Black Prince, occupied in his time the largest share of the attention of the people of England: we refer to John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, the fourth son of Edward, and of course, therefore, the brother of the prince just named.

Among the poems of Chaucer there are three which have been looked upon, and no doubt correctly, as illustrating the personal history of the duke as a lover and a husband. In the first of these, 'The Complaint of the Black Knight,' the poet, in a charming passage, describes himself as walking forth on a May morning, and meeting in an arbour the Black Knight, who is bewailing the cruelty of his mistress. It is worthy of observation, that the poem shows how much better the poet felt what did concern him, the beauty of the time and season, than what did not touch very deeply his sympathies, the love-distresses of his friend and patron John of Gaunt. The second work of the series, 'Chaucer's Dream,' shows that the lady's obduracy was, as usual, more apparent than real. The royal lover has married the lady of his heart, Blanche, daughter of the Duke of Lancaster. The third poem, the 'Book of the Duchess,' records the premature death of Blanche in 1369, and the profound grief of her husband. The historical facts relating to John of Gaunt, "time-honoured Lancaster," harmonize so completely with the poetical ones contained in this trio of poems, that there can be no reasonable doubt as to the scope and origin of the latter. And this conviction is of greater

value than may be at first apparent. The 'Complaint of the Black Knight,' referring to the duke's courtship, and 'Chaucer's Dream,' referring to the duke's marriage, must have been written—the one a little before and the other a little after that marriage, which took place at Reading, in May, 1359, and was solemnized with great splendour. Knowing then the period and the circumstances of the production of these poems, we shall find, on looking at the one named 'Chaucer's Dream,' that we also know the essential history of the poet's own courtship and marriage. In the other two poems he is thinking chiefly of his friend and patron; in this one he makes all turn toward the expression of his own heartfelt wishes. In the 'Dream' he imagines himself in a lodge, beside a well in the forest, reposing after the fatigues of a hunt. The difficulties attending the courtship of the duke and duchess are then shadowed forth by an account of their death, and revival, ending in their union. Then follows a long and highly important passage, evidently, up to a certain point, narrating facts. After the marriage was determined upon, the royal lovers sent out messengers in all directions

> "To kinges, queenes, and duchésses,
> To divers princes, and princesses,"

inviting them to be present at the solemnity. Then, says the poet, they ordered that certain knights and squires and officers—

> "In manner of an embassade,
> With certain letters clos'd and made,
> Should take the bargè and depart,
> And seek *my lady* every part
> Till they her found."

The duke and duchess * (Blanche) tell them to charge her to be there at the day; again and again Blanche de-

* Chaucer, perhaps to avoid letting the poems appear to the public too strict a narration of actual facts, calls them here, and in various other places, the king and queen.

sires to be commended to her, and she is to be told that, unless she come, all will be wasted,

> "And the feast but a business,
> Withouten joy or lustiness."

The emoassy departs, and, after fourteen days, returns with the object of their search in the barge. The duchess, in her delight, cannot wait for her arrival at the court, but, says the poet, she met my lady on the sand, and clasped her in her arms. And for twelve hours after they parted not, but wandered alone, talking of their joys and troubles, with the pleasure natural to their young and tender years. And when night came, they still remained together. On the morrow the prince of lords

> "Came, and unto my lady said
> Of her coming glad, and well apaid *
> He was, and full right cunningly
> Her thankèd, and full heartily,
> And laugh'd and smil'd, and said, 'Ywis
> That † was in doubt, in safety is.' "

The marriage takes place, and then, continues the poet,

> "The prince, the queen,‡ and all the rest
> Unto my lady made request
> And her besought oftén, and pray'd
> To me-wards to be well apaid
> And cónsider mine olde truth,
> And on my paines haven ruth,
> And me accept to her servíce
> In suche form and in such wise
> That we both mighten be as one;
> Thus pray'd the queen and every one,
> And, for there should ne be no Nay,
> They stinten jousting all a day
> To pray my lady, and requere
> To be content and out of fear,
> And with good heart make friendly cheer,
> And said it was a happy year;

* Pleased. † That which.
‡ Blanche. (See previous note.)

At which she smiled, and said 'Ywis
I trow well he my servant is,
And would *my* welfare, as I trist,*
So would I *his;* and would he wist
How; and I knewe that his truth
Continue would, withouten sloth,
And be such as ye here report.
Restraining both courage and sport,
I could consent at your request
To be ynamèd of your feast,
And doen after your usance
In obeying of your pleäsance.
At your request this I consent,
To pleasen you in your intent:
And eke the sovèreign above,
Commanded hath me for to love,
And before others him prefer;
Against which prince may be no wer;†
For his power o'er all reigneth,
That other would for nought him paineth;
And sith his will and yours is one,
Contráry in me shall be none.' "

Here we have passed the boundaries of fact. That the lady had not yet said what the poet so delicately tells her she should say, much less that the marriage had taken place amidst all the ceremonies and gladness and splendour that he next so picturesquely describes, the poet presently proceeds to tell us. The sounds

> "Round about, and in all the tents,
> With thousandes of instruments,"

trouble him in his sleep; he wakes, and finds no lady, alas! And now the mask, assumed for the moment, is dropped; he avows his prayer that his lady will accept of his service in such a manner that the substance of his dream may prove true, or that he may return into the same pleasant isle of fancy. And then, in direct appeal to her for grace (under the title of L'Envoy), he concludes the poem.

* Trust. † War.

If we need any other evidence of the correctness of the idea that this poem records the poet's own feelings and position, and the position of the lady loved by him, we have only to inquire who it was that is known to have inspired such sentiments in his breast. She was the daughter of Sir Payne Roet, Guienne, king-of-arms, who is supposed to have come over from Hainault with Queen Philippa, after whom she may have been named, and in whose service she remained up to the day of the queen's death. This lady therefore was a member, and, as we know, a highly favoured one, of the household of the wife of John of Gaunt's brother. But the connexion may be traced still closer. Philippa Roet's sister Katherine, widow of Sir Hugh Swynford, was in the household of the duchess Blanche herself, the queen of Chaucer's dream, and it was that Katherine whom the great duke, later in life, married.

And what did the lady say, on the receipt of this poem, so exquisitely contrived and carried out? We know not, but may guess from subsequent circumstances that it was not very unfavourable. Suddenly, however, the sound of war rouses the lovers from all such dreamy delights. Edward, like a losing gamester, growing only the more desperate, is fitting out a new army for the conquest of France. The poet must accompany him. It is Chaucer's first military expedition. We must for a while forget the poet in the soldier.

Our knowledge of this important incident in the poet's career is derived from the deposition before mentioned, and forms the chief value of that document. Though delivered, therefore, many years subsequent to the period in question, we may here fitly transcribe it. Chaucer, among a host of other witnesses, was called by Richard, Lord Scrope, to bear testimony to his right to certain arms, in opposition to a similar claim on the part of Sir Robert Grosvenor.

"Geoffrey Chaucer, Esquire, of the age of forty and upwards, armed for twenty-seven years, produced on behalf of Sir Richard Scrope, sworn and examined: Asked, whether the arms 'Azure, a bend Or' belonged or

ought to belong to the said Sir Richard? Said yes, for he saw him so armed in France, before the town of Retters [apparently the village of Retiers, near Rennes, in Brittany], and Sir Henry Scrope armed in the same arms with a white label, and with a banner; and the said Sir Richard armed in the entire arms 'Azure, with a bend Or,' and so he had seen him armed during the whole expedition, until the said Geoffrey was taken. Asked, how he knew that the said arms appertained to the said Sir Richard? Said that he had heard say from old knights and esquires, that they had been reputed to be their arms, as common fame and the public voice proved; and he also said that they had continued their possession of the said arms; and that all his time he had seen the said arms in banners, glass, paintings, and vestments, and commonly called the arms of Scrope. Asked, if he had heard any one say who was the first ancestor of the said Sir Richard who first bore the said arms? Said no, nor had he ever heard otherwise than that they were come of ancient ancestry, and of old gentry, and used the said arms. Asked if he had heard any one say how long a time the ancestors of the said Sir Richard had used the said arms? Said no, but he had heard say that it passed the memory of man. Asked, whether he had ever heard of any interruption or challenge made by Sir Robert Grosvenor, or by his ancestors, or by any one in his name, to the said Sir Richard, or to any of his ancestors? Said no; but he said that he was once in Friday Street, in London, and as he was walking in the street, he saw hanging a new sign made of the said arms, and he asked what inn that was that had hung out these arms of Scrope, and one answered him and said, No Sir, they are not hung out for the arms of Scrope, nor painted there for those arms, but they are painted and put there by a knight of the county of Chester, whom men call Sir Robert Grosvenor; and that was the first time he ever heard speak of Sir Robert Grosvenor, or of his ancestors, or of any other bearing the name of Grosvenor."

Chaucer says he had been armed twenty-seven years;

this means, according to the then prevalent mode of speaking of such matters, that in 1359, twenty-seven years before the date of the deposition, 1386, Chaucer had *first* borne arms. He says also, he was in France, in one of the military expeditions of the time. Now as 1359 is the very year in which Edward took a great army into that country, and as for three years before and for ten years after, there was no other such expedition set on foot, and as when fresh ones were despatched we know the poet was not concerned in them, but was differently engaged—why, on the whole, the inference is irresistible, that it was in Edward's expedition of 1359 that Chaucer first became a soldier.

And that expedition was one calculated to test most searchingly his possession of the soldier's best quality, fortitude, though not at all calculated to make him enamoured of the vocation. The expedition throughout exhibited to him only the shades of military life, without a glimpse of its sunshine. A more formidable army had never perhaps left the English shores—certainly had never left it to meet so melancholy a fate; it comprised a hundred thousand men, and filled a thousand ships during the passage from coast to coast. And if for a time it seemed as irresistible as it had promised to be, that was because no army came forth to meet it. From Calais Edward moved on through Artois to Picardy; and thence to Rheims, which he besieged with the intention, it is said, of having himself crowned king of France in the cathedral, the usual place of coronation for the sovereigns of the country. But the garrison was brave, the place strong, and the season winter. In the end he raised the siege, and marched into Burgundy, and then, turning towards Paris, he moved forwards till the dismayed Parisians beheld an English army encamped without their walls. The French, however, had learned wisdom from the success with which they had often defended their fortified places, and from the failure that attended their efforts in the open field. So they were not to be drawn outside the walls of the capital, not even by a challenge; and at the same time Edward was

quite unable to force his way in; so, harassed by insufficient supplies of provisions, he presently retreated towards Brittany. Every step of his way was marked by falling horses and men, who died from hunger or the intolerable fatigue to which they were subjected. No wonder that the spirits of the troops sank, and that Edward's own mind was so affected that he became superstitious, and yielded, beneath the terror of a great storm, the peace that not all the miseries of his own subjects, and the infinitely greater miseries they had inflicted on the French people, could wring from him. On the 8th of May, 1360, the treaty of Bretigny was concluded; Bretigny being a village near to Chartres. Of the greater part of the horrors of the expedition Chaucer was an eyewitness and participator, with the additional pang added that, as he himself tells, he was "taken" prisoner. How long he remained in captivity it is impossible to say; but there is reason to fear that the period may have even extended to five or six years. From 1359-60 to a little before 1366 his history is a blank to us; and the next circumstance we find related of him looks very like the greetings of his friends and of his sovereign after a prolonged and painful absence. In or before 1366 he received the hand of Philippa Roet, who, on the 12th of September in that year, was granted, by Edward, a pension of ten marks for life, by the name of Philippa Chaucer; and on the 20th of June in the following year, we find her husband holding a post (that of valet) in the king's household, corresponding to hers in the queen's, and enjoying that king's especial favour, as expressed by a grant of twenty marks yearly, in consideration of his former and future services. It is tolerably evident from all this, that it was not through the exertions of his own friend and patron John of Gaunt, or through the existence of any particular private desire to aid him in the minds of the still more influential friends and patrons of his wife, that the poet thus succeeded in establishing a position for himself in the world. The reward looks as though it were apportioned simply to the amount of the desert; and through all Chaucer's subse-

quent and highly distinguished career we shall find the same characteristic prevailing in the treatment of him. Or if there be any discrepancy, it is that the rewards on the whole seem to fall short rather than to exceed what might be supposed the legitimate amount. The king's grant to Chaucer was to last for life, or until he should be otherwise provided for. The promise here held out to the poet was not long left unredeemed. In 1370 he was sent abroad on the king's service; and—having been raised to the rank of one of the king's own squires—again in 1372, when he went to Genoa, to treat on the subject of the choice of a port in England where the Genoese might form an establishment. In 1376 a secret mission, and the nature of which still remains secret, was intrusted to him and Sir John Burley. In 1377 he accompanied Sir Thomas Percy on another secret mission to Flanders, and in the same year is supposed to have been concerned in the negotiations for peace with France; all missions of an important nature, and all comprised within the period of the life of Edward. But change of monarchs made no change in this respect; the poet's abilities, character, and services were sufficient to command the respect and attention of Edward's successor. One of the earliest events of the new reign was the appointment of an embassy to treat of the marriage of Richard II. with the daughter of the king of France: Chaucer was one of the ambassadors. This was in January, 1378, and the poet could scarcely have fulfilled his duty and returned, before he was again despatched, in May of the same year, to Lombardy, to treat with the lord of Milan and the famous free commander Sir John Hawkwood. An interesting circumstance marks this embassy. Gower was one of the two representatives who acted for the poet in England during his absence. This is one of the numerous valuable facts that Sir Harris Nicholas has made known for the first time in his (as yet unpublished) 'Life of Chaucer.'

It was in the embassy to Genoa, of 1372, that Chaucer is supposed to have met Petrarch, and to have heard from him the story of Griselda. This supposition, the

truth of which one would be glad to be satisfied of, rests upon the following evidence:—Chaucer, in the prologue to the Clerk's Tale, makes the clerk say,

> "I will you tell a talè, which that I
> Learned at Padua, of a worthy clerk,
> As proved by his wordès and his work.
> He is now dead and nailèd in his chest;
> I pray to God so give his soule rest.
> Francis Petrarch, the laureate poéte,
> Highte this clerk, whose rhetóric sweet
> Illumined all Itaille of poetry."

Now Boccaccio was the author, in the Italian language, of the story in question, 'Griselda;' and why did Chaucer, if he is not referring to an actual and highly interesting incident of his own history, make the clerk go out of his way to speak of Petrarch, who only translated, in Latin, Boccaccio's work? No one supposes that Chaucer was ignorant of the existence or nature of the writings of Boccaccio; and the only answer given to Godwin, who put the foregoing question, is, that Chaucer may not have been acquainted with the Italian language, and therefore preferred acknowledging an obligation to Petrarch, whose translation alone had enabled him to become familiar with the tale. It might be so; though it is not very likely. Not only was Chaucer, as we have seen, distinguished in youth for the depth and universality of his attainments, but had been at least twice an ambassador to Italy. The strong probability therefore is, that he did know the language, and was perfectly well acquainted with the 'Decameron' (the exemplar of his own Canterbury Tales) in its mother tongue, but that having met Petrarch, *who was at Arquà near Padua* at the very time that Chaucer *was* in the neighbourhood, he could not tell the tale he had then heard, under such remarkable circumstances, without a passing record of them.

That same Genoese embassy involved important consequences as regarded the fortunes of the poet. On the 8th of June, 1374, only a few months after his return, Edward conferred upon him the lucrative and distin-

guished office of comptroller of the customs for wool, &c. But the king had not waited until that time to show what he thought of Chaucer's conduct; he had already conferred upon him a marked testimony of his approbation; and at a time and under circumstances that make the blood stir, and the imagination busy itself in a thousand vain attempts to picture what might have been from the knowledge of what was. On St. George's day, the 23rd of April, 1374, when the king would be sitting in high and solemn festival, surrounded by all the chief nobility of the land, and when Chaucer, as one of his own squires, would, as a matter of duty and office, be in attendance on him, Edward conferred upon the poet the grant of a pitcher of wine to be supplied to him daily for life. In the very same year, and after the appointment to the customs, John of Gaunt, as if desiring to show how deeply he sympathised in the poet's prosperity, still further swelled his income by a grant of ten pounds for life. The following year, 1375, brought also its own good gifts, in the shape of two wardships, granted by Edward; from one of which Chaucer received 104*l.*, equivalent, according to Godwin's estimate of the comparative value of money then and now, to about some eighteen hundred pounds of the nineteenth century.

And now for some years the poet's life appears to have rolled on smoothly, usefully, happily. And although it was a condition expressly made by Edward, that the poet should keep the accounts of the comptrollership with his own hand, and not put off his duties upon a deputy (a wise provision, and fitly made by a king who knew so well how to pay for real services), it is supposed that it was during these busy years that Chaucer produced some of his best miscellaneous poems. The 'Romaunt of the Rose,' a translation from the French work that enjoyed so long a period of popularity, had probably been written long before, in the days when the poet imitated previous writers rather than drew from himself; the dates of the 'Cuckoo and the Nightingale' and some others are unknown; but the 'House of Fame,' a noble poem, and worthy of its suggestive title, bears internal evidence that it was writ-

ten while its author held the office of comptroller: and some very agreeable information it gives to us of the poet's habits. Jupiter, who addresses the poet personally, tells him he is aware he attends nothing now to tidings of love, nor of nothing else—not even

> "of thy very neighebours
> That dwellen almost at thy doors,
> Thou hearest neither that nor this:
> *For when thy labour all done is,*
> *And hast made all thy reckonings,*
> Instead of rest, and of new things,
> Thou goest home to thine house anon,
> And all so dumbe as a stone
> Thou sittest at another book,
> Till fully dazèd is thy look,
> And livest thus as a hermíte,
> Although thine abstinence is lite,"* &c.

In the love of good living, here acknowledged, we may see the origin of that goodly bulk upon which Harry Bailley, in the 'Canterbury Tales,' banters the poet. "Now," he calls out to the pilgrims,

> "'Ware you, sirs, and let this man have place;
> He in the waist is shapen as well as I:
> This were a poppet in an arme to embrace
> For any woman."

Through the same medium the poet describes himself as accustomed to look on the ground, to be "elvish" of countenance, silent, and reserved. We need only add to these traits another, also on the best of authorities—his own—namely, the love of walking, and enjoyment of all the sights and sounds of natural phenomena. In his 'Legend of Good Women' he writes—

> "And as for me, though that I can but lite,*
> On bookes for to read, I me delight,
> And to them give I faith and full credénce
> And in mine heart have them in reverence,
> So heartily, that there is gamè none
> That from my bookes maketh me to gone;

* Little.

But it be seldom on the holyday,
Save certainly when that the month of May
Is comen, and that I hear the fowles* sing,
And that the flowres 'ginnen for to spring,
Farewell my book and my devotion."

In 1386 the people emphatically marked their approbation of him whom kings had delighted to honour, by electing Chaucer to parliament as a knight of the shire for Kent. But, in all probability, that honour destroyed the poet's peace. Misfortunes began from this time to fall thickly upon him. Within two months after the meeting of parliament he was deprived of the comptrollership, as well as the comptrollership of the petty customs, that had been conferred by Richard II. four years before; and we are utterly in the dark as to the cause. Tyrwhitt, Godwin, and others have built up an elaborate hypothesis, as to his connexion with the civic commotion in London in 1384, when John of Northampton stood for the office of mayor in opposition to the court candidate; and which ended, they say, as concerned the poet, in his expatriation to Zealand, in his enduring great sufferings there, in his return to England in 1386, and in his committal to the Tower, until 1389. All these presumptions, founded on various passages of the 'Testament of Love,' the right key to which has evidently not yet been found, have been utterly set at rest by Sir Harris Nicholas's discovery of records showing that from 1380 to 1388 Chaucer received his pension regularly as it became due, in London, *with his own hands*. And, indeed, we have only to weigh for a moment the character and doings of the parliament to which he was elected, to satisfy us that there need be no surprise excited at the treatment experienced by Chaucer. Legislation, in the dictionary of the leading politicians of the day, meant intrigues for the possession of power. The parliament was divided into two parties; one supporting the king, and the king's favourites, De la Pole and De Vere, and the other determined to drive those favourites from power. The oppo-

* Birds.

sition was headed by the Duke of Gloucester, a brother of John of Gaunt, and it succeeded; De la Pole was dismissed, impeached, and imprisoned; and, finally, the successful party demanded and obtained from Richard a council for the government of the nation. There would be little relish then for the advice, little sympathy with the conduct of a man who in his writings was accustomed, whilst bidding the people to obey the king and the law, also to say to their governors—

"Knight, let thy *deedes worship détermine*,"

and

"Go forth, king, and rule thee by sapience;"

and who was in religion a Wickliffite.

In struggles between ambitious nobles and a king who desired to be despotic, a man of independent character might easily give deep offence to those against whom he acted, and without particularly pleasing those who might look upon him generally as their supporter; and that Chaucer appears to have done. He was made the victim of the one, and received no compensating benefits from the other. So, in 1388, he was compelled to sell two of his pensions, which were accordingly assigned to John Scalby. His wife's pension had ceased with the life of her to whom it had been granted. The last payment to Philippa Chaucer took place in June, 1387. She died therefore within a twelvemonth after the events that plunged them both in adversity.

In 1389, Richard, then in his twenty-second year, suddenly dismissed Gloucester, and confided the administration to another uncle, the Duke of York, and to a cousin, Henry of Bolingbroke, the son of John of Gaunt, who during all these changes was on the Continent endeavouring to establish for himself a Spanish sovereignty. Within two months after that change, Chaucer was appointed Clerk of the Works at the king's chief palaces, at a salary of two shillings a day, and in the course of his duties he had to superintend the onerous but honourable and gratifying task of repairing St. George's Chapel, Windsor. But again he was dismissed, after about two years' service; unless, indeed, which is pos-

sible rather than probable, that he, in order to carry out his literary views, had himself determined to retire finally from all public employment. He was now sixty-three years old; the "Comedy" over which he had so long pondered, and which was to contain the accumulated wealth of his genius, wisdom, and experience, was still unwritten, except in parts, and he had evidently long desired to abstract himself from mere worldly avocation. Thus in 1384 he had obtained from Richard a relaxation of Edward's stringent regulation, that he should not nominate a deputy, and in the very year that he ceased to hold his architectural appointments he had caused John Elmhurst to officiate for him. At all events, the years 1393, 1394, 1395, are supposed to have been those of the production of the 'Canterbury Tales' (which are known to have been produced after Jack Straw's insurrection, as that occurrence is mentioned in them), and we see no reason to disturb the supposition. Woodstock, a royal seat, was, according to tradition, the scene of the poet's labours on this his greatest work, as well as of others of an earlier date. In the scientific treatise addressed by Chaucer to one of his two sons, Lewis, who appears to have died young, there does appear something like evidence that Chaucer was living in the neighbourhood of Oxford when he composed that piece, which contains the date of 1391. Chaucer there speaks of the astrolabe he has "compounded after the latitude of Oxford." But there is really so little tangible knowledge concerning the poet's residence either at Woodstock or at Donnington Castle, that it is best to rest content with the fact that tradition does say Chaucer resided at both, and that at Donnington he planted the three oaks known respectively as Chaucer's oak, the king's oak, and the queen's. But then tradition must not be too exacting—must not also ask us to believe that the poet wrote several of his poems beneath the shade of one of the trees he had planted. It must have been a most precocious tree else.

In deep gloom, much we fear, the poet spent the latter hours of his day of life, though not without a sudden lighting up of the horizon ere the close, as if to surround his passage into the grave with something of the glory

that should attend the sunset of such a life. Sir Harris Nicholas has collected together in his work (to which we must refer for the particulars) facts of the deepest interest, as showing that he was in poverty, sheer unmistakeable poverty, from 1394 to 1398. And yet John of Gaunt had not only returned to England, but had married the sister of the poet's wife, through which marriage therefore Chaucer became connected with the royal family of England. Was the poet too proud to make known the real state of his affairs? In 1398 Richard, with whom sympathy and admiration for Chaucer seem to have been the mere occasionally recurring whim of the moment, did again so far remember the poet as to confer on him another grant of wine, more valuable than the first, to be delivered by the poet's own son, Thomas, who had then risen to the rank of chief butler. In 1399 Richard was deposed, and Bolingbroke became king of England; and within *four* days the pension of twenty marks that Richard had granted to Chaucer in 1394 (six years after the sale of the two pensions formerly possessed by him) was *doubled*, leaving him, on the whole, the recipient of an income from the crown amply sufficient for all his wants. He now took a lease of a house situated in a garden adjoining Westminster Abbey, and there probably he died, on the 25th of October, 1400. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, and it is only fitting that Poets' Corner, like English poetry itself, should date its foundation from Geoffrey Chaucer. As a poet, he needs no epitaph, but whenever we do—what has been often talked of—rebuild his monument in the Abbey, we need desire no nobler testimony of his character as a man to be inscribed on it, than the ballad with which we conclude, and which was written by him, as the affecting title states, when he lay upon his death-bed in "great anguish:"—

"Fly from the press,* and dwell with soothfastness,†
Suffice unto thy good, though it be small,
For hoard hath hate, and climbing tickleness;
Praise hath envý, and weal is blent over all;
Savour‡ no more than thee behovè shall;

* Crowd. † Truth. ‡ Taste.

Rede* well thyself that other folk canst rede
And truth thee shall deliver, it is no drede.

Paine thee not each crookèd to redress,
In trust of her that turneth as a ball,
Great rest standeth in little business;
Beware also to spurn against a nall,†
Strive not as doth a crocke with a wall;
Doomé thyself that doomest others dede,
And truth thee shall deliver, it is no drede.

That‡ thee is sent, receive in buxomness,§
The wrestling of this world asketh a fall;
Here is no home, here is but wilderness;
Forthe pilgrim, forthe beast out of thy stall,
Look up on high, and thanke God of all,
Waivè thy lusts, and let thy ghost‖ thee lead,
And truth thee shall deliver, it is no drede."

* Counsel. † Nail. ‡ That which.
§ Obedience, patience. ‖ Spirit, or inward monitor.

William of Wykeham.

There is an old tradition, perhaps not worthy of much credit, that upon the wall of a tower in Windsor Castle, known as the Winchester Tower, was inscribed "This made Wykeham." The great churchman raised this tower as the architect of Windsor Castle, working under the commands of his patron Edward III. It is further said, that the king being offended at this inscription, its more obvious meaning was dexterously explained away, seeing that it should be interpreted to record that the building of the castle was "the making" of the architect. There are other proud edifices still remaining upon which might be inserted "This made Wykeham" in the most complete sense. No man ever left more permanent traces of his course and character. The founder of Winchester College, and of New College, Oxford,—the builder of the noblest part of Winchester

Cathedral,—had a title to be called their "maker," with no king or subject to dispute his pretensions. He was one of the very few men who, having raised themselves by their abilities and integrity to riches and honour, worked not sordidly for themselves to heap up treasure, but nobly employed their wealth in works of the highest public utility. The life of such a man is for example. William De Wykeham, or Of Wykeham, was born at Wykeham or Wickham, in Hampshire, in the year 1324, and, as his biographer Bishop Lowth has shown, some time between the 7th of July and the 27th of September. There is reason to believe that he did not take his name from his native village, the same name being borne by several of his relations living in his own day, who do not appear to have been born there. All that is certainly known about his father and mother is that their Christian names were John and Sybil: if his father bore the name of Wykeham, he appears to have also passed by that of Long or Longe, and to have had an elder brother who was called Henry Aas.

Lowth thus sensibly remarks upon this obscurity of the name of so distinguished a man:—"If we consider the uncertain state of family-names at the time of the birth of Wykeham, we shall not think it strange that there should be such doubt with regard to the surname of his family; or even if it should appear that he had properly no family-name at all. Surnames were introduced into England by the Normans at the Conquest: 'But certain it is,' says Camden, 'that as the better sort, even from the Conquest, by little and little, took surnames; so they were not settled among the common people fully until about the time of Edward the Second.'"

The parents of Wykeham are held to have been poor, but of creditable descent and reputable character. When their son became a dignitary of the church, he employed a seal with heraldic bearings and a quaint motto; but it is believed that these honours were not hereditary. Lowth holds that his relations were of the common people, and adds, "I am even inclined to think that he himself disclaimed all farther pretensions. The cele-

brated motto which he added to his arms (of which probably he might have received a grant when he began to rise in the world) I imagine was intended by him to intimate something of this kind: *Manners makyth Man:* the true meaning of which, as he designed it, I presume to be, though it has commonly been understood otherwise, that a man's real worth is to be estimated not from the outward and accidental advantages of birth, rank, and fortune, but from the endowments of his mind and his moral qualifications. In this sense it bears a proper relation to his arms, and contains a just apology for those ensigns of his newly acquired dignity. Conscious to himself that his claim to honour is unexceptionable, as founded upon truth and reason, he in a manner makes his appeal to the world; alleging that neither high birth, to which he makes no pretensions, nor high station, upon which he does not value himself, but

"'Virtue alone is true nobility.'"

He was put to school at Winchester, not by his father, who had not the means, but by some wealthy patron, who is traditionally said to have been Nicholas Uvedale, lord of the manor of Wykeham and governor of Winchester Castle. The tradition further asserts that, after leaving school, he became secretary to Uvedale; and that he was secretary to the constable of Winchester Castle is stated in a written account compiled in his own time. Afterwards he is said to have been recommended by Uvedale to Edyngton, bishop of Winchester, and then by those two friends to have been made known to King Edward III. There seems to be no reason for supposing that he ever studied at Oxford, as has been affirmed by some of the later writers of his life. It is evident, indeed, that he had not had a university education, and that he never pretended to any skill in the favourite scholastic learning of his age. His strength lay in his natural genius, in his knowledge of mankind and talent for business; and probably the only art or science he had much cultivated was architecture.

He is said in an ancient contemporary account to have

been brought to court when he was no more than three or four and twenty, which would be about the year 1348; but the earliest office which there is the evidence of records for his having held, is that of clerk of all the king's works in his manors of Henle and Yesthampsted, his patent for which is dated 10th of May, 1356. On the 30th of October in the same year he was made surveyor of the king's works at the castle and in the park of Windsor. It is affirmed by a contemporary writer to have been at his instigation that King Edward pulled down and rebuilt great part of Windsor Castle. Wykeham had the sole superintendence of the work. Queenborough Castle, in the Isle of Sheppy, was also built under his direction.

The king now began to reward him bountifully. He had probably taken deacon's orders at an early age; Lowth finds him designated 'clericus,' or clerk, in 1352. It was not, however, till the 5th of December, 1361, that he was admitted to the order of acolyte: he was ordained sub-deacon on the 12th of March, 1362, and priest on the 12th of June following. Meanwhile his first ecclesiastical preferment, the rectory of Pulham in Norfolk, had been conferred upon him by the king's presentation on the 30th of November, 1357. On the 1st of March, 1359, he was presented by the king to the prebend of Flixton, in the church of Lichfield. On the 16th of April following he had a grant of 200*l.* a year from the crown, over and above all his former appointments, till he should get quiet possession of the church of Pulham, his induction into which living had been opposed by the court of Rome. On the 10th of July in the same year, he was appointed chief warden and surveyor of the king's castles of Windsor, Leeds, Dovor, and Hadham, and of the manors of Old and New Windsor, Wichemer, and sundry other other castles and manors, with the parks belonging to them. On the 5th of May, 1360, he received the king's grant of the deanery of the royal free chapel or collegiate church of St. Martin-le-Grand, London. In October, 1360, he attended upon the king at Calais, probably in quality of public notary, when the

treaty of Bretigny was solemnly confirmed by the oaths of Edward and King John of France. Numerous additional preferments in the church were heaped upon him in the course of the next three years. By June, 1363, moreover he had been appointed to the office of warden and justiciary of the king's forests on this side Trent. On the 14th of March, 1364, he had by royal grant an assignment of twenty shillings a-day out of the exchequer. On the 11th of May, 1364, he was made keeper of the privy seal, and soon after he is styled secretary to the king, or what we should now call principal secretary of state. In May, 1365, he was commissioned by the king, with the chancellor, the treasurer, and the Earl of Arundel, to treat of the ransom of the King of Scotland (David II., taken at the battle of Nevil's Cross in 1346), and the prolonging of the truce with the Scots. And not long after this he is designated, in a paper printed in the 'Fœdera,' chief of the privy council and governor of the great council, which phrases, however, Lowth supposes do not express titles of office, but only the great influence and authority which he had in those assemblies. "There are several other preferments, both ecclesiastical and civil," adds Lowth, "which he is said to have held; but I do not mention them, because the authorities produced for them are such as I cannot entirely depend upon. And, as to his ecclesiastical benefices already mentioned, the practice of exchanging them was then so common, that 'tis hard to determine precisely which of them he held altogether at any one time." There is extant, however, an account given in by himself on occasion of the bull of Pope Urban V. against pluralities, of the entire number and value of his church benefices, as the matter stood in the year 1366; and from this statement, in which Wykeham calls himself "Sir William of Wykeham, clerk, archdeacon of Lincoln, and secretary of our lord the illustrious King of England, and keeper of his privy seal, it appears that the total produce of those which he had held when the account was demanded was 873*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*,

and of those of which he remained in possession when it was given in, 842*l.*"

Froissart, speaking of the English court at this period, says, "At this time reigned a priest called William of Wykeham. This William of Wykeham was so much in favour with the King of England, that everything was done by him, and nothing was done without him."

Upon the death of William de Edyngton, on the 8th of October, 1366, Wykeham was immediately, upon the king's earnest recommendation, elected by the prior and convent of Winchester to succeed him as bishop of that see. He was not consecrated till the 10th of October in the year following; but this delay, till an adjustment was effected of the conflicting pretensions of the royal authority and the court of Rome, was evidently occasioned, as Lowth has shown, only by a contention between the king and the pope as to which of them should have the largest share in Wykeham's promotion. Meanwhile he had been appointed by the king lord high chancellor of England; he was confirmed in that office on the 17th of September, 1367.

He continued chancellor till the 14th of March, 1371, when he delivered back to the king both the great and the privy seals, on the change of ministry made in compliance with a petition presented shortly before by the Lords and Commons, complaining of the mischiefs which had resulted from the government of the kingdom having for a long time been in the hands of men of the church, and praying that secular men only might be appointed to the principal offices both in the king's courts and household. There is no appearance, however, of this complaint being specially directed against any part of the conduct of the Bishop of Winchester, who assisted at the ceremony of constituting his successor in the chancellorship, and seems to have for years after this continued to retain both the favour of the king and the goodwill of the parliament, and even to have remained in habits of intimate and confidential connexion with the Duke of Lan-

caster, to whose influence the removal of the clergy from the offices of state is said to have been owing.

With reference to the complaint that men of the church filled high civil offices, Lowth observes, "The truth of the matter seems to be, that the laity in general looked with an evil eye upon the clergy, who had of late filled for the most part the great posts of honour and profit in the state; which, as it was obvious to remark, neither lay within their province nor were suitable to their function and character. The practice, however improper in itself and liable to objection, yet seems to have taken its rise from the necessity of the times: the men of abilities had for a long time been chiefly employed abroad in the wars; this was the most open road to riches and honours, and every one was pushing forward in it. Besides, it was not at any time easy to find among the laity persons properly qualified, in point of knowledge and letters, to fill with sufficiency some of the highest offices. We see the king was now obliged to have recourse to the lawyers: they gave as little satisfaction as the churchmen had done; and in a few years it was found necessary to discharge them, and to call in the churchmen again."

At the period of Wykeham's election to the see of Winchester, the bishops of that diocese had no fewer than twelve different castles or palaces, all furnished and maintained as places of residence. Wykeham's first undertaking after he found himself in possession of the see was to set about a thorough repair of these episcopal houses.

To these palaces or castles the bishops of Winchester resorted in turns, "living, according to the custom of those times, chiefly upon the produce of their own estates. So great a demand as the bishop had upon his predecessor's executors for dilapidations could not very soon or very easily be brought to an accommodation; however, the account was at last settled between them without proceeding on either side to an action at law. In the first place they delivered to him the standing stock of the bishopric due to him by right and custom:

namely, 127 draught-horses, 1556 head of black cattle, 3876 weathers, 4777 ewes, 3521 lambs: and afterwards for dilapidations, in cattle, corn, and other goods, to the value of 1662*l.* 10*s.* sterling."

Before his repairs were accomplished, Wykeham had disbursed twenty thousand marks of his own revenue. This energetic improver also applied himself with great zeal and diligence to the reformation of abuses in the monasteries and religious houses of all sorts throughout his diocese. The ancient hospital of St. Cross, at Sparkeford, near Winchester, founded in 1132 by the famous Bishop Henry de Blois, brother to King Stephen, in particular engaged much of his attention, and the objects of the charity were indebted to his persevering exertions for the restoration of many rights and benefits which they had originally enjoyed, but of which they had been for a long time defrauded.

In 1373 a school at Winchester, founded wholly by the munificence of this high-minded prelate, was first opened. The history of the endowment and completion of Winchester College, and of New College at Oxford, for which Winchester is preparatory, is so well told by Lowth, that we transcribe his narrative and just remarks without abridgment:—

"At the same time that Wykeham was thus engaged in the reformation of these charitable institutions, he was forming the plan of a much more noble and extensive foundation of his own, and taking his measures for putting it in execution. He had long resolved to dispose of the wealth which the Divine Providence had so abundantly bestowed upon him to some charitable use and for the public good, but was greatly embarrassed when he came to fix his choice upon some design that was like to prove most beneficial, and least liable to abuse. He tells us himself that upon this occasion he diligently examined and considered the various rules of the religious orders, and compared with them the lives of their several professors; but was obliged with grief to declare that he could not anywhere find that the ordinances of their founders, according to their true design and intention,

were at present observed by any of them. This reflection affected him greatly, and inclined him to take the resolution of distributing his riches to the poor with his own hands, rather than employ them in establishing an institution which might become a snare and an occasion of guilt to those for whose benefit it should be designed. After much deliberation and devout invocation of the Divine assistance, considering how greatly the number of the clergy had been of late reduced by continual wars and frequent pestilences, he determined at last to endeavour to remedy, as far as he was able, this desolation of the church, by relieving poor scholars in their clerical education; and to establish two colleges of students, for the honour of God and increase of his worship, for the support and exaltation of the Christian faith, and for the improvement of the liberal arts and sciences; hoping and trusting that men of letters and various knowledge, and bred up in the fear of God, would see more clearly and attend more strictly to the obligation lying upon them to observe the rules and directions which he should give them. Wykeham seems to have come to this resolution, and in some measure to have formed in his mind his general plan, as early as his becoming Bishop of Winchester; for we find that in little more than two years after, he had made purchases of several parcels of ground in the city of Oxford, which make the chief part of the site of his college there. His college of Winchester, intended as a nursery for that of Oxford, was part of his original plan; for as early as the year 1373, before he proceeded any further in his design for the latter, he established a school at Winchester, of the same kind with the former, and for the same purpose. He agreed with Richard de Herton, that for ten years, beginning from Michaelmas of the year above mentioned, he should diligently instruct in grammatical learning as many poor scholars as the bishop should send to him, and no others without his leave; that the bishop should provide and allow him a proper assistant; and that Herton, in case of his own illness or necessary absence, should substitute a proper master to supply his place.

"Wykeham's munificence proceeded always from a constant generous principle, a true spirit of liberality. It was not owing to a casual impulse or a sudden emotion, but was the effect of mature deliberation and prudent choice. His enjoyment of riches consisted in employing them in acts of beneficence, and while they were increasing upon him, he was continually devising proper means of disposing of them for the good of the public, not delaying it till the time of his death, when he could keep them no longer, nor leaving to the care of others what he could better execute himself; but forming his good designs early, and, as soon as he had the ability, putting them in execution, that he might have the satisfaction of seeing the beneficial effects of them, and that by constant observation and due experience he might from time to time improve and perfect them, so as to render them yet more beneficial."

The pious and patriotic exertions of the good bishop were interrupted for a time by a political storm which rose against him in 1376, the last year of the reign of Edward III. He had been appointed one of the council established to superintend the conduct of affairs on the petition of the parliament which met in April of that year; and in consequence became a principal object of the resentment of the Duke of Lancaster and his party, who, after the death of the Black Prince in June, and the rise of the parliament in July, took possession of the superannuated and dying king, and proceeded to overthrow all the reforms that had been lately made in the government, and to effect, as far as they could, the ruin of all concerned in them. By the duke's contrivance eight articles were exhibited against the bishop at the beginning of the next Michaelmas term, charging him with various acts of pecuniary defalcation, oppression, and other sorts of misgovernment while he had been in office many years before as keeper of the privy seal and lord chancellor. He was heard in his defence, before a commission of bishops, peers, and privy councillors, about the middle of November, when judgment was given against him upon one of the articles, involving

at the utmost a mere irregularity; and upon this, under the influence that then prevailed at court, an order was immediately issued for the sequestration of the revenues of his bishopric, and he was at the same time forbidden, in the king's name, to come within twenty miles of the court. The next parliament, which met on the 27th of January, 1377, was wholly devoted to Lancaster; and when, soon after, on the petition of the Commons, an act of general pardon was issued by the king, in consideration of its being the year of his jubilee, the Bishop of Winchester alone was specially excepted out of its provisions. All this, in the circumstances of the time, may be taken as the best attestation to Wykeham's patriotism and integrity. His brethren of the clergy, however, assembled in convocation, now took up his cause with great zeal; and, whether in consequence of their bold representations on the subject to the king, or for some other reason, it was soon deemed expedient to drop the proceedings against him, and on the 18th of June his temporalities were restored to him, on condition of his fitting out three ships of war for the defence of the kingdom and maintaining them at sea for a quarter of a year. And even from this mulct he was released on the accession of Richard II., a few days after. But the loss nevertheless to which he had been subjected by his prosecution is said to have amounted to ten thousand marks.

The instrument by which, on the accession of the young king, Wykeham was relieved from the pains and penalties which a dominant party had imposed upon him, is very full and explicit. It sets forth "that the king, reflecting upon the great damages and hardships that the Bishop of Winchester hath sustained on occasion of the said impeachment, and revolving in his mind the many acceptable, useful, and laudable services which the said bishop with great labour and expense hath long performed for his grandfather, the many high offices which he hath held under his grandfather and father, and the special affection and sincere love which his father while he lived always bore towards the said bishop, out of his special

favour and with his certain knowledge, and also by advice and consent of his uncle the Duke of Lancaster and other prelates and lords of his council, remits and pardons all the aforesaid articles, and all other crimes and offences whatsoever in the amplest terms, and in the fullest manner, the exception of the said bishop in the Act of Grace passed in the last parliament of the late king, and all other statutes to the contrary notwithstanding; concluding with a clause to this effect: 'Willing that all men should know that, although we have granted to the Bishop of Winchester the said pardons and graces, nevertheless we do not think the said bishop to be in anywise chargeable, in the sight of God, with any of the matters thus by us pardoned, remitted, or released unto him, but do hold him to be, as to all and every of them, wholly innocent and guiltless.' "

His pardon was immediately followed by his employment in offices of trust and authority, where his great abilities and force of character gave assurance of a just and wise administration. As soon as Wykeham was released from his troubles he hastened to apply himself anew to the carrying forward and completion of his two colleges. The business of teaching appears to have commenced both at Winchester and at Oxford in 1373; Pope Urban VI.'s bull of licence for founding Winchester College was granted 1st June, 1378; the building of the College at Oxford, which he called "St. Mary College of Winchester in Oxford," was begun in 1380, and was finished in 1386; that of the College at Winchester was begun in 1387, and was finished in 1393. The papal bull confirming the statutes of the college at Oxford is dated 19th July, 1398. As soon as his two colleges were erected, he entered upon another great work, which still remains a monument of his taste and munificence: he resolved to rebuild his cathedral in the greater part of its extent. This undertaking he commenced in 1395, and he just lived to see it brought to a close in about ten years after.

The Bishop of Winchester was one of the fourteen persons appointed in 1386, on the petition of the parlia-

ment, instigated by the king's uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, to be a council to the king for one year, and in fact for that term to exercise all the powers of government. As soon as the parliament was dismissed, Richard made an attempt to break from the yoke thus imposed upon him; the commission and statute appointing the council were declared by the judges, on the royal command, to be illegal and null, and to have involved all who had been concerned in procuring them in the guilt of treason. Upon this the Duke of Gloucester and his friends raised an army of forty thousand men. Having encamped before London, they sent a deputation, of which the Bishop of Winchester was a member, to the king; the deputies were graciously received, and returned with proposals for an accommodation; but in the mean time a body of forces which had been raised for the king in Wales and Cheshire, under the command of his minion the Duke of Ireland, was encountered by the Earl of Derby and a part of the army of the confederated lords at Radcott Bridge in Oxfordshire, and entirely defeated. This blow compelled Richard to yield for the present. But in May, 1389, another revolution in the government was effected by the king suddenly declaring himself to be of age, and removing the Duke of Gloucester and his friends from the council-board. He did not, however, dispense with the services of the Bishop of Winchester, but, on the contrary, forced him again to accept the great seal. Wykeham remained chancellor till the 27th of September, 1391, when he retired from office, Gloucester having by this time been restored to his place in the council, and all parties having been for the present again reconciled, in a great measure, it is probable, through the bishop's mediation. From this date Wykeham appears to have taken little or no share in public affairs. In 1397, when the Duke of Gloucester was put to death, and several of those who had joined him in taking arms in 1386 were attainted for that treason, the Bishop of Winchester and others were, at the intercession of the Commons, declared by the king from the throne in parliament not to have been im-

plicated in what their fellow-commissioners had done. Wykeham was present in the parliament held 30th September, 1399, when Richard was deposed, and also in the first parliament of Henry IV., summoned a few days after; but this was the last which he attended. He continued, however, in the active discharge of his episcopal duties for two or three years longer, and was able to transact business till within four days of his death, which took place at South Waltham, about eight o'clock on the morning of Saturday the 27th of September, 1404.

We conclude with Lowth's just eulogium upon the high-minded munificence of this remarkable man:—"We frequently hear of men who, by the force of their genius, by their industry, or by their good fortune, have raised themselves from the lowest stations to the highest degrees of honour, power, and wealth; but how seldom do we meet with those who have made a proper use of the advantages which they have thus happily acquired, and considered them as deposited in their hands by Providence for the general benefit of mankind? In this respect Wykeham stands an uncommon and almost singular example of generosity and public spirit. By the time that he had reached the meridian of life, he had acquired great wealth; and the remainder of his days he employed not in increasing it to no reasonable end, but in bestowing it in every way that piety, charity, and liberality could devise. The latter half of a long life he spent in one continued series of generous actions and great designs, for the good of his friends, of the poor, and of his country. His beneficence was ever vigilant, active, and persevering: it was not only ready to answer when opportunity called, but sought it out when it did not offer itself. No man seems to have tasted more sensibly the pleasure of doing good; and no man had ever a greater share of this exquisite enjoyment. The foundation of his colleges, the principal monuments of his munificence, was as well calculated for the real use of the public, and as judiciously planned as it was nobly and generously executed. Whatever Wykeham's attainments in letters were, he had at least the good sense to

see that the clergy, though they had almost engrossed the whole learning of that age, yet were very deficient in real and useful knowledge; besides that by the particular distresses of the times, and the havoc that several successive plagues had made in all ranks of the people, but especially among the clergy, the church was at a loss for a proper supply of such as were tolerably qualified for the performance of the common service. It was not vanity and ostentation that suggested this design to him; he was prompted to it by the notorious exigence of the times and the real demands of the public. The deliberation with which he entered upon it, and the constant attention with which he pursued it for above thirty years, shows how much he set his heart upon the success of his undertaking, and how earnestly he endeavoured to secure the effectual attainment of the end proposed, the promotion of true piety and learning. In a word, as he was in his own time a general blessing to his country, in which his bounty was freely imparted to every object that could come within the reach of his influence, so the memory of this great man merits the universal regard of posterity, as of one whose pious and munificent designs were directed to the general good of mankind, and were extended to the latest ages."

END OF VOL. I.

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THE

CABINET PORTRAIT GALLERY

OF

BRITISH WORTHIES.

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CABINET PORTRAIT GALLERY

OF

BRITISH WORTHIES.

A LIVING writer, whose opinions are not only entitled to the utmost respect from their intrinsic importance, but who commands far more than ordinary attention from the circumstances of his social position, has recently alluded to the character of Henry the Fifth as one which the historian is called upon to denounce, and hold up to execration:—"Reference has been made already to the Plantagenet Prince (Henry V.), and the Tudor Princess (Elizabeth), so much the theme of admiration with historians for great capacity, crowned with dazzling success. But why could not the diction of Hume and of Robertson

have been employed for the far more worthy purpose of causing men to despise the intrigues, and execrate the wars, of such rulers? The same events had then studded their page, the same picturesque details given it striking effect, the same graphic colours added life to it, and yet the right feelings of the reader would have been exerted and cherished; nor would the historians have made themselves accomplices with the vulgar in the criminal award of applause and of fame, by which the wicked actions of past times are rewarded, and the repetition of the same offences encouraged."* Without attempting to controvert these opinions in the abstract, we may believe that the remarkable qualities which distinguished "the Plantagenet Prince," and his great-grandfather Edward III., may claim the attention, and even the applause, of the historian and the biographer, without the award being criminal, or the wicked actions of past times encouraged. To adopt the sentiments of a literary friend and colleague, "It is unnecessary in the present day to waste a word on either the injustice or the folly of the enterprise on which Henry threw away the whole of his reign. In estimating his character it is of more importance to remember that the folly and injustice, which are now so evident, were as little perceived at that day by his subjects in general as by himself, and that there can be no doubt whatever that both he and they thought he was, in the assertion of his fancied rights to the crown of France, pursuing both a most important and a most legitimate object. That motives of personal ambition mingled their influence in his views and proceedings must no doubt be admitted; but that is perfectly consistent with honesty of purpose, and a thorough belief in the rightness both of the object sought and the means employed to secure it. In following the bright though misleading *idea* that had captivated him, he certainly displayed many endowments of the loftiest and most admirable kind—energy, both of body and mind, which no

* Lives of Men of Letters and Science, by Henry, Lord Brougham.

fatigue could quell; the most heroic gallantry; patience and endurance, watchfulness and activity, steadiness, determination, policy, and other moral constituents, as they may be called, of genius, as well as mere military skill and resources."*

Henry, the eldest son of Henry Bolingbroke and Mary Bohun, was born at Monmouth, according to some of the chroniclers, on the 9th of August, 1387. It has been held that he was educated at Oxford, under his uncle Cardinal Beaufort; and although the archives of the university furnish no evidence of the fact, yet tradition has in this case more than common authority. He is said to have lodged in a small room over the ancient gateway of Queen's College; and here, according to Anthony Wood, were rude portraits in stained glass, of his uncle and of himself, with a Latin inscription, which has been thus translated—"To record the fact for ever. The Emperor of Britain, the triumphant Lord of France, the conqueror of his enemies and of himself, Henry V., of this little chamber once the great inhabitant." The term of his scholastic education must, however, have been very brief. He had just completed his eleventh year in 1398, when his father was banished by the tyrannical decree of Richard II.; and it would appear that the king, no doubt from motives of policy, took upon himself the protection, or rather the custody, of the young Henry Bolingbroke. Richard II. sailed for Ireland on the 29th of May, 1399. On the 23rd of June, the vigil of St. John, it is recorded by an eye-witness that Richard "out of true and entire affection, sent for the son of the Duke of Lancaster, a fair, young, and handsome bachelor, and knighted him, saying, 'My fair cousin, henceforth be preux and valiant.'" In less than a fortnight from this time the Duke of Lancaster had landed at Ravenspur. Richard immediately shut up the young Henry in Trym Castle; but within two months the weak king was deposed, Bolingbroke crowned as Henry IV., and the fair young bachelor created Prince

* Penny Cyclopædia, art. Henry V.

of Wales, and declared, by act of parliament, heir-apparent to the throne. In 1401, when he was scarcely fourteen years of age, the young Henry was in command of an army sent against the rebellious Welsh. A despatch from the prince to the council, dated the 15th of May, 1401, contains many of the revolting details which necessarily accompany warfare, at all periods, and under all circumstances. "We caused the whole place to be set on fire—we laid waste a fine and populous country;" —these are the expressions which Henry uses, describing the *duties* which he performed. The disgust which we naturally feel at the record of such atrocities should not be wholly bestowed upon one who was essentially the child and champion of warfare in an age when war was the great business of existence, but upon those who in a far different state of society, when the business of the world is peace, carry this savagery of civilization into the houses of men that they esteem barbarous, and receive the rewards of riches and honours from applauding senates—ay, even from a nation that cannot spare a few annual thousands to bestow upon the widows and orphans of the poet and the philosopher. In an age of butchery Henry of Monmouth was a merciful conqueror. There is a proclamation extant of Henry IV., dated the 10th of March, 1401, which thus begins, "Of our especial grace, and at the prayer of our dearest first-born son, Henry, Prince of Wales, we have pardoned all treasons, rebellions," &c.

In his sixteenth year Henry was at the battle of Shrewsbury, where, though severely wounded in the face, he fought gallantly to the close of the bloody day. Immediately after this he was sent to Wales in command of the army employed against Glendower, and for some years he was occupied in the contest with that able and active leader, in the course of which he evinced extraordinary military genius, defeating his adversary in a succession of engagements—in one of which, fought at Grosmont in Monmouthshire, in March, 1405, he took his son Griffith prisoner—and driving him from fastness to fastness, till all Wales, except a small part of the

north, was reduced to submission. It is said that the renown and popularity the prince acquired by these successes so inflamed the jealousy of his father as to occasion his recall from the army. It is at this period of his life—that is, for about seven years previous to his ascending the throne—that we must, in all probability, place that career of dissipation which, however exaggerated it may have been by the early historians, had no doubt an adequate foundation—the natural result of the ardent temperament of a youth trusted very early with almost irresponsible power. It has been attempted to prove that there was no solid historical ground for the prevailing opinion of Henry's early profligacy; first, by Mr. Alexander Luders, in 'An Essay on the Character of Henry V. when Prince of Wales,' published in 1813—secondly, by the Rev. J. Endell Tyler, in his historical work 'Henry of Monmouth,' published in 1838. Without regarding what the chroniclers of the sixteenth century recorded of Henry, we have abundant evidence in the writings of his own contemporaries that

"His addiction was to courses vain."

Thomas Elmham, one of those contemporaries who wrote his life, distinctly tells us of his passing the bounds of modesty, and, "when not engaged in military exercises, he also indulged in other excesses which unrestrained youth is apt to fall into." Of Henry's sudden conversion this author also tells the story; and he dates it from his father's death-bed. Otterburn, another contemporary of Henry, gives us also the story of his sudden conversion:—"Repentè mutatus est in virum alterum:" he was suddenly changed into another man. Hardyng, another contemporary, and an adherent of the house of Lancaster, says—

"The hour he was crowned and anoint
He changed was of all his old condition;"

or, as he says in the argument to this chapter of his chronicle, "he was changed from all vices unto virtuous life." Walsingham, a fourth contemporary, speaking of

a heavy fall of snow on the 9th of April, the day of his coronation, says "that some interpreted this unseasonable weather to be a happy omen; as if he would cause the snow and frost of vices to fall away in his reign, and the serene fruits of virtues to spring up. That it might be truly said by his subjects, 'Lo, the winter is past, the rain is over and gone.' Who, indeed, as soon as he was invested with the ensigns of royalty, was suddenly changed into a new man, behaving with propriety, modesty, and gravity, and showing a desire to practise every kind of virtue." The story of Henry insulting the Lord Chief Justice, and being by him committed to prison, was first told by Sir Thomas Elyot, in 1534, in his book entitled 'The Governor;' and he sets out by saying, "The most renowned Prince, King Henry V., late King of England, during the life of his father, was noted to be fierce and of wanton courage." His servant, according to this story, was arraigned for felony, and the prince, "incensed by light persons about him, in furious rage came hastily to the bar." According to Sir Thomas Elyot, the prince did not strike the judge; but "being set all in a fury, all chafed, in a terrible manner came up to the place of judgment, men thinking that he would have slain the judge." Holinshed makes the blow to have been inflicted.

Henry IV. died on the 20th of April, 1413, and his son was proclaimed king on the day after the death of his father. His accession to power gave him an immediate opportunity of displaying the generous qualities of his nature. He transferred the remains of Richard the II. with a pious care to Westminster Abbey; he set free the young Earl of March, who had been held captive during the preceding reign; and he recalled the son of Hotspur from exile to reinstate him in his hereditary possessions. Within a year after his accession he entered upon the perilous adventure of the conquest of France. The history of his first invasion is undoubtedly the most interesting event in Henry's life; and the battle of Agincourt, as it was the last great conflict of the times of chivalry, was, in many respects, the most extraordinary.

The authentic details of this expedition have been collected and formed into a most interesting narrative by Sir Harris Nicolas. We shall condense, in as short a compass as may be, the leading details of this wonderful story.

The claim of Henry V. to the crown of France appears to have been set up without the shadow of justice. He demanded the throne as the heir of Isabella, wife of Edward II., and daughter of Philip IV. His pretensions were more absurd than those of Edward III., for at that time the Earl of March was the direct heir of Isabella. The concessions which Henry required from France, for the renunciation of his title, were certainly most extravagant. He was, perhaps, anxious that they should be refused. He was of a restless and enthusiastic nature, and his element was war. During the year 1414, and till the time of Henry's invasion in 1415, negotiations were carried on with the French court. Henry would not listen to the terms proposed: it is said he had a personal insult to avenge upon the Dauphin of France; he even challenged him to single combat. Two letters addressed to the King of France by Henry on the subject of his claims, are given by Mr. Nicolas; they are very characteristic of the man and of the times. However, the King of England, in council at Westminster, on the 17th of April, 1415, determined on the expedition to France, arranged for the safety of the realm during his absence, and settled on the wages of his army. Every exertion was used to provide the necessary stores and attendants for the expedition, and ships were taken up for transport. Most of the fighting men engaged required the advance of a quarter's wages; the parliamentary supply was insufficient for this purpose; and Henry, therefore, not only obtained sums of his subjects by proclamation, but actually pawned many of the crown jewels to raise the necessary supplies. Here is a singular evidence of the enthusiasm with which the king engaged in his ambitious enterprise. It has been estimated that Henry, by these various expedients, raised the sum of 500,000 nobles.

The king left London on the 18th of June, with great

state. He proceeded to Winchester, where he received an embassy from France, with new terms. These were again refused by Henry with unyielding pertinacity. The king afterwards went to Southampton. During his stay there, the conspiracy of the Earl of Cambridge and Lord Scrope for the overthrow of his government was detected, and the principal conspirators were executed before the king quitted the English shores. The invading army assembled in the neighbourhood of Southampton. Its aggregate number is a matter of great doubt, from the contradictions of the old chroniclers: it may be estimated, including the followers of the men-at-arms, at 30,000.

Mr. Nicolas has, with the most commendable industry, collected together the narratives of every contemporary historian, from the time of the departure of the English army to its achievement of the battle of Agincourt. It is difficult in a short space to crowd in many of the interesting facts which are in his book, for the first time, made known; but we shall endeavour to seize upon the most prominent occurrences.

The king embarked on board his ship the *Trinity*, on the 10th of August, between Portsmouth and Southampton. The fleet, consisting of more than a thousand vessels of various sizes, was under weigh on the 11th. The voyage had its good and evil presages: the former was the appearance of swans about the fleet; the latter was at once a presage of calamity, and a calamity itself—the destruction of three large vessels by fire. The invading squadron entered the Seine on the 13th of August, three miles from Harfleur. The disembarkation took place on the next morning. It is remarkable that the landing of the army was entirely unresisted, although the place of disembarkation presented many natural and artificial obstacles. A proclamation was issued, forbidding, under pain of death, all excesses against the inhabitants; and it is to be noted with what honourable perseverance Henry enforced the uniform good treatment of the people through whose districts he passed, even under circumstances of the most dreadful privation.

This merit is yielded to him by all the contemporary historians, whether English or French.

The siege of Harfleur was the first military undertaking of the invading monarch. The conduct of that enterprise was agreeable to the rules of war laid down by 'Master Giles,' the principal military authority of that period. The loss sustained by the besieging army was very great; and in a few days the English forces were visited by a frightful dysentery. Many of the most eminent leaders fell before its ravages. The town was surrendered on the 22nd of September, after a siege of thirty-six days. The inhabitants were treated with kindness, and the great prisoners and hostages with all honour. Henry in this, as in other circumstances, appears to have been a model of chivalrous equanimity. Immediately after the capture of Harfleur, the king of England sent his challenge to personal combat to the Dauphin of France. The loss which the English army sustained during the thirty-six days subsequent to its landing would be almost incredible, if its accuracy were not supported by every conflicting testimony. It appears that if Henry landed with thirty thousand men, more than two-thirds must, during the short period of the siege, have been slain, have died of disease, or have been sent back to England as incapable of proceeding. The English army, when it quitted Harfleur, did not amount to much more than eight thousand fighting men.

It was decided in the council of the King of England, that the invading army should re-embark for their native shores. The pertinacity of Henry (amounting, it would have been thought, to judicial blindness, if his wonderful success had not covered his determination with a false splendour) resolved that, instead of going on board the ships which lay ready to receive them, the army should march to Calais. There was a chivalrous hardihood in the resolve, which almost entirely covers its rashness. His trust, said the king, was in God; he was resolved to see the territories which were his own; he would not subject himself to the reproach of cowardice. "Our mind," said he, "is prepared to endure every peril,

rather than they shall be able to breathe the slightest reproach against your king. We will go, if it pleases God, without harm or danger; and if they disturb our journey, we will frustrate their intentions with honour, victory, and triumph."

The army commenced its perilous march about the 8th of October, carring provisions for eight days. The king's proclamation, forbidding plunder under pain of death, was renewed. The supineness of the French government was suddenly extinguished by the daring character of Henry's march. The oriflamme was hoisted—for the last time. Princes, and knights, and esquires, and men-at-arms, rushed to the sacred standard; and an army of enormous numbers, and of the most complete equipment, was collected to annihilate this band of desperate invaders. The passage of the Somme presented an almost insuperable difficulty to Henry. At Abbeville, and other places, the bridges were broken down; an enemy constantly appeared on the opposite banks; the provisions of the English were nearly exhausted. He at length crossed the river, over a temporary bridge, on the 19th of October, at a place called Nesle. The passage is described with great minuteness by the chroniclers. On the 20th, three heralds arrived from the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, to acquaint the king of their resolution to fight him before he reached Calais. Henry replied, "All would be done according to the will of God. He did not seek them, but the fear of them would not induce him to move out of his way." The king continued his march, with great regularity, till the 24th, when the French army was descried, in "such prodigious numbers, that many of the English fell on their knees, and implored the Almighty to take them under his protection." It was then that the celebrated scene occurred, which is so spiritedly given by our Shakspere. Walter Hungerford was regretting, in the king's presence, that he had not, in addition to the small retinue which he had there, ten thousand of the best English archers; when Henry said, "Thou speakest foolishly, for by the God of Heaven, on whose grace I have relied, and in whom

I have a firm hope of victory, I would not, even if I could, increase my number by one." Shakspere had the anecdote from Holinshed. The fidelity of the poet's descriptions is very remarkable, when they are compared with these contemporary narratives. The night was passed by either army as the great dramatist has described; by the French, in gambling and debauchery—by the English, in prayer and preparation. The quarters of Henry, on the night preceding the battle, were at Maisoncelles. He spent the intervening hours in obtaining accurate reports of his position, and of that of the enemy.

The French army, upon an average of the conflicting testimonies, must have amounted to more than 60,000 men. These forces, on the morning of the 25th, were arrayed in three lines, on the plain of Azincourt, through which the route to Calais lay. The fighting men of France wore "long coats of steel, reaching to their knees, which were very heavy; below these was armour for their legs; and above, white harness, and bacinets, with camails." They were drawn up between two woods, in a space wholly inadequate for the movements of such an immense body; and the ground was soft from heavy rains. It was with the utmost difficulty they could stand, or lift their weapons. The horses at every step sunk into the mud. Henry formed his little band in one line, the archers being posted between the wings, in the form of a wedge, with sharp stakes fixed before them. The king, habited in his "cote d'armes," mounted a small grey horse; but he subsequently fought on foot. He addressed his troops with his usual spirit. Each army remained inactive for some hours. A truce was at length proposed by the French. The reply of Henry, before an army ten times as great as his own, differed little from the terms he had offered in his own capital. Towards the middle of the day, the order was given to the English to advance, by Henry crying aloud, "Advance Banners." Sir Thomas de Erpyngham, the commander of the archers, threw his truncheon into the air, exclaiming, "Now strike!" The English immediately prostrated themselves

to the ground, beseeching the protection of Heaven, and proceeded in three lines on the French army. The archers of Henry soon put the French cavalry in disorder; and the whole army rushing on, with the national huzza, the archers threw aside their bows, and slew all before them with their bill-hooks and hatchets. The immense numbers of the French proved their ruin. The battle soon became a slaughter; and the harnessed knights, almost incapable of moving, were hacked to pieces by the English archers, "who were habited in jackets, and had their hosen loose, with hatchets or swords hanging from their girdles, whilst many were barefooted and without hats." The battle lasted about three hours. The English "stood on the heaps of corpses, which exceeded a man's height." The French, indeed, fell almost passive, in their lines. Henry, at one period of the battle, issued an order for the slaughter of his prisoners. Even the French writers justify this horrible circumstance as an act of self-preservation. The total loss of the French was about ten thousand slain on the field; that of the English appears to have been about twelve hundred. Most of the dead were afterwards buried in enormous trenches.

The English king conducted himself with his accustomed dignity to his many illustrious prisoners. The victorious army marched to Calais in fine order, and embarked for England, without any attempt to follow up their almost miraculous triumph. Henry reached Calais on the 29th of October, and on the 17th of November landed at Dover. He entered London, amidst the most expensive pageantry of the citizens, contrasting with the studied simplicity of his own retinue and demeanour, on Saturday the 24th of November.

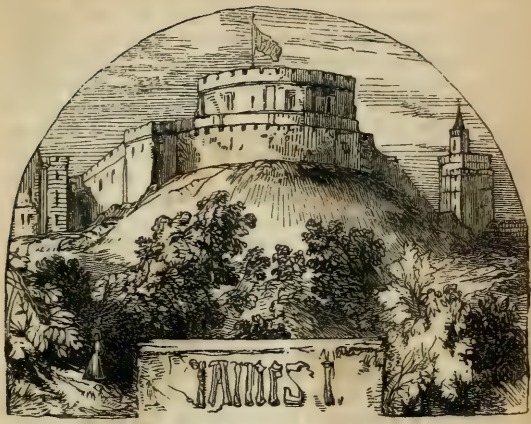
It was many years before France, torn as she was by internal dissensions, without a leader, almost without a government, consented to yield to the yoke of the invader. The subsequent career of Henry was not marked by any very brilliant military operations. He marched steadily forward to the accomplishment of his hopes, principally by taking advantage of that rivalry of faction

which ought to have ceased in the presence of an invader. The people of Paris, and the Burgundians, came at last to look upon the English as their allies against the faction of the Dauphin. In 1420 Henry virtually accomplished the great object of his ambition by marrying Katherine, the daughter of the King of France, and concluding a treaty by which the succession to the throne was secured to him after the death of Charles. Henry returned to England with his queen in 1421; but the Dauphin still continued in arms, and with a success that again summoned Henry to the field of war. Again were his energy and skill rewarded by his accustomed triumphs. The Dauphin fled before him; and he entered Paris in solemn state, with his queen, on the 30th of May, 1422. Katherine had borne him a son at Windsor Castle in the previous December. The short career of the great conqueror was now drawing to a close. Labouring under a severe illness, he set out, with his usual determination, to the relief of a town which had been invested by the Dauphin. He could proceed no farther than Corbeil, about twenty miles from Paris; and, being carried back in a litter to the immediate neighbourhood of the capital, he lay on a sick bed for about a month, and then died on the 31st of August, 1422. Never was so short a life so filled with unceasing action. He lived thirty-four years; he reigned ten years.

The character of Henry V. was precisely adapted to the times in which he was born, and to the circumstances by which he was surrounded. Enterprising, fearless, persevering, generous, pious, he was made to be a leader of chivalry, and to earn an imperishable distinction by those glittering but unsubstantial virtues which belong to an age in which success in arms was the chief, if not the only distinction. Rash, obstinate, proud, superstitious, he was equally unfitted to make his people happy by wise laws, by a righteous administration of justice, or by the cultivation of sound knowledge. He lived just at the moment when the world could admire his brilliant qualities, and be blind to his defects. Had he come a century later, he would have found men's minds averse

to feudal projects of conquest, by the spread of intelligence produced by the invention of printing; whilst, from the general application of gunpowder to military affairs, he would have seen that warfare was a matter of calculation, in which personal prowess was only one of many instruments. He was the last of the conquerors of chivalry. May we hope that the time is fast approaching when we shall see the last of the conquerors of strategy.

JAMES I. OF SCOTLAND.



This accomplished prince was born some time in the year 1394. He was a younger son of King Robert III., and grandson of Robert II., the first king of the unfortunate line of Stuart, who had ascended the Scotish throne in 1371. The sixty-four years between the death of Bruce, the great liberator of his country, and the birth of James I., had been years of war and turbulence, and, partly owing to the weakness of his father's character, Scotland was in a very anarchic condition during the royal poet's childhood. Robert III. was fifty years old before he came to the crown (in 1390): he was of a mild and somewhat timid disposition, and much fonder of retirement and study than of war and state business. He was pious, merciful, and accomplished; but these were qualities which the half-savage aristocracy of Scotland held very cheap at the end of the fourteenth century, and, indeed, even two centuries later; and his want of energy and of a taste for war excited contempt. These

iron barons were only to be ruled by a king of iron heart and iron hand. Robert's two younger brothers, the Earl of Fife and the Earl of Buchan, were men of a very different stamp, and during the life of their father Robert II. they had divided between them such powers as the kingly government then possessed. Upon his accession, the amiable recluse, apparently without a struggle, and even without any regret, left the management of affairs to the Earl of Fife (afterwards created Duke of Albany); and, under the name of Custos or Guardian, or that of Governor, the crafty, stirring, and ambitious Albany governed both kingdom and king. But when Robert's eldest son, the Duke of Rothsay, grew up to manhood, he submitted very unwillingly to the authority of his uncle; and a strong party rallying round the heir-apparent, Albany, in 1398, found himself compelled to retire and admit his nephew as Regent. The Duke of Rothsay occupied this post for about three years; but he was thoughtless, rash, and dissipated, and his uncle Albany was constantly on the watch for an opportunity to work his ruin. It is also said that the cunning and ambitious uncle got dissolute and depraved men placed about the young Regent, in order to lead him into guilt and trouble, and that, at the same time, he never ceased lamenting in public the vices of his nephew. By means of artful representations conveyed to the old pious king of the licentious conduct of his son, Albany, at the beginning of the year 1402, procured an order under the royal signet to arrest Rothsay and place him in temporary confinement. The unhappy young man was treacherously seized near St. Andrews, and was soon lodged in a dungeon in Falkland Castle. How long he was left to linger there, or of what death he really died, is not clearly ascertained; but the general belief is that he was starved to death, and that his helpless father did not know his fate until the year 1404. From the moment of the seizure of the Duke of Rothsay, Albany resumed his authority as Custos or Regent, leaving his brother the king in the quiet retirement he so much loved. But Robert, taking the proper measure of Albany's ambition

and remorselessness, was very eager to get his younger son James out of his way, lest he too should be cut off in order to leave the succession to the throne open to Albany and his sons. Prince James was now near upon his eleventh year, and already gave good promise of the high qualities he afterwards displayed. His father had given him a taste for books, and he had been carefully instructed by Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St. Andrews, in letters; and in arms and martial exercises by Sinclair, Earl of Orkney, Sir David Fleming of Cumbernauld, and other nobles and knights who remained steady in their attachment to the poor king, whose piety and charity endeared him to the churchmen and the common people. But for these last circumstances, Albany might have proceeded to some desperate extremity in Scotland against the young heir to the throne. But not daring to take this step, he agreed with his brother King Robert that James should be sent over to France, to be educated in the court of Charles VI. It is suspected, however, that Albany, before giving his necessary consent to the prince's departure, arranged in a secret correspondence with Henry IV. of England, who had recently dethroned Richard II., that Prince James should be seized on his voyage, and kept a close prisoner in one of King Henry's castles.

In the spring of the year 1405 the young James took his leave of his father, whom he was destined never to see again. The prince travelled to North Berwick, being accompanied and protected by the Earl of Orkney, Sir David Fleming, and a strong party of barons and knights, chiefly of the Lothians. He embarked and took his departure from the Bass Rock. The Earl of Orkney, young Sir Alexander Seton, his esquire William Gifford, and a few others (making but a small retinue), continued with the prince, and were to remain with him in France; the rest of the party took a mournful farewell and returned homeward. But one of the best of that party, Sir David Fleming, never reached his home, being waylaid and barbarously murdered on Langhermanstone moor, by a band led on by Douglas of Balvainy, laird of Dirle-

ton, an adherent of the Regent Albany. As it was a time of peace with England, the prince's friends seem to have entertained no apprehension from that quarter, and the ship sailed close along the English coast. But as they were rounding Flamborough Head, on the Yorkshire coast, on or about the 12th of April, 1405, the vessel was surrounded by a squadron of armed merchantmen, commanded by one John Joliffe, and belonging to the port of Clay. According to another account, the prince and his friends, after passing Flamborough Head, landed to procure refreshments, and were taken prisoners on shore. But it appears pretty certain that they were boarded and captured at sea, and that Henry IV. was fully prepared to intercept the prince and keep him a prisoner for life. When the Earl of Orkney spoke of the existing peace between the two countries, and showed the English king the passes and letters which he had received from King Robert, and protested that the only object held in view in sending the young prince into France was that he might be well educated and taught the French language, Henry laughed and said, "Well, as I know the French tongue right well, the boy could not have fallen into better hands than mine!" James was forthwith shut up in Pevensey Castle on the coast of Sussex.

There was at this time, as there had been for the four or five preceding years, a mysterious adventurer that passed for the king, Richard II. of England, whom the wily Bolingbroke had dethroned, and who had died in his prison. It seems almost certain, and it is not at all inconsistent with the temper of that meek and credulous old king, that Robert believed this man to be King Richard; but it is not easy to conceive that the acute, crafty, and suspicious Albany gave any credit to the adventurer's strange story. It would, however, suit the Scotish Regent's purpose to feign a belief; for Albany, by treating the adventurer as the true Richard, could confirm the popular notion of many of the English, that the deposed king was still alive; and, by keeping the man in his power, he could at any time alarm Henry by threatening to throw him, like a firebrand, into England,

and to support his cause with an invading army. Thus, the Regent Albany, as well after the death of his brother King Robert as before that event, treated the adventurer in public as the indisputable Richard, and legitimate king of England. The man, whoever or whatever he was, though narrowly watched, was liberally entertained at the public expense, and the money so spent was entered in the High Chamberlain's books as "for the maintenance of Richard King of England."* Most if not all of the Scotish nobles seem to have sincerely believed the strange story for a time, for they were eager to credit what flattered their vanity and gave them a means of annoying the English king, and few of them could have been competent to an investigation of the historical doubt: notwithstanding some attempts which have been made of late years to establish the probability of this story, we feel fully convinced that the stranger entertained at the Scotish court was an adventurer and an impostor, and that Richard II. perished in Pontefract Castle—most probably by starvation. But whether the true Richard, or only an impostor and a phantom, he could be made dangerous to Henry IV., whose throne was not yet firmly established, and who was regarded as a usurper not only by most foreign princes, but also by a very considerable portion of his own subjects. The original bargain between him and the equally wily Regent of Scotland appears to have been this—Do you keep your pretended Richard out of my way, and I will keep your nephew and heir to the Scotish crown out of your way. Other views may have arisen in Henry's fertile and politic mind afterwards, and he may even have contemplated the annexation of Scotland to his own dominions by keeping the heir of the old king in his hands; or he may have hoped that, by educating his captive as an Englishman, he would lose his nationality, and be prepared either to submit to him in after years, or to hold his

* P. F. Tytler, Hist. Scot., and Life of James I., in Scotish Worthies—Lord Dover, Paper in Transactions of Roy. Soc. of Literature.

crown in vassalage and dependence on him. The injustice of the seizure and detention of the prince was matter of no moment either to the crafty Bolingbroke or to his ministers and advisers; for the privy council warmly recommended Henry to keep James in sure ward, and to take every possible advantage of his captivity. The cunningest of English kings had already in his power the Regent Albany's eldest son, Lord Murdoch Stuart, who had been taken prisoner in the famous battle of Homildon Hill on the 14th of September, 1402; and, notwithstanding his many public treaties and private dealings with Albany, and the truces which so long existed, and the friendship he so often professed for the regent, Henry so long as he lived could never be prevailed upon to liberate his son.

The news of James's arrest is commonly said to have broken the heart of the old king, Robert. One chronicler says that Robert died on the very day he received the sad intelligence.* But this last assertion is evidently incorrect; and it may almost be doubted whether Robert, when on his death-bed, did not rejoice that his young and helpless son was in an English castle, and not in his own distracted country, exposed to the malice of his unscrupulous uncle. The old king did not die until a year after the seizure of the prince. Shortly after his death a sort of Scotish parliament assembled at St. Johnstoun (now called Perth), and acknowledged and proclaimed James as king; but at the same time they confirmed Albany in the Regency, and they made no effort to procure the liberation of their young sovereign. We cannot discover that they so much as remonstrated with Henry IV. on the flagrant injustice of which he was guilty. Albany was thus left in quiet and undisputed possession of whatever power belonged to the royal station in so anarchical a kingdom, where every great baron set himself above the law, and exercised sovereign rule in his own fiefs.

A few months after the seizure of James, Albany sent

* Fordun.

an embassy or a company of secret agents to treat with Henry IV., and some of these men were the Regent's relatives,* who no doubt were anxious that James should remain where he was. Friendly engagements were contracted, and for several years peace was preserved between the governments of England and Scotland. Prince James appears to have been almost forgotten in his own country, and in England he remained a very close prisoner. He was, however, kindly and liberally treated, and King Henry caused great care to be taken of his education. Sir John de Pelham, constable of Pevensey Castle, James's first place of confinement, was a statesman and warrior of no mean fame, and a better scholar than was commonly found in his station; he had lived much abroad, and had been with Henry Bolingbroke during that exile in France which preceded the easy Revolution that placed him on the throne of England. An old writer very justly says of James—"This advantage he had by his captivity, that he was well and carefully educated."† These advantages he could not have enjoyed to anything like the same extent if he had been brought up in Scotland. He studied during his captivity Latin as well as French, Grammar, Rhetoric, Theology, and Music; and, for that time, he must have been plentifully supplied with books. We are not told who were his several masters, or what was the course and order of his studies, but it should appear that music and poetry engaged his attention at an early period of his captivity. His fame was afterwards as great as a musician as it was as a poet. "He exercised all instruments of music, and equalled the best professors thereof," says Drummond of Hawthornden. "He had studied all philosophy, but most that which concerns government."‡ He was also well trained in the art of war, and

* Rymer, Fœdera.

† Prefatory Introduction to Drummond's (of Hawthornden) History of Scotland, by Mr. Hall, of Gray's Inn.

‡ Hist. of Scotland from the year 1423 until the year 1542.

in military and athletic exercises. When, after so many years, he returned to his own country, he was found to surpass all men in archery, in throwing the great hammer, and "putting the stone."

In the course of the year 1407, James was removed from Pevensey Castle to the Tower of London, and from the Tower to Nottingham Castle. Before these removals the Earl of Orkney and Sir Alexander Seton had been liberated and allowed to return to Scotland, but his faithful squire, William Gifford, remained with the captive king. As we hear of no more changes, it seems probable that James dwelt by the broad Trent in Nottingham Castle for the space of six years. Henry IV. died on the 20th of March, 1413. His son and successor, Henry V., immediately removed King James, and shut him up once more in the Tower of London, the faithful Gifford being still with him. To make the case still more bitter, Henry V. entered into friendly negotiations with the Regent Albany, and liberated his son, Lord Murdoch Stuart, who proceeded to Scotland to assist his father in maintaining his power, and to pave the way for his own promotion to the Regency upon the death of his parent, who was far advanced in years. King James, however, was not detained many months in the Tower. In the summer of 1414 he was conveyed to Windsor Castle, where he was allowed considerable liberty. It appears to have been shortly after his removal to Windsor that some of the Scotish nobility were, for the first time, permitted to visit and to give him the consoling assurance that he was not altogether forgotten in his native country and kingdom. Henry V., who was at this time bent upon his French conquests, and who commenced his victorious career in the summer of the following year (1415), was dissatisfied with the Regent Albany, who betrayed an inclination to aid and assist France. He had always maintained a close alliance with that country, even while at peace with England, and the Scots generally regarded the French as their natural as well as most ancient ally.

James remained in Windsor Castle from the summer of 1414 until the summer of 1417. His apartment was in the Round Tower, and it was here that he is thought to have prosecuted his studies with most ardour and success, being about twenty years old when he first came to Windsor. "Windsor Castle," says Drummond, "kept him a prisoner; but by commandment of King Henry, he was so carefully instructed, that no prince could have been better bred in the schools of Europe." The surrounding country, the noble river, the vast and venerable forest, were fitted to promote his poetical turn, and to feed and invigorate that love of nature and nice observation of it which are displayed so remarkably in his poetry. It appears also to have been towards the latter part of this his first residence at Windsor, that his heart was warmed and his feeling refined by the passion of love—the groundwork of his greatest and, perhaps, only indisputable poem that has come down to our times.

All the first part of the 'King's Quair' (that is, the King's Quire or Book) is considered autobiographical, and no doubt is entertained that the lady therein celebrated was the fair Jane or Joanna Beaufort, who, after a long attachment, became his wife and queen. This lady was daughter of John, Earl of Somerset: her father, now dead, was son of John of Gaunt, and uncle to Henry V.: her mother, Catherine, a daughter of Holland, Earl of Kent, had for her second husband the Duke of Clarence, a younger brother of Henry V., who was at this time serving in France. She was young, beautiful, and accomplished. It appears that she frequently resided at Windsor Castle, or in that neighbourhood. James, in the poem, describes the first sight he had of her as accidental. It was the sweet month of May, and as he looked forth from the Tower of the castle all men and things seemed free and gay, except only he. He bewailed his hard lot, as he had oft times done before:—

"Where as in ward full oft I would bewail
My deadly life, full of pain and penance,
Saying right thus, What have I guilt to fail*
My freedom in this world, and my pleasance?
Sen† every wight has thereof suffisance
That I behold, and I a crëature
Put from all this: hard is mine aventure.‡

The bird, the beast, the fish eke in the sea,
They live in freedom everich in his kind,
And I a man, and lacketh liberty!
What shall I sayn, what reason may I find,
That fortune should do so? Thus in my mind
My fate I would argue; but all for nought;
Was none that might that on my paines wrought.§

. . . .

The longe dayes and the nightes eke
I would bewail my fortune in this wise;
For which again‖ distress comfort to seek
My custom was on mornes for to rise,
Early as day; O happy exercise!
By thee came I to joy out of torment:—
But now to purpose of my first intent.

Bewailing in my chamber thus alone,
Despaired of all joy and remedy,
Fortirit¶ of my thought and woe-begone,
And to the window gan I walk in hy**
To see the world and folk that went forby;††
As, for the time though I of mirthes food
Might have no more, to look it did me good."

The broad moat at the foot of the Round Tower had been converted into a garden, and in this garden were groves, and arbours, and flowers, and sweet-smelling

* What guilt have I (what have I been guilty of) so that I should want (be deprived of).
† Since. ‡ Hap, lot, fate.
§ There was no one that might do what had any effect in relieving my sufferings.
‖ Against. ¶ Tired, Fatigued.
** Haste. †† Thereby.

shrubs. The royal poet's description of the scene is exquisite :—

"Now there was made, fast by the Toures wall,
A garden fair, and in the corners set
Ane herber* green, with wandes long and small
Railed about: and so with trëes set
Was all the place, and hawthorn hedges knet,†
That life‡ was none walking there forby
That might within scarce any wight espy.

So thick the bewes§ and the leaves green
Beshaded all the alleys that there were,
And middes‖ every herber might be seen
The sharpe, greene, sweete juniper,
Growing so fair with branches here and there,
That, as it seemed to a life without,
The bewes spread the herber all about.

And on the smale greene twistes sate
The little sweete nightingale, and sung
So loud and clear the hymnes consecrate
Of loves use, now soft now loud among,
That all the gardens and the walles rung
Right of their song and on the couple next
Of their sweet harmony; and lo the text:—

Worshippe, ye that lovers been, this May,
For of your bliss the kalends are begun,
And sing with us, Away, winter, away!
Come, summer, come, the sweet season and sun;
Awake, for shame! that have your heavens won,
And amorously lift up your heades all;
Hark, Love, that list you to his mercy call."

While the birds are thus sweetly singing, a lady comes into the garden and passes close under the Tower :—

* A garden plot set with plants and flowers—a grove with an arbour railed with trellis-work, and close set about with trees from Herbarium.

† Knit.
‡ Living person.
§ Boughs.
‖ Amidst.

"And therewith cast I down mine eye again,
Where as I saw walking under the Tower,
Full secretly, new cumyn* her to pleyne,
The fairest or the freshest younge flower
That ever I saw, methought, before that hour:
For which sudden abate, anon astert,†
The blood of all my body to my heart.

And though I stood abaisit tho a lyte
No wonder was; for why? my wittis all
Were so o'ercome with pleasance and delyte,
Only through letting of mine eyen fall,
That suddenly my heart become her thrall,
For ever of free will, for of menace,
There was no token in her sweet face.

And in my head I drew right hastily,
And eftsoons I leaned it out again,
And saw her walk that very womanly,
With no wight mo, but only women twain;
Then gan I study in myself and seyne,
Ah! sweet, are ye a worldly creature,
Or heavenly thing in likeness of nature?"

The enamoured poet goes on to describe the choice array, the golden hair, and the rich attire of the lovely maiden, who has—

"Beauty enow to make a world to dote."

These descriptions are exceedingly elaborate, and yet full of grace and beauty. The lover envies the little dog that is playing round the lady with his bells—

"her little hound,
That with his belles playit on the ground."

The lady quits the garden, and the ecstasy of the captive king is succeeded by sadness, and he sits lone and cheerless in his chamber in the Round Tower till the sun sinks—

* Coming forth to complain.
† At whose sudden appearance the blood of all my body rushed to my heart.

"Bidding farewell to every leaf and flower."

He then falls into a deep sleep, and is wafted in—

"A cloud of crystal, clear and fair,"

from planet to planet, till he reaches the "glad empire of blissful Venus," where he finds lovers of all classes and descriptions. The poem then becomes allegorical, demi-classical, and in truth somewhat tiresome, although natural and tender thoughts, musically expressed, are to be found even in this part. The sweet flow and melody of the verse—the musical delicacy of the poet's ear—are very remarkable. With the alteration of a few obsolete and crabbed words, and a little attention to the accentuation of the period, the 'King's Quair' will afford delight to the most delicate ear in its rythmical construction.

In the summer of 1417, Henry V., who was departing for his second French expedition, called James from Windsor Castle, and took him with him to Normandy, where the two kings landed in the beginning of August, together with the finest army that England had ever sent abroad. The campaign which ensued was a very active one, and nearly twenty sieges of towns or strong castles were commenced and concluded. It appears that James took an active part in some of these operations, and that his skill and bravery attracted universal admiration. While he was thus serving in France, his uncle, the Regent Albany, broke the truce he had solemnly concluded with Henry V., and rushed across the English border with 60,000 men. He was impelled by various strong motives: seeing the altered condition of his nephew, he thought that nothing short of a war with England could bar James's return to Scotland; and he was also bound by his French treaties to make a diversion in favour of France. The phantom King Richard had long ceased to delude even the credulous; and if it had been otherwise, the conqueror of Azincourt would not have been much troubled by his pretensions. A war Albany thought the surest means of keeping the young king from his throne; and as Henry had taken so great a force with him to France, he expected to find the

northern counties of England an easy prey. But the Regent miscalculated. Elated by Henry's brilliant victories on the Continent, the whole of England was in a martial temper and attitude; between Trent and Tweed there was a small but admirably appointed army, and at the first news of its approach Albany called in his marauding parties and retreated with disgrace, and without striking a blow. The English force invaded Scotland and made a desert of the country near the borders. This dishonourable campaign of the Regent was ever afterwards called the "Foul Raid." Shortly after its occurrence the Regent agreed to send 7000 Scots, under the command of his second son, the Earl of Buchan, to assist the French in their own country. James remained with Henry V., and still further distinguished himself in the campaigns of 1418 and 1419. He was present at the marriage of Henry with the Princess Katherine of France at Troyes, on the 2nd of June, 1420, and at the splendid repast which was given the day after the marriage. Before this time his uncle the Regent was dead. Albany, who had reached the age of eighty, died at Stirling on the 3rd of September, 1419. His government had not been unacceptable to the aristocracy, for he made no attempts to curb their excess of power; and he seems to have charmed the Scotish clergy by a regular attendance at mass, and a declared enmity against all heterodoxy:

> "At Goddes service, and at his mass,
> In all time right devout he was.
> He was a constant Catholic;
> All Lollard he hated and heretic."*

As the Scots had entered as principals into the war, and as the Earl of Buchan was fighting valiantly against Henry V., no attempt could be made to procure the restoration of James; and Lord Murdoch Stuart, Albany's eldest son, who had himself been so many years a prisoner in England, was allowed to assume the regency quietly, and as if it were a matter of course.

* Prior Wyntoun, Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland.

At the beginning of 1421, when Henry returned to England with his French bride, James accompanied him, and was present at the coronation of the fair Katherine, and at the magnificent banquet in Westminster Hall, where he sat "in his estate," at the left hand of the queen.* Henry then sent him back to his old abode in the Round Tower of Windsor Castle; but he had much more liberty, and more respect paid to him than before. Several Scotish lords who were dissatisfied with Murdoch's regency visited him, and it is believed that he occasionally enjoyed the society of his "milk-white dove," the Lady Jane, and of other members of the great family of Beaufort. It is also thought that it was now he began his beautiful poem, the 'King's Quair,' although from some verses in it alluding to his long and constant passion, and to the happiness he found in his marriage, it should appear that the poem was not finished until some time after his return to Scotland. But, perhaps, these verses were introduced afterwards into the otherwise completed poem. During King Henry's absence in England several disasters and serious reverses befell parts of his army in France. The Earl of Buchan and his Scots fell suddenly upon Henry's brother, the Duke of Clarence, while he was besieging a town in Anjou, and gave him a complete overthrow. Clarence was slain in the battle, and Buchan for this exploit received from the Dauphin the sword of Constable of France.† "In truth," said Pope Martin V., when he heard the news, "the Scots in France are the only antidotes of the English." Henry now applied to James, promising him his liberty and many advantages, if he could cause the Scots to quit the service of the Dauphin and return to their own country. As James had never had possession of his realm, and as he was neither sworn to his subjects, nor they by any oath of allegiance bound to him, he could do little or nothing in his captive state; and upon these representations the English king began an agreement with James and several of the Scotish lords that had come into Eng-

* Fabyan Chronicles. † Mezeray, Hist. de France.

land. But Henry's presence was imperatively demanded in France, and before the negotiations could be brought to any head, he went over to the Continent, and again took King James with him. But this time the Scotish king was followed by the Earl of Douglas with a Scotish force of two hundred knights and squires, and two hundred mounted archers; and, when in France, he was allowed a free and undisguised intercourse with all such of the Scotish nobility as were disgusted with his cousin Murdoch, and as chose to resort to him. He again saw many sieges and battles, and many splendid festivals and pageantries. After the death of the conquering Henry, on the 31st of August, 1422, James, acting as chief mourner, followed the body to England in that funeral procession which surpassed in solemnity and magnificence everything of the sort that had been known or even conceived. The authority of the deceased king was now divided between his two brothers, the Dukes of Gloucester and Bedford, Gloucester acting as Regent in England, and Bedford as regent in France. Both these princes willingly resumed the treaty which Henry V. had commenced; and at last, on the 10th of September, 1423, the treaty was concluded by Scotish and English negotiators who had met at York. The Scots agreed to pay, as compensation for the expenses of their king's maintenance and education, the sum of 40,000*l.* "of good and lawful English money," delivering at the church of St. Paul's, London, 10,000 marks every six months until the whole amount should be discharged.* As soon as he was a free man and king, he asked the hand of the fair Lady Jane Beaufort, whom he had so long loved. According to Grafton, the Regent or Protector of the realm of England, by the consent of the whole baronage, readily assented to the match. On the 26th of November the queen dowager Katherine, with her son, the infant Henry VI., went from Westminster to Waltham Holy Cross, and thence to Hertford, where the little king kept his Christmas, having the King of Scots with

* Rymer, Fœdera.

him.* In the following month of February (1424) "Sir James Stuart, King of Scots, married in the face of the church," in the church of St. Mary Overy, in Southwark, the Lady Jane; and the marriage feast was kept in the palace of the bride's uncle, the great Cardinal Beaufort.† At the intercession of the cardinal, the money to be paid by the Scots was to be reduced to 30,000*l.*; and the 10,000*l.* saved were to be considered as his niece's marriage portion. In a few weeks James, with his beautiful wife, her father the Earl of Somerset, and her uncle the cardinal, and a goodly retinue of Scotish and English lords, set out for the borders; and, after an absence of very nearly nineteen years, he reentered his native country. He kept his Easter feast at Edinburgh, and was crowned with his queen at Scone on the 20th of April. His cousin Murdoch, who had fallen into contempt, seems at this moment to have made no effort either to preserve his political power, or in any way to thwart the restored king, who was certainly received with transports of joy by the common people, and by most of the nobles. In a parliament which met at Perth, five days after the coronation, the king called attention to the feuds, factions, and abuses of law, and oppressions of the poor, which had made Scotland so unhappy a country; a complete reviewal of the disorders of the kingdom was gone into, and, as a beginning, various laws and regulations were made for their correction But legislation could not remove the roots of the evil; and some of the barons, who had enjoyed a full immunity under the Regent Murdoch, and even under his much abler father Albany, complained at the changes now attempted, and, leaguing again with Murdoch, they in many cases openly opposed the laws that were passed. James remained quiet, and, to all appearance, submitted to this fierce oligarchy; but all the while he was preparing for a great state-blow. In the month of March, 1428, when he thought himself sufficiently strong, and when he had provided himself with fitting instruments,

* Fabyan. † Id.

he called together another parliament at Perth, and then and there suddenly arrested the ex-regent Murdoch, his youngest son Alexander, and twenty-six other barons. Walter, Murdoch's eldest son, had been seized some time before. James Stuart, another of Murdoch's sons, upon learning the arrest of his father and brother and friends, rode to the town of Dumbarton with a number of outlaws and Highlanders, surprised one of King James's uncles, called the Red Stuart of Dundonald, and slew him with thirty others; and then, setting fire to the town, fled into Ireland. A court was forthwith assembled in the palace of Stirling, over which the king himself presided; and, in the month of May, Murdoch and his two sons, Walter and Alexander, and his aged father-in-law, the Earl of Lennox, were condemned by the court and beheaded on the Heading Hill, in front of Stirling Castle. After giving this terrible warning, James released the other nobles who had been apprehended. "For the king," says Drummond of Hawthornden, "like a wise physician, would take no more blood than might take away the disease, and all further causes of faction. So within twelve months he set them *all* at liberty, and received them into his wonted favour, upon promise of their loyal demeanour and dutiful obedience in time to come."

For several years James continued to occupy himself, with the assistance of his parliament, in strenuous efforts to promote the civilization and general improvement of his kingdom. A series of legislative enactments are still preserved, which comprehend the subjects of agriculture, commerce, manufactures, the regulation of weights and measures, the police of the country, its defence against foreign enemies, the administration of justice, and even the constitution of the supreme government.* These numerous enactments, which are nearly all marked with James's mind, and which show how much he had profited by his residence in England and the studies he had there prosecuted, are considered as the most complete

* Body of Scotish Acts Parl.

collection of materials that now exist for the illustration of the internal state of any European country at this remote time. James also strengthened himself, and provided the means of calling into activity the industry and resources of his country, by concluding treaties of alliance or commerce with France, Flanders, and other foreign powers. He was heartily supported by most of his clergy, and could always count on the goodwill of the commonalty, who loved him the better for every act of severity he exercised against their old oppressors, the lawless and rapacious nobles. This severity was frequently excessive; but allowance must be made for the barbarous times in which, and the desperate men among whom, this reforming king's lot was cast. It was felt not only in Scotland, but in countries far more advanced in civilization, that the baronial fury was only to be tamed by copious blood-letting: gentler remedies had been tried and had failed, and had caused the death or ruin of the mild reformers. The armed retainers of the nobles despised industry, and lived by sword and spear. "This king," says an old Scotish writer, "was one great justiciar, which was the occasion that he did execute 3000 that were oppressors of the common weal in the first two years of his reign."* Having reduced the whole of the Lowlands to an obedience to the laws, James proceeded against the much wilder clans in the Highlands. He repaired or rebuilt the royal castle of Inverness, and there kept his court for some time. "He seemed," says Drummond, "to have arrived in some territory of the Scythians, having known or found things which none dare relate unto him; for he learned that not many miles off there were men some of whom had 1000, some 2000 robbers at their call, who were accustomed to drive preys from the more civil neighbours and borders, pilling and spoiling, polluting and ravishing, without any difference of right or wrong, holy or profane, but only following their ravenous and insolent humours. On the quieter

* Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, from Fergus I. to James VI., published by the Maitland Club, Edinburgh, 1830.

sort they set tribute, others they compelled to minister to them sustenance and necessaries. The God, Prince, Law, which they obey, are their barbarous chieftains, amongst which he is thought the best who doth most transcend in villainy." James made a beginning by seizing about fifty chiefs of clans. Of these some of the most desperate, as Alexander Macrore, James Campbell, and others, were executed immediately; some were kept in prison to be tried and condemned in a more deliberate manner; the rest were released and sent to their homes, having been exhorted by the king to lead a life more conformable to the law of God and man. Alexander, Lord of the Isles, was released after a captivity of two years, and the first use he made of his liberty and of the king's pardon was to call his clans and friends together to make war upon the king. James instantly marched against him, defeated him in a bloody battle, and drove him and his scattered clansmen into the hungry wilds of Lochaber. After making a vain attempt to escape into Ireland, this great chieftain disguised himself and went privately to Edinburgh; and there, on Easter Sunday, wrapped in a mourning garment, and concealed among the multitude, he stood in the church of the Holy Rood awaiting the coming of the king; and when the king came to mass he stepped out of the crowd, and, falling prostrate at his feet, implored his grace and another pardon. The gentle queen Jane interceded for him, and James gave him his life, but sent him as a prisoner to the strong castle of Tantallon. Donald Balloch, cousin to this Alexander, Lord of the Isles, now flew to arms, and a good many of the Highland clans were more than once in open insurrection; but Donald was killed in battle, and the Highlands were again pacified, though not until 300 men had perished on the gibbet.

About the year 1432 there was a greater calm in every corner of Scotland than had been known in any preceding time. The king prosecuted his internal reforms without disturbance. He founded schools, and granted them liberties and privileges. He invited learned foreigners to come and settle in the country. "Many

famous men in all sciences, from the noblest universities in Christendom, came hither, as to the sanctuary of the Muses, where often the king himself in person graced their lessons, and, when great matters did not withdraw him, was umpire to their harmless conflicts."* He advanced learned and virtuous men to eminent places in the church; and although he lamented that his predecessor, the saintly King David, had been a grievous saint to the crown, by alienating so much crown-land in extraordinary donations to the church, he himself founded the magnificent abbey of Perth, and endowed it richly; and he improved and beautified several abbeys and cathedral churches. "The excellent skill which he had in music and delight in poesy made him affect choristers, and he was the first that established choirs in his own chapels and the cathedral churches of Scotland, organs being not much known before his reign to the nation."† Almost all the craftsmen and artisans had been killed in the long wars, and manufactures had nearly disappeared; therefore he invited industrious and ingenious mechanics from England, France, and the Low Countries, offering them good pay and privileges, and the steady protection of the law. "Of which," says Drummond, "such a fair number came, and were so graciously received, that they forgot their native countries, and here made their perpetual abode: and what till this day Scotland enjoyeth of them, owes all its beginning to these times." He had vowed upon coming to the throne, that if God would but grant him life, he would make the property of the poorest man as secure as that of the greatest baron. Learning that poverty was frequently a bar to justice, he decreed that if any man was too poor to pay the law fees, then the king, "for the love of God," should appoint him a judge to see justice done free of expense.

Even when seated on this perilous throne, which was fatal to nearly every one of his name and race, and when surrounded with difficulties, and oppressed with labour —having to see to all things himself—he yet found time

* Drummond of Hawthornden.—Hist. of Scot. † Id.

to devote to his two darling pursuits—poetry and music. Drummond says he wrote verses, both Latin and English, of which many were extant at the time he composed his history. If the bard of Hawthornden had only given the titles of these poems and a few specimens of them, not a little controversy might have been avoided in our day. Besides the 'King's Quair,' which is indisputably his production, the two humorous poems in the Scotish dialect, called 'Peebles to the Play,' and 'Christ's Kirk on the Green,' and the two famous comic ballads, 'The Gaberlunzie Man,' and 'The Jolly Beggar,' have been attributed to James. As for the two ballads, it now seems to be admitted on all sides that they were written neither by him nor by his equally accomplished and equally unfortunate descendant, James V., the victim at Flodden Field. About the authorship of the two humorous Scottish poems, opinions are still somewhat divided. Mr. George Chalmers, the best editor that the royal authors of Scotland have as yet met with, rejects 'Christ's Kirk on the Green,' but assigns 'Peebles to the Play' to James I. Bishop Percy and Ritson considered the last-named piece as being indisputably the production of the first James. Lord Hailes, on the contrary, thought it contained references to a much later period and a different state of society. Gibson, Tanner, and the editor of Gawain Douglas's Virgil, give the 'Christ's Kirk on the Green,' to James V., and Chalmers agrees with them and with Sibbald, the poetical chronologist, in considering this poem as the undoubted production of James V., and not of James I., whose style, versification, sentiment, and cast of thought are altogether different. On the other side, Mr. P. F. Tytler, the last biographer of these Scotish kings, says that "the absurdity of this hypothesis" was clearly exposed by his own grandfather,* and that "the *learned world* have invariably adopted" his grandfather's opinion. At the risk of being considered unlearned by Mr. Tytler,

* W. Tytler, author of A Dissertation on the Life of James I., and the first editor of the King's Quair.

we agree with Mr. Craik* and with others who have considered the subject attentively, that neither 'Peebles to the Play,' nor 'Christ's Kirk on the Green,' was written by James I., or by any poet of his time. They are both clearly the production of the same period, and of a period much later than that of the first James. Unless one be an imitation of the other, they are both from the same hand, and, we believe, they may be pretty safely allotted to James V.

During his captivity in Windsor Castle, James had diligently studied the works of Chaucer and Gower; and in the concluding stanza of the King's Quair he gracefully and gratefully acknowledges his obligations unto his

> " maisters dear,
> Gower and Chaucer, that on the steppes sate
> Of Rhetoric while they were livand here,
> Superlative as poets laureate,
> Of morality and eloquence ornate."

It was by a happy and truly poetical coincidence that the lady so suddenly seen in the garden at Windsor, and so fondly loved from that first sight, should be the grand-daughter of Chaucer's friend and patron, John of Gaunt, who married the sister of that great poet's wife. It should appear that the writings of Chaucer were altogether unknown in Scotland until the return of James I.; but from that period Chaucer became the one great model of the Scotish poets.

It has generally been thought that James was the means of improving the music as much as the poetry of his country; that he composed various airs and pieces of sacred music; and that he was in fact the father of the peculiar, plaintive, and characteristic melody of Scotland. It is probable, however, that, as in other matters, our Scotish writers have been misled by their eager wish to make that which is old more ancient than it really is. The only basis of their musical hypothesis is a single short and not very clear passage in an Italian writer of the seventeenth century. Alessandro Tassoni,

* Sketches of the Hist. of Literature and Learning in England.

author of the mock-heroic poem 'La Secchia Rapita,' or the 'Rape of the Bucket,' and of various less known works, says in his 'Dieci Libri di Pensieri Diversi' (or 'Ten Books of Divers Thoughts,' which was published at Venice in 1636), in a chapter on the old question, whether the ancient musicians surpassed the modern or the modern the ancient,* "We may also enumerate among our musicians (*tra nostri*) James, King of Scotland, who not only composed sacred things for singing, but found out of himself a new music, pathetic and sad, and different from every other music, in the which he has since been imitated by Don Carlo Gesualdo, Prince of Venosa, who, in this our age, has improved music with new and admirable inventions." Tassoni gives no numeral after his King James; and when he wrote there had been six Jameses upon the throne of Scotland. Besides, James I., James IV., and James V. had been greatly distinguished by their love of music and their proficiency in it; and it appears on the whole rather more probable that the Italian meant to speak of James V., who was killed in 1513, and who was a great employer of foreign artists, than of James I., who died in the preceding century. As there is no number after the James, as no date is mentioned, and as there is no other authority than this inconclusive passage of Tassoni, the question must, at the least, be left in doubt. The author of the 'King's Quair,' the first civilizer of his country, has glory and fame enough without the disputable reputation of being the inventor of the Scotish melody. James I. was, however, highly celebrated as a musical performer; and he is said not only to have played well upon all the instruments that were then in use, but also to have far surpassed all the Irish and Scotish Highlanders as a player on the harp. Charmed with the gardens he had lived among at Windsor, he introduced a taste for gardening in his own country. The

* The whole of the tenth book of this very curious work is devoted to a comparison between ancient and modern genius. All arts, sciences, &c., are discussed by turns. The passage about Jacopo Re di Scozia occurs in the twenty-third chapter of the book on "Musici Antichi e Moderni."

buildings, the style of living, the pageantries and amusements of the court, and even the sports and amusements of the people, were all improved by him; and in his busiest days he found time to be present at, and take part in, the popular pastimes and exercises.

But "the delicate soft time, the reign of the mild arts," and that "sweet condition of life" which James I. had brought about, were suddenly interrupted by his barbarous murder.

The patrimony of the crown had been wasted by the Regent Albany and his son Murdoch, who had alienated the royal domains in order to conciliate the selfish and factious nobility, while some of the barons had helped themselves without any grant. The king caused an examination to be made into numerous grants and titles, and, in several cases, took possession of crown lands to which they really gave no right. From this moment the barons began to cabal against him. His close connection with France roused the jealousy of England; and when, in 1435, he sent his infant daughter Margaret abroad to be betrothed to the Dauphin (afterwards Louis XI.), he became involved in a dispute with the English government, and these disputes led to a war. On the following year James marched with a formidable army to the border and laid siege to Roxburgh Castle, which was then occupied by Sir Ralph Gray. While he was engaged in this siege, his wife, Queen Jane, came suddenly to his camp, and, after some conference with her in private, he raised the siege, disbanded most of the army, and, accompanied by some chosen bands of his most assured friends, returned hastily towards the north. The Queen had discovered a conspiracy directed against his throne and life. This was in the month of August, 1436. The contriver and main leader of this murderous plot was Sir Robert Graham, a man of the darkest and most resolute character, "that dared give attempt upon those things which no honest man ever could think."* This Graham, being warned in time,

* Drummond of Hawthornden.

fled into the wildest parts of the Highlands before the king could reach him. There he began to collect an armed force, while his unsuspected associates and brother conspirators, the Earl of Athole and his grandson Sir Robert Stuart, continued about the king, lulling him into security, and watching for an opportunity to take him off. Athole was the king's uncle, and between eighty and ninety years of age; his grandson, Sir Robert, held the office of chamberlain in the royal household, and had constant access to James, by whom he appears to have been implicitly trusted. As that season approached, the king announced his intention of keeping his Christmas in the great monastery of the Black Friars at St. Johnstoun (Perth). Several warnings were given to him in the shape of interpreted omens and predictions, but he would not understand them as they were meant, and he set out with his queen and court. On the right bank of the Forth a Highland spae-wife, or prophetess, or fortune-teller, raised her voice and said, "If you cross that water, you will never return alive." No doubt the spae-woman, without any supernatural means, had obtained some knowledge of the plot, or of what Sir Robert Graham was doing in the Highlands; but Sir Robert Stuart, the traitorous chamberlain, or some other attendant that was in the conspiracy, told the king that the woman must be mad or drunk. The monastery of the Black Friars was outside the town of Perth, but not far from the town walls. The king and queen reached the place in safety, and passed a very merry Christmas without any disturbance. Several more weeks glided away happily; and if the king had ever entertained any apprehensions of personal danger, they entirely vanished. On the evening of the 20th of February he was unusually gay, and had more company, and sat in the hall later than usual. Nigh upon midnight, to the relief and joy of that white-headed conspirator, the Earl of Athole, who was present, he called for the parting cup. As the company were going, the Highland sibyl who had warned him not to cross the Forth came to the hall-door and desired to speak with the king himself.

The usher told the woman that the king was "busy in playing," and so bade her come again upon the morrow. "Well," said the woman, "it shall repent ye all that ye will not let me speak now with the king." "Thereat the usher laughed, and held her but a fool, charging her to go her way, and, therewithal, she went thence." Every man departed, and the monastery was still. "Then Robert Stuart, who was right familiar with the king, and had all his commandments in the chamber, was the last that departed; and he left the doors leading to the king's apartment open; and he had burst and blundered the locks in such wise that no man might shut them; and about midnight he laid certain planks and hurdles over the ditches that environ the garden, and upon these the said traitors entered—that is to say, Sir Robert Graham, with others of his covine, unto the number of three hundred persons." The king, who had prepared for bed, was standing in his nightgown talking and laughing with the queen, and other ladies and gentlewomen with her. "But he hearkened and heard great noise without, and great clattering of harness, and men armed, with great sight of torches. Then he remembered him, and imagined anon that it should be the false traitorous knight, his deadly enemy, Sir Robert Graham. And suddenly the queen, with all the other ladies and gentlewomen, ran to the outer chamber door, and found it open; and they would have shut it, but the locks were so blundered that they neither could nor might shut it." James called to them to make good the door as best they could, and rushing to one of the windows he attempted to burst open the iron bars with which it was secured; "but the bars were so square and so strongly soldered in the stones with molten lead," that he could not do it. He then started to the chimney and took the iron tongs, and ran into an inner cabinet, and mightily burst up a plank of the floor, "and entered adown low beneath," replacing the plank before he descended. It was a foul hiding-place for king or clown! it was all hard stone within, and had no window or issue save a square hole near the bottom. Yet through this

hole the king might well have escaped, if he had not caused it to be blocked up with stone three days before, because when he played at the paume (tennis) the balls would often run in at that foul hole. "And so there was for the king neither rescue nor remedy, but there he must abide, alas the while! . . . . The traitors without laid at the chamber door with hammers, with levers, and with axes, so that at the last they break up all, and entered (because the doors were not fast shut) with swords, axes, glaives, bills, and other terrible and fearful weapons. Amongst the great press of the which traitors there was a fair lady sore hurt in the back; and other gentlewomen made a sorrowful shrieking, and ran away for the hideous fear of those boisterous and merciless men of arms. The traitors furiously passed forth into the chambers, and found the queen so dismayed and abashed that she could neither speak nor withdraw. And as so she stood there, so astounded as a creature that had lost her kindly reason, one of the traitors wounded her full villainously, and would have slain her if it had not been for one of Sir Robert Graham's sons, that thus spake to him and said, 'For shame of yourself! what will ye do to the queen? She is but a woman. Let us go seek the king!' And then not witting well what she did or should do in that fearful and terrible affray, the queen fled in her kirtle, her mantle hanging about her . . . . And there the traitors sought the king in all the chambers about, in the withdrawing-chamber, in the litters, under the presses, and forms, and chairs, and in all other places; yes, long they busily sought the king, but they could not find him; for either they knew not or did not recollect that cabinet. The king hearing of long time no noise nor stirring of the traitors, conceived that they had all gone away, and cried to the women that they should come with sheets and draw him out of that unclean place." The women ran at his call. "And as they were about to help up the king, one of the ladies, named Elizabeth Douglas, fell into the place to the king. Therewith one of the said traitors, called Robert Chaumbers, supposed verily, since

they could not find in any of the said chambers the king, that he of necessity had hid himself in that cabinet. And therefore he said to his fellows, 'Come on with me, and I shall readily tell you where the king is!' For the same Thomas Chaumbers had been afore right familiar with the king in all places; and therefore knew he well all the private corners of those chambers. And so he went straight to the cabinet, and looked well about him, and saw how a plank of the floor had been broken up; and he lift up the plank, and with a torch looking in, he saw the king there beneath, and a woman with him." The fellow called in the other murderers, and one of them, named Sir John Hall, leaped down to the king with a great knife in his hand. James caught him by the throat, and threw him under his feet. "For the king was, of his person and stature, a man right manly strong." A brother of this Hall that then went down to the king was also laid prostrate; and James so maltreated them both under him, that "all, a long month after, men might see how strongly the king had holden them by the throats." "And greatly the king struggled with them, for to have bereaved them of their knives; by the which labour his hands were all sore cut. But an the king had been in anywise armed, he might well have escaped their malice by the length of his fighting with these two false traitors. For if the king might anywhile longer have saved himself, his servants, and much other people of the town, by some fortune should have had some knowledge thereof, and so have come to his succour and help. But alas, the while! it would not be! Fortune was to him adverse . . . . . Therewithal that odious and false traitor, Sir Robert Graham, seeing the king laboured so sore with those two false traitors which he had cast under his feet, and that he was faint and weary (the more pity was it!) descended down also unto the king with an horrible and mortal weapon in his hand. And then the king cried him mercy. 'Thou cruel tyrant,' quoth Graham to him, 'thou hadst never mercy of lords born of thy blood, nor of none other gentlemen that came in thy danger; therefore no mercy

shalt thou have here!' Then said the king, 'I beseech thee that, for the salvation of my soul, ye will let me have a confessor!' Quoth the said Graham, 'Thou shalt never have other confessor than this same sword.' And therewithal he smote him through the body, and at last the good king fell down. . . . . God of his grace and goodness preserved and kept the queen out of their hands. And upon this the noise rose and sprang out, both into the court and into the town. . . . . And anon all the king's servants that were lodged in his said court, and all the other people of the same town, with one will and one assent, as the king's true men and his liege subjects, came with force and arms, with many a torch and other lights. And when the traitors heard the noise of those commons, they, with all haste possible, fled. But yet in their withdrawing, ere they were fully passed the ditches of the king's place, a worthy knight that was called Sir Davy Dunbar, alone descried and pursued them, and with his own hand slew one of them, and another he sore wounded. And as he fought with them in their fleeing they cut off three of his fingers of his one hand, and sore wounded him upon his head. And they slew another young man of the king's chamber that was good groom." *

When they brought up the butchered king, sixteen deadly wounds were found in his breast, and many other frightful gashes in his body and limbs. Thus perished

* Contemporary narrative of the Murder of King James and of the Execution of the Regicides, published by Pinkerton in the appendix of the first volume of his History of Scotland. This narrative professes to be translated from a Latin original—in all probability the Latin account published by authority at the time. It bears strong marks of having been written by an eye-witness, and it is now generally considered as authentic as it is striking. It has been said of it that few stories either in history or in fiction can compete with its grim horrors. The effect of the story has been impaired by modern fastidiousness, which has shrunk from naming or even intelligibly describing the place wherein James was killed.

this intellectual and rarely accomplished prince, in the forty-fourth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his actual reign. He was buried in the Charterhouse of Perth, which he had founded, where the doublet in which he was slain was kept as a relic almost to the time of Drummond of Hawthornden. He had by his fair queen one son and six daughters. The son, who was immediately proclaimed as James II., was only about seven years old, and he was killed at the siege of Roxburgh Castle by the accidental bursting of a cannon before he was thirty. His eldest daughter Margaret was already married to the French Dauphin. Afterwards, one of his daughters married the Earl or Duke of Bretagne, and another Sigismund, Duke of Austria; the remaining three seem to have married into the families of Angus, Huntly, and Morton, though one of them is said to have been at one time the wife of a great lord in Holland.

The king's beloved wife, Queen Jane, survived little more than eight troublous unhappy years. Apparently more for the sake of having one strong enough to protect her than from any love, she married Sir James Stuart, commonly called the Black Knight of Lorne. After being driven from one castle to another, she died in the strong fortress of Dunbar, some time in the year 1445. Her second husband, the Black Knight, was driven from Scotland by the faction of the Douglases, and died in exile and probably in captivity.

The murderers of James fled into the Highlands, but a curse was upon them all, and within forty days all the principal conspirators were captured, condemned, and put to cruel deaths. The tortures inflicted upon Sir Robert Graham and the old Earl of Athole were horrible and atrocious; but such was the practice of the time, and there is good evidence to show that the common people rejoiced at the sight, and that they preserved in rude rhyme the memory of the execution of the accursed lords that had slain Scotland's best king and the common people's best friend. The meaner sort that were of council in the conspiracy, or that had had art and part in the plot, were simply hanged on gibbets.

"By James," says Drummond, "abuses were reformed, defects repaired, sedition and discord were put from the nobles, equity and industry restored to the country; every man had a certainty of enjoying his own, and security. Into all men was either infused a will to do well, or a necessity of so doing imposed upon them, virtuous actions being honoured, crimes punished. The mean man did respect the great, not fear him; the great man did precede the mean, not contemn him; favour was mastered by equity, ambition by virtue: for the excellent prince, by doing well himself, had taught his subjects so to do. He was the worthiest of all the kings of Scotland till his time: of the former kings it might have been said, the nation made them kings; but this king made that people a nation." Much of the good he had done in the state was speedily undone, but his memory was endeared to the people of Scotland for all aftertimes, and the murderous knife, and the anarchy which followed his decease, could not destroy the written monuments of his rare genius and accomplishments.

The reign of King Henry VII. is included in the account of the Wars and the Union of the Red and White Roses written about the middle of the sixteenth century by Edward Hall, the most eloquent of our old English chroniclers; and it is also the subject of one of the noblest historical works, for its extent, in any language, the composition, about eighty years later, of Francis Bacon.

To follow a course of events turning so much upon genealogical claims and the connexion of families, it will be convenient for the reader to keep in mind the following particulars:—

The principal persons who figure in the reign of Henry VII. were descended from the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth sons of King Edward III., the line of whose eldest son, Edward the Black Prince, failed in Richard II., and whose second son William died in childhood.

1. From Lionel Duke of Clarence, whose only child Philippa married Edmund Mortimer, third Earl of March, sprung, through her granddaughter Anne Mortimer, who married Richard Earl of Cambridge, son of Edmund Duke of York, the kings of the House of York, Edward IV., his son Edward V., and his brother Richard III.; Edward IV.'s second son Richard Duke of York; the same king's eldest daughter Elizabeth, who eventally became the wife of Henry VII., and thus united the two roses; Edward IV.'s brother George Duke of Clarence, with his son Edward Earl of Warwick, and his daughter Margaret Countess of Salisbury; Edward IV.'s second sister Margaret, who became the wife of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy; his third sister Elizabeth, who married John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, and his sons John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, and Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk. All these personages, of course, were Yorkists.

2. From John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, sprung the three Lancastrian kings, Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI., who were his son, grandson, and great-grandson; and, through John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, his son by a third marriage, that earl's granddaughter Margaret Beaufort, who married Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, and their son Henry VII.

3. From Edmund Duke of York, through his son Richard Earl of Cambridge, who, as mentioned above, married Anne Mortimer, all the persons already enumerated as descendants, through that lady, of Lionel Duke of Cambridge.

4. From Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, his daughter Anne, who married Edmund Earl of Stafford; their son Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham; his grandson Henry Duke of Buckingham, the accomplice and ultimately the victim of Richard III.; his son Edward Duke of Buckingham; and other persons of the name of Stafford.

Henry VII. was born at Pembroke Castle, 21st January, 1456. His father was Edmund Tudor (or rather Tydor, pronounced Tuddor, that is Theodore), surnamed

of Hadham, who had been created Earl of Richmond in 1452, being the son of Sir Owen Tudor and Queen Katherine, widow of Henry V., and daughter of the French king Charles VI. He was thus paternally descended both from the royal house of France and also, it is said, from the ancient sovereigns of Wales, for such is the derivation assigned by the genealogists to the Tudors—if indeed, as Camden remarks (in his 'Remains') that can with any propriety be considered as the family name which was really merely the Christian name of Owen Tudor's grandfather, from whom he and his father assumed it as their patronymic. But it was his maternal extraction that gave Henry Tudor his political importance. His mother was Margaret, the only child of John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, whose father of the same names was the eldest of the sons of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, the root of the Lancastrian house, by his third wife, Catherine Swinford. The Beauforts, as the children of Gaunt by this wife were named, having been born before marriage, and only subsequently legitimated by a patent entered on the rolls of parliament, which appears (though there is some doubt as to that point) not to have opened to them the succession to the crown, were not at first looked upon as in themselves or their descendants forming strictly a branch of the House of Lancaster; their name itself distinguished them as another family. But towards the close of the reign of Henry VI. their royal descent and proximity to the throne began to be spoken of as giving them important pretensions. After the termination of the Wars of the Roses the Somerset family remained the only representatives of the House of Lancaster, in England: there were indeed in Portugal, Spain, Germany, and Denmark nearly a dozen descendants of John of Gaunt by his two earlier marriages, some of whom at least, namely, those sprung from Henry IV., had clearly a prior place in the line of succession to the Beauforts, had the legitimation of the latter been ever so perfect; but the circumstances of the time were not such as to allow any validity to these foreign titles. After Richard

III. obtained the throne, only two really formidable members of the House of Lancaster survived, namely, this Henry Earl of Richmond, and Henry Duke of Buckingham, whose mother was also a Margaret Beaufort, a great-granddaughter of John of Gaunt. But her father was a younger brother of the father of the Countess of Richmond, whose son therefore undoubtedly stood first in the line of the family succession.

The following anecdotes are related by Bacon at the close of his History of Henry VII.: "When the Lady Margaret, his mother, had divers grand suitors for marriage, she dreamed one night that one in the likeness of a bishop in pontifical habit did tender her Edmund Earl of Richmond, the king's father, for her husband; neither had she ever any child but the king, though she had three husbands. One day when King Henry VI., whose innocency gave him holiness, was washing his hands at a great feast, and cast his eye upon King Henry, then a young youth, he said, 'This is the lad that shall possess quietly that that we now strive for.'" Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, died in 1456, the same year in which his son Henry was born. Throughout the stormy period that followed, the child found a protector in his uncle Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, till, on the accession of Edward IV. in 1461, the earl was attainted and obliged to fly the country. Henry appears to have been then consigned by the new king to the charge of Sir William Herbert, Baron Herbert (afterwards created Earl of Pembroke), and to have been carried by that nobleman to his residence of Ragland Castle in Monmouthshire. Long afterwards he told the French historian Comines that he had been either in prison or under strict surveillance from the time he was five years of age. He is said however to have been brought to court on the restoration of Henry VI. in 1470, and it is to this date that the story is assigned of his having been prophetically pointed out by Henry as the person that was to bring to a close the contest between the two houses. It must have been at this time also that he was sent to Eton, if he ever really studied, as is reported by

some, at that school. After the battle of Tewkesbury he seems to have been sent back to Ragland Castle, and to have remained there till his uncle, who had fled to France, returned secretly, and found means to carry him off to his own castle of Pembroke. Upon this Edward immediately took measures to recover possession of the boy, but his uncle at last contrived to embark with him at Tenby with the intention of proceeding to France. They were forced, however, by stress of weather to put into a port of Bretagne, and there they were detained by the duke, Francis II. But, although this prince would not suffer them to pursue their journey, he allowed them an honourable maintenance, and as much liberty as was consistent with his design that they should not pass out of his dominions, nor, although repeatedly importuned by King Edward to deliver them up, would he ever listen to the proposal. Henry continued resident in these circumstances in the town of Vannes in Bretagne till after the accession of Richard III.

As soon as it came to be known that Edward V. and his brother no longer existed, a fact which Richard III. himself took pains to publish, without any attempt to make it appear that they had not been taken off by violence, the minds of men turned to the young Earl of Richmond as the most eligible opponent to set up against the actual possessor of the crown. Morton, Bishop of Ely, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury and cardinal, has the credit of having first suggested to the heads of his party, that the crown should be offered to Henry on condition of his engaging to espouse the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV., and, since the death of her brothers, the undoubted heiress of the rights of the House of York. The scheme received the assent of the leaders of the various interests already confederated against Richard—of the queen dowager, of her son the Marquis of Dorset, and of the Duke of Buckingham, whatever were the motives that had induced the last-mentioned nobleman to make his sudden change from the one side to the other. Communications were immediately entered into with Henry's mother the Countess of Rich-

mond, and she also entered cordially into the design, although her present husband Lord Stanley had all along steadily adhered to Richard, with whom he at present was. A messenger was now despatched to Henry in Bretagne, September 24, 1483, and he was informed that the general rising in his favour would take place on the 18th of October. The issue of this first attempt was eminently disastrous to the confederacy of the earl's friends. Henry sailed from St. Malo with a fleet of forty sail, which he had been enabled to provide partly by the assistance of the Duke of Bretagne; but a storm dispersed his ships as he crossed the Channel, and when he reached the English coast near Poole he deemed it prudent, with the insufficient force that he had remaining, not to land. Meanwhile the hasty, ill-combined revolt of Buckingham and his associates fell to pieces without the striking of a blow. Buckingham himself was taken and executed as a traitor; of the other chief persons engaged in the attempt, several underwent the same fate; others escaped death by flight; many were attainted, among the rest the Countess of Richmond, whose life was only spared at the intercession of her husband Lord Stanley. Henry himself returned to Bretagne, and here at Christmas, in the presence of a meeting of the English exiles to the number of five hundred, held in the cathedral of Rhedon, he solemnly swore to marry Elizabeth as soon as he should have triumphed over the usurper, and in return the assembly promised him fealty on that condition, and did him homage as their sovereign. A few months after this, however, Henry and his friends found it expedient to withdraw from Bretagne to avoid the machinations of the duke's minister Landois, who had been gained over by Richard, and had prevailed upon the duke to take measures for betraying them to the English king. They succeeded in making their escape to the French territory, where they spent another year in making preparations for a new expedition under the countenance and with the assistance of King Charles VIII. At length, on the 1st of August, 1485, Henry sailed with his fleet from Harfleur, and on

the 7th landed at Milford-Haven in Wales. The two rivals encountered at Bosworth in Leicestershire, on the 22nd, when the result was that Henry obtained a complete victory, which, with the death of Richard, who fell in the battle, at once placed the crown on his head. This was afterwards reckoned the first day of his reign, an arrangement by which only those who had actually drawn their swords against him at Bosworth were made to be guilty of treason; and whatever acts had been done in the service of the usurper (as Richard was considered) up to the eve of that battle, were overlooked.*

Henry, immediately after this victory, "as one," says Bacon, "that had been bred under a devout mother, and was in his nature a great observer of religious forms, caused *Te Deum laudamus* to be solemnly sung in the presence of the whole army upon the place, and was himself with general applause and great cries of joy, in a kind of military election or recognition, saluted king." In the same evening he marched on with his army to Leicester, and entered in triumphal pomp that town, from whence his rival had gone forth in nearly equally gorgeous pride and state the day before. Hither, also, the dead body of Richard was brought, "naked," says Hall, "and despoiled to the skin, . . . and was trussed behind a pursuivant of arms called Blanch Sanglier, or White Boar, like a hog or a calf; the head and arms hanging on the one side of the horse, and the legs on the other side; and, all besprinkled with mire and blood, was brought to the Grey Friars' Church." Here it was interred obscurely, and without any funeral solemnity, "after many indignities and reproaches," says Bacon, "the dirges and obsequies of the common people towards tyrants." According to Hall, when his death was known, "few

* Sir Harris Nicolas, however, in his Chronology of History, pp. 309-313, although he adopts the unanimous account of the chroniclers, that Henry's reign began on the 22nd, has stated some reasons for suspecting that it was legally reckoned from the 21st, the day before the battle of Bosworth.

lamented and many rejoiced;" and "the proud bragging white boar, which was his badge, was violently razed and plucked down from every sign and place where it might be espied." The motive assigned by the chronicler, however—"so ill was his life, that men wished the memory of him to be buried with his carrion corpse"—may be presumed to have been, at least, not the only reason for this last procedure.

The new king rested at Leicester for two days. While here, he despatched Sir Robert Willoughby to the castle of Sheriff Hutton, in Yorkshire, where both the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV., and her cousin Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, son and heir of the late Duke of Clarence, had been confined by order of their uncle the late king. The earl, a boy in his fifteenth year, was conducted by Willoughby to the Tower of London, and there shut up; and the princess was also directed to repair with all convenient speed to the capital, "which accordingly she soon after did," Bacon tells us, "accompanied with many noblemen and ladies of honour." "In the mean season," continues this historian, "the king set forwards by easy journeys to the city of London, receiving the acclamations and applauses of the people as he went, which indeed were true and unfeigned, as might well appear in the very demonstrations and fulness of the cry. For they thought generally, that he was a prince as ordained and sent down from heaven to unite and put to an end the long dissensions of the two houses; which, although they had, in the times of Henry the Fourth, Henry the Fifth, and part of Henry the Sixth on the one side, and the times of Edward the Fourth on the other, lucid intervals and happy pauses, yet they did ever hang over the kingdom ready to break forth into new perturbations and calamities. And, as his victory gave him the knee, so his purpose of marriage with the Lady Elizabeth gave him the heart; so that both knee and heart did truly bow before him." Hall says that, as he passed along on his journey, "the rustical people on every side of the ways assembled in great numbers, and with great joy clapped their hands

and shouted, crying, 'King Henry! King Henry!'" "But," proceeds this chronicler, "when he approached near the city, the mayor, the senate, and the magistrates of the same, being all clothed in violet, met him at Shoreditch, and not only saluted and welcomed him with one voice in general, but every person particularly pressed and advanced himself gladly to touch and kiss that victorious hand which had overcome so monstrous and cruel a tyrant, giving lauds and praisings to Almighty God, and rendering immortal thanks to him by whose mean and industry the commonwealth of the realm was preserved from final destruction and perpetual calamity, and the authors of the mischief sublated and plucked away. And with great pomp and triumph he rode through the city to the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, where he offered his three standards. In the one was the image of St. George; in the second was a red fiery dragon beaten upon white and green sarcenet; the third was of yellow tartern, in the which was painted a dun cow. After his prayers said, and *Te Deum* sung, he departed to the bishop's palace, and there sojourned a season, during which time plays, pastimes, and pleasures were showed in every part of the city." Bacon observes, that "to disperse the conceit and terror of a conquest," he had given orders that his journey should bear no resemblance to a warlike march, but that it should be "rather like unto the progress of a king in full peace and assurance." It is added, that "he entered the city upon a Saturday, as he had also obtained the victory upon a Saturday; which day of the week, first upon an observation, and after, upon memory and fancy, he accounted and chose as a day prosperous unto him."* He took care, however, not to begin his reign by making himself too common; he appeared, we are told, on this

* This, however, is a mistake. The 22nd of August, 1485, on which the battle of Bosworth was fought, was a Monday. But King Henry entered the city on the 27th, which would be on the Saturday thereafter, as we learn from Stow.

occasion, "not on horseback, or in any open chariot or throne, but in a close chariot, as one that having been sometimes an enemy to the whole state, and a proscribed person, chose rather to keep state and strike a reverence into the people than to fawn upon them." But in this interpretation we may have not so much the motive or intention of Henry, as the refining political sagacity or imagination of his historian.

The reader has sufficiently seen with what fervour and fierceness of virtuous indignation the chronicler Hall is animated against the beaten party in the great civil quarrel which had thus been brought to a close. Speaking of the Lady Elizabeth, "whom," he says, "King Richard, foolishly fantasying and devilishly doting, did intend to marry," he adds, "But the damsel did not alonely disagree and repudiate that matrimony, but abhorred and detested greatly his abominable desire. At which most importunate and detestable concupiscence the common people of the realm so much grudged and maligned, that they did not only attribute the fault and crime to the king, but much more culpate and blame his privy councillors, which did not dissent but consent to so pernicious a council and so shameful a conclusion. But God, of his only goodness, preserved the Christian mind of that virtuous and immaculate virgin; and from their flagitious and facinorous act did graciously protect and defend." Sir George Buck, however, the defender of Richard, who maintains that that king never had any real intent to make Elizabeth his wife, but only entertained the proposition out of policy, has shown that both the lady and her mother had been quite ready and eager to conclude such an arrangement. The only objection they made was, that Richard's first queen was not yet dead. "But the answer," writes Buck, "which was made in the name of the king to the Lady Elizabeth concerning his queen was, that she would be no impediment of long continuance; being a very weak woman, in a consumption, and past hopes of recovery; her physicians giving their opinions she would not live past the middle of February next following; nor guessed they

much amiss, for she died in the next month, March. When the midst and last of February [1485] was past, the Lady Elizabeth, being more impatient and jealous of the success than any one knew or conceived, writes a letter to the Duke of Norfolk, intimating first, that he was the man in whom she affied, in respect of that love her father had ever borne him, &c. Then she congratulates his many courtesies, in continuance of which she desires him to be a mediator for her to the king in the behalf of the marriage propounded between them; who, as she wrote, was her only joy and maker in this world, and that she was his in heart and thought: withal insinuating that the better part of February was past, and that she feared the Queen would never die. All these be her own words, written with her own hand; and this is the sum of her letter, which remains in the autograph, or original draught under her own hand, in the magnificent cabinet of Thomas Earl of Arundel and Surrey." Richard's first scheme had been to marry Elizabeth to his son Edward; and it was after that prince died (in April, 1484) that he proposed to make her his own wife. Both she and her mother would probably have been equally pleased with either arrangement. At this time Richard was only in his thirty-second year, Elizabeth herself being nineteen. It is believed that after he was left a widower by the death of Queen Anne (on the 16th of March, 1485,—not without suspicion of having been poisoned), he was dissuaded from marrying Elizabeth by his two confidants, Radcliffe and Catesby, who warned him of the popular outcry such a step would excite. He then took great pains to proclaim that nothing of the kind had ever been contemplated.

All this, however, was not likely to prepossess Henry in favour of the match which circumstances imposed upon him; nor, whatever might be the national wish, was he desirous to make it appear as if he owed his crown in any degree to his marriage with the heiress of the House of York. He was accordingly in no hurry to raise Elizabeth to the throne which she was so ambitious to mount. His own coronation took place on the 30th

of October, immediately after the disappearance of what was then a new disease, the sweating, or sweating sickness, which had broken out both in London and other parts of the kingdom towards the end (Stow says on the 21st) of September, and had proved frightfully destructive. Two Lord Mayors of London were carried off by it within a week, and four aldermen were also among its victims. The ceremony of the coronation was performed in Westminster Abbey, the crown being set upon the king's head by Thomas Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury. "At which day also," writes Bacon, "as if the crown upon his head did put perils into his thoughts, he did institute, for the better security of his person, a band of fifty archers under a captain, to attend him, by the name of yeomen of his guard; and yet, that it might be thought to be rather a matter of dignity, after the imitation of that he had known abroad, than any matter of diffidence appropriate to his own case, he made it to be understood for an ordinance not temporary, but to hold in succession for ever after."

The parliament met at Westminster that day week. It enacted that "the inheritance of the crown should be, rest, remain, and abide in the most royal person of the then sovereign lord, King Henry VII., and the heirs of his body lawfully coming, perpetually with the grace of God so to endure, and in none other;" and, when the commons, on the 10th of December, presented to his majesty the usual grant of tonnage and poundage for life, they accompanied it with a petition that he would be pleased to "take to wife and consort the Princess Elizabeth, which marriage they hoped God would bless with a progeny of the race of kings." This last unusual expression, Dr. Lingard, whose translation of the original Latin entry in the rolls of parliament we make use of, conceives to mean the kings of both lines. The lords signified their concurrence by rising from their seats and bowing to the throne; and Henry answered that he was willing to comply with the request of the two houses. The marriage was accordingly solemnized on the 18th of January, 1486; "which day," says Bacon, "was cele-

brated with greater triumph and demonstrations, especially on the people's part, of joy and gladness, than the days either of his entry or coronation, which the king rather noted than liked. And it is true that all his lifetime, while the Lady Elizabeth lived with him, for she died before him, he shewed himself no very indulgent husband towards her, though she was beautiful, gentle, and fruitful. But his aversion towards the House of York was so predominant in him, as it found place not only in his wars and councils, but in his chamber and bed."

The king now, according to Bacon, "full of confidence and assurance, as a prince that had been victorious in battle, and had prevailed with his parliament in all that he desired, and had the ring of acclamations fresh in his ears, thought the rest of his reign should be but play, and the enjoying of a kingdom." But it was not to be expected that a reign commencing in such circumstances should be undisturbed by insurrectionary attempts. A succession of such movements kept Henry in disquietude for many years. The first that occurred was that headed by Francis Viscount Lovel, in April, 1546, which was speedily and effectually put down. The disappearance of this danger was followed, in September, by the delivery of the queen, at Winchester, of her first son, who was named Arthur, after the famous old British king. "The child," Bacon remarks, "was strong and able, though he was born in the eighth month, which the physicians do prejudge"—that is, are prejudiced against, or hold to be unfavourable.

But before the end of the same year a new commotion in the state, more formidable than the last, broke out. Bacon admits that Henry, though contrary to what he deserved, was still "not without much hatred throughout the realm." "The root of all," adds the historian, "was the discountenancing of the House of York, which the general body of the realm still affected. This did alienate the hearts of the subjects from him daily more and more, especially when they saw that, after his marriage, and after a son born, the king did nevertheless not

so much as proceed to the coronation of the queen, not vouchsafing her the honour of a matrimonial crown; for the coronation of her was not till almost two years after, when danger had taught him what to do." The dissatisfaction greatly increased when it came to be rumoured that Edward Plantagenet was intended to be secretly made away with in the Tower: the popular belief of this made Henry be thought almost as blood-thirsty a tyrant as Richard, whom he had supplanted. And all this while, Bacon confesses, it was still whispered everywhere that at least one of the children of Edward the Fourth was living. "Neither," he adds, "was the king's nature and customs greatly fit to disperse these mists, but, contrariwise, he had a fashion rather to create doubts than assurance." In this state of things, a priest of Oxford, called Richard (or, according to others, William) Simon, or Simonds, is supposed to have originated the bold project of setting up as a claimant for the crown his pupil Lambert Simnell, the son of a baker, or, as another account has it, of an organ-maker, of that town. Simnell was about fifteen years of age, and he is described by Bacon as "a comely youth, and well favoured, not without some extraordinary dignity and grace of aspect." The priest's first design is affirmed to have been to present Simnell to the world as the Duke of York, the second son of Edward IV., said to have been murdered along with his brother, Edward V., in the Tower; but it was eventually determined that he should personate Edward Plantagenet, now lying a prisoner in that fortress. The audacity of this scheme, as Bacon remarks, seems scarcely credible; for the individual to be personated was neither one who was dead, nor one who had been carried away in infancy, and was known to few; but a "youth that, till the age almost of ten years, had been brought up in a court where infinite eyes had been upon him," and, what was still more unfavourable to the project, who could be produced at any moment to confute his counterfeit. The historian concludes that some great person who knew Edward Plantagenet particularly and familiarly must have had a hand

in the business; and he adds, "That which is most probable, out of the precedent and subsequent acts, is, that it was the queen dowager from whom this action had the principal source and motion. For certain it is, she was a busy negotiating woman, and in her withdrawing chamber had the fortunate conspiracy for the king against King Richard the Third been hatched; which the king knew, and remembered perhaps but too well; and [she] was at this time extremely discontent with the king, thinking her daughter, as the king handled the matter, not advanced, but depressed; and none could hold the book so well to prompt and instruct this stage-play as she could." Edward IV.'s sister, Margaret Duchess of Burgundy, also gave her countenance and effective aid to the enterprise of the pretender. "This princess," says Bacon, "having the spirit of a man, and malice of a woman, abounding in treasure by the greatness of her dower and her provident government, and being childless and without any nearer care, made it her design and enterprise to see the majesty royal of England once again replaced in her house; and had set up King Henry as a mark at whose overthrow all her actions should aim and shoot; insomuch as all the counsels of his succeeding troubles came chiefly out of that quiver. And she bare such a mortal hatred to the House of Lancaster, and personally to the king, as she was no ways mollified by the conjunction of the Houses in her niece's marriage, but rather hated her niece, as the means of the king's ascent to the crown and assurance therein." The design of the Yorkists in thus patronizing the pretensions of Simnell was of course merely to make use of him for effecting their first object, the ejection of the reigning king; after which he himself would have been very easily disposed of. It is astonishing to what a height of temporary success the project attained. Simon, having taken his pupil over to Ireland, there presented him to the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Kildare, by whom he was at once recognised as the person he called himself. Kildare had been one of the chiefs of the Yorkist party, and it is impossible to believe that he had

not been from the first taken into the conspiracy. His acquiescence in the imposture naturally produced an immense effect. After a few days Simnell was proclaimed king, in Dublin, by the name of Edward the Sixth, with apparently the universal assent of the population of all classes. The boy, Bacon allows, became the part he acted well, and did nothing that betrayed the baseness of his real condition. The scheme, however, was too inherently hollow and flimsy to be long kept up. The first thing Henry did was to shut up the queen dowager in the nunnery of Bermondsey, and to seize all her lands and goods—with his characteristic indirectness, however, professing to visit her with that punishment for having, after her agreement for the marriage of her daughter with himself, delivered Elizabeth out of sanctuary into the hands of King Richard. At this proceeding "there was," says Bacon, "much wondering;—that a weak woman, for the yielding to the menaces and promises of a tyrant, after such a distance of time, wherein the king had shown no displeasure nor alteration, but much more after so happy a marriage between the king and her daughter, blessed with issue male, should, upon a sudden mutability or disclosure of the king's mind, be so severely handled." "This lady," adds the noble historian, "was amongst the examples of great variety of fortune. She had first, from a distressed suitor and desolate widow, been taken to the marriage bed of a bachelor king, the goodliest personage of his time; and even in his reign she had endured a strange eclipse by the king's flight and temporary depriving from the crown. She was also very happy, in that she had by him fair issue, and continued his nuptial love, helping herself by some obsequious bearing and dissembling of his pleasures, to the very end. . . . . After her husband's death, she was matter of tragedy, having lived to see her brother beheaded, and her two sons deposed from the crown, bastarded in their blood, and cruelly murdered. For this while, nevertheless, she enjoyed her liberty, state, and fortunes: but afterwards, again, upon the rise of the wheel, when she had a king to her son-in-law, and was

made grandmother to a grandchild of the best sex, yet was she, upon dark and unknown reasons, and no less strange pretences, precipitated and banished the world into a nunnery, where it was almost thought dangerous to visit her or see her, and where, not long after, she ended her life; but was, by the king's commandment, buried with the king her husband, at Windsor." The queen of Edward IV., originally Elizabeth Woodville, or Wydville, and, before she was raised to the throne, the wife of Sir John Grey, is supposed to have survived till about the year 1492. It appears that she was not kept all this while in close confinement; when the French ambassadors were introduced to her daughter at Westminster, in November, 1489, she is, in a contemporary record, expressly stated to have been present, as well as the king's mother, the Countess of Richmond. From this and other circumstances, Dr. Lingard is inclined to doubt altogether the fact of her apprehension upon the present occasion; but a story so distinctly told by all the old authorities, by Polydore Virgil, as well as by Hall, whom Bacon follows, can hardly be supposed to be a pure fiction.

Another measure, however, that Henry adopted was more suited to tell immediately with a favourable effect upon the popular mind. On a Sunday he had the true Edward Plantagenet brought out from the Tower, and, after being carried through all the principal streets of London, conducted in solemn procession to St. Paul's, "where," says Bacon, "great store of people were assembled. And it was provided also in good fashion that divers of the nobility, and others of quality, especially of those that the king most suspected, and [that] knew the person of Plantagenet best, had communication with the young gentleman by the way, and entertained him with speech and discourse; which did in effect mar the pageant in Ireland with the subjects here, at least with so many as out of error, and not out of malice, might be misled. Nevertheless, in Ireland, where it was too late to go back, it wrought little or no effect. But, contrariwise, they turned the imposture upon the king, and

gave out that the king, to defeat the true inheritor, and to mock the world, and blind the eyes of simple men, had tricked up a boy in the likeness of Edward Plantagenet, and showed him to the people, not sparing to profane the ceremony of a procession, the more to countenance the fable."

The affair did not end without being brought to the arbitrement of the sword. The Duchess of Burgundy having sent over a force of two thousand veterans under an experienced officer, Martin Swartz, these Germans landed at Dublin; the young Earl of Lincoln, son of Edward IV.'s sister the Duchess of Suffolk, who had recently gone over to his aunt in Burgundy, accompanying them. It was now decided that the pretender should undergo the ceremony of a coronation. In all haste, accordingly, the people from all quarters assembled, Stow tells us, "at Divelin, or Dublin, and there, in Christ's Church, they crowned their idol, honouring him with titles imperial, feasting and triumphing, rearing mighty shouts and cries, carrying him thence to the king's castle upon tall men's shoulders, that he might be seen and noted, as he was surely an honourable boy to look upon." Other accounts state that he was carried from the church to the castle on the shoulders of an English chieftain named Darcy. He was crowned by the Bishop of Meath with a diadem taken from a statue of the Virgin Mary. This was on the 24th of May, 1487. Immediately afterwards writs were issued, and a parliament summoned, in his name. Then Lincoln and the Germans, together with what Hall calls "a great multitude of beggarly Irishmen, almost all naked and unarmed, saving skaynes [daggers] and mantles," sailed for England, and landed at the pile of Foudray, in the southern extremity of Furness, Lancashire. They were encountered on the 16th of June by the royal force, under the command of the king in person, at the village of Stoke, in Nottinghamshire, and there, after a short but sharp conflict, completely put to the rout. Among those slain was the Earl of Lincoln, whom Richard III. had, after the death of his son, declared heir to the throne. Francis Lord Lovell, the other

chief English leader of the insurrection, is said to have been seen endeavouring to swim over the Trent on horseback, and one report makes him to have been drowned in that attempt; another, to have made his way to his own house of Minster Lovell, in Oxfordshire, where it is said that about two hundred years after there was found in a chamber under ground the skeleton of a man, seated in a chair, with his head reclined on a table, which was supposed to be the fugitive lord, perhaps left there to perish through neglect. Another of the English leaders, Sir Thomas Broughton, whom the common accounts make to have been killed, is also reported by tradition to have effected his escape, and to have lived, till his death, concealed among his tenants at Witherslack, in Westmoreland. The pretender himself, and the priest his tutor, were both taken prisoners. "For Lambert," says Bacon, "the king would not take his life; both out of magnanimity, taking him but as an image of wax that others had tempered and moulded; and likewise out of wisdom, thinking that, if he suffered death, he would be forgotten too soon, but, being kept alive, he would be a perpetual spectacle, and a kind of remedy against the like enchantment of people in time to come. For which cause he was taken into service in his court to a base office in his kitchen; so that, in a kind of *mattacina* [pantomime] of human fortune, he turned a broach that had worn a crown; whereas fortune commonly does not bring in a comedy or farce after a tragedy. And afterwards he was preferred to be one of the king's falconers. As to the priest, he was committed close prisoner, and heard of no more; the king loving to seal up his own dangers." It was after the suppression of this outbreak that, on the 25th of November, the queen was at length solemnly crowned in Westminster Abbey.

But the attempts of the House of York to regain possession of the throne did not end with this first discomfiture. The imposture of Simnell was followed, after a few years, by the appearance of the more celebrated pretender Perkin Warbeck. This singular affair occupies nearly eighty octavo pages of Bacon's history, and it has

been the subject of a world of controversy in more recent times. Of course, we can here attempt only the most rapid outline of the story. The new competitor for the throne was first heard of in the beginning of May, 1492. Bacon introduces him as a spirit or ghost, raised up to walk and vex the king by the magic arts of the Duchess of Burgundy, whom, he says, Henry's friends called Juno, "because she was to him as Juno was to Aeneas, stirring both heaven and hell to do him mischief." The proper name of the boy called Perkin Warbeck is affirmed to have been Peter Osbeck; his father having been John Osbeck, a converted Jew of Tournay, who was married to Catherine de Faro, and who was led by his business to come and reside for some time in London with his wife, in the days of King Edward IV.; "during which time," according to Bacon's account, "he had a son by her, and, being known in court, the king, either out of a religious nobleness, because he was a convert, or upon some private acquaintance, did him the honour to be godfather to his child, and named him Peter. But afterwards, proving a dainty and effeminate youth, he was commonly called by the diminutive of his name, Peterkin or Perkin; for, as for the name of Warbeck, it was given him when they did but guess at it, before examinations had been taken; but yet he had been so much talked on by that name, as it stuck by him after his true name of Osbeck was known." It is impossible not to be struck with an observation which the historian elsewhere makes upon the remarkable circumstance, mentioned, he tells us, by one who wrote at the time, of King Edward having been the boy's godfather, "which," he says, "as it is somewhat suspicious for a wanton prince to become gossip [that is, spiritual relation] in so mean a house, and might make a man think that he might indeed have in him some base blood of the House of York, so at the least, though that were not, it might give the occasion to the boy, in being called King Edward's godson, or perhaps, in sport, King Edward's son, to entertain such thoughts into his head." He was, it seems, very handsome; and, "more than that," says

Bacon, "he had such a crafty and bewitching fashion, both to move pity and to induce belief, as was like a kind of fascination and enchantment to those that saw him or heard him." He had also, we are told, "been from his childhood such a wanderer, or, as the king called him, such a land-loper, as it was extreme hard to hunt out his nest and parents. Neither, again, could any man, by company or conversing with him, be able to say or detect well what he was, he did so flit from place to place." While he was yet a child, according to this version of the story, he was carried back to Tournay by his parents, and as he grew up he moved much about from town to town in Flanders, all the while, however, associating much with natives of England, and so acquiring a perfect command of the language. At last he was brought to the Duchess of Burgundy, who soon discerned the use that might be made of him, and, keeping him by her for a long while, though in extreme secresy, set herself diligently to tutor him for the part she designed he should play. Her scheme was that he should personate Richard Duke of York, supposed to have been murdered in the Tower, with whose age his own nearly agreed. To prevent its being suspected that she had had any hand in the matter, she shipped him off in the first instance to Portugal; and there he remained about a year, when he set sail from Lisbon in a merchant vessel, and was conveyed to Ireland at the time we have mentioned. The vessel cast anchor in the Cove of Cork, on the 5th of May, 1492. The young man, who appeared to be about twenty or twenty-one years old, immediately upon landing announced himself as the Duke of York, and wrote to the Earls of Desmond and Kildare, desiring them to come to aid him in the recovery of his rights.

Soon after this, the adventurer was invited by the French king, Charles VIII., to come over to Paris, whither accordingly he proceeded; but, upon a peace being concluded between the two countries in November, he was warned by Charles to make off with himself; and he then repaired to Brussels, to the court of the Duchess of Burgundy. After questioning him about everything,

the duchess professed to be quite satisfied that he was her nephew. "Thereupon she gave him," says Bacon, "the delicate title of the 'White Rose of England,' and appointed him a guard of thirty persons, halberdiers, clad in a party-coloured livery of murrey and blue, to attend his person. Her court likewise, and generally the Dutch and strangers, in their usage towards him, expressed no less respect. The news hereof came blazing and thundering over into England, that the Duke of York was sure alive."

The effect was that a number of eminent persons soon associated themselves in a secret combination to support the pretender—among them being Sir William Stanley, the Lord Chamberlain of the Household. By these persons Sir Robert Clifford was secretly sent over to Brussels; and he, either won over by the duchess, or actually convinced, wrote back to his employers that the young man was undoubtedly the Duke of York. But Henry also now set his enginery at work. "There is a strange tradition," says Bacon, "that the king, being lost in a wood of suspicions, and not knowing whom to trust, had both intelligence with the confessors and chaplains of divers great men, and, for the better credit of his espials [spies] abroad with the contrary side, did use to have them cursed at St. Paul's by name amongst the bead-roll of the king's enemies, according to the custom of those times. These espials plied their charge so roundly, as the king had an anatomy of Perkin alive; and was likewise well informed of the particular correspondent conspirators in England; and many other mysteries were revealed; and Sir Robert Clifford in especial won to be assured to the king, and industrious and officious for his service." In 1494 the chief conspirators were most of them suddenly seized at once, and several of them were instantly sent to the block. Early in the next year, Clifford, having come over to England, boldly, in the presence of the king and the council, accused Stanley, who had till now been left untouched. "The king," says the historian, "seemed to be much amazed at the naming of this lord, as if he had heard the news of some

strange and fearful prodigy." Stanley had saved Henry's life at the battle of Bosworth, and had in the moment of victory set the crown he had won upon his head; the revolution had raised him to be one of the principal persons in the state, and had brought him vast wealth, as well as the highest honours; and he had since been united in close relationship to the new royal family by the marriage of his brother with the king's mother.* But his guilt was so clear that he scarcely attempted to deny it; and, after a few weeks, he was arraigned and condemned to die; and on the 16th of February he was brought to Tower Hill, and there beheaded.

In the summer of this year, 1495, the pretender made a descent, with a few hundred followers, upon the coast between Sandwich and Deal, but was immediately repulsed by the royal forces. In the fight, besides those of the invaders or rebels that were slain, a hundred and sixty-nine were taken prisoners. "They were brought to London," we are told, "all railed in ropes, and were executed some of them at London and Wapping, and the rest at divers places upon the sea-coast of Kent, Sussex, and Norfolk, for sea-marks, or light-houses, to teach Perkin's people to avoid the coast."

In the beginning of the next year Perkin was forced to leave Flanders, by an arrangement which Henry succeeded in making with the archduke. He then, after trying Ireland, and seeing little prospect of encourage-

* Bacon's account is:—"At Bosworth-field the king was beset, and in a manner inclosed round about by the troops of King Richard, and in manifest danger of his life; when this Stanley was sent by his brother, with three thousand men, to his rescue, which he performed so that King Richard was slain upon the place. . . . . For which service the king gave him great gifts; made him his counsellor and chamberlain; and, somewhat contrary to his nature, had winked at the great spoils of Bosworth-field, which came almost wholly to this man's hands, to his infinite enriching." His elder brother, who married the Countess of Richmond, was Thomas Lord Stanley, afterwards created Earl of Derby. He was her third husband; she, his second wife.

ment there, sailed to Scotland, where he was received with great kindness by the young king, James IV., who was at the time eager to find an occasion of quarrel with Henry. James actually gave him in marriage the Lady Catherine Gordon, daughter to the Earl of Huntly, a near kinswoman of his own, and a lady of distinguished beauty. Early in the following year, 1497, he and James invaded England, but were not joined by any portion of the population; and the attempt was repeated a few months afterwards with no better success. Perkin next made his appearance in Cornwall, which was at this time agitated and in confusion from a recent revolt of the people against the collection of a newly imposed tax, which had not been put down till after the insurgents had advanced upon London as far as Blackheath, where they were met by the royal forces, and defeated with great slaughter. He was joined by numbers of the Cornish men; but, after an unsuccessful attack upon the city of Exeter, when on the 21st of September his followers and the royal army were drawn up in array against each other near Taunton, ready to join battle on the following day, he rode off with a guard of sixty men, and took refuge in the sanctuary of Beaulieu in Hampshire, upon which his adherents threw down their arms. He afterwards surrendered himself upon condition that his life should be saved; and, being brought to London, he was paraded on horseback through the principal streets, and was then ordered to confine himself within the precincts of the palace. After leading this life for about six months, he one day made his escape; but he was soon retaken; and then, after having been compelled to stand two days in the common stocks, the first at Westminster Hall, the second in Cheapside, and to read to the people a confession to which he had previously put his signature, he was committed to the Tower. In August of the following year, 1499, he and Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, were detected in a project for effecting their escape together from that fortress; on which they were both separately arraigned and found guilty of treason; and Warbeck was executed at Tyburn on the 23rd

of November, Warwick on Tower Hill a few days after. On the scaffold Perkin recited his former confession, "taking on his death," says Stow, "the same to be true; and so he and John a Water [formerly Mayor of Cork, who was executed along with him] asked the king forgiveness, and took their deaths patiently."

When Perkin first fled to sanctuary, instant means had been taken to get possession of the Lady Catherine Gordon, then residing in St. Michael's Mount, Cornwall, where she had been placed by her husband, "whom," says Bacon, "in all fortunes she entirely loved, adding the virtues of a wife to the virtues of her sex." "The king," he adds, "sent in the greater diligence, not knowing whether she might be with child, whereby the business would not have ended in Perkin's person. When she was brought to the king, it was commonly said that the king received her not only with compassion but with affection; pity giving more impression to her excellent beauty. Wherefore, comforting her, to serve as well his eye as his fame, he sent her to his queen to remain with her; giving her very honourable allowance for the support of her estate, which she enjoyed both during the king's life and many years after. The name of the White Rose, which had been given to her husband's false title, was continued in common speech to her true beauty."

From this time Henry's reign was one of complete internal tranquillity, of which he chiefly took advantage to augment his revenue and his hoarded treasures—extracting money from his subjects on all sorts of pretences, which were not the less oppressive for being generally legal in their form and colour. The English law at this time, if only stretched as far as it would go, was abundantly sufficient for the purposes of the most exorbitant tyranny. The chief instruments of Henry's rapacity were two lawyers, Sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, names immortalized by the detestation of their country.

Henry was early in his reign involved in the politics of the Continent by the quarrel which arose between

Francis Duke of Bretagne and Charles VIII. of France, with both of whom he had been connected before he came to the throne, and each of whom applied to him for his assistance. This quarrel, by the death of Francis, soon after it broke out, leaving only two daughters, one of whom also soon afterwards died, became in fact a contest for the possession of Bretagne on the part of France. This was an object to which the public mind in England was strongly opposed; but, although Henry was forced to appear to go along with the national feeling, he deferred taking any steps to prevent the subjugation of the Bretons till it was too late. The money that was eagerly voted by parliament to fit out an expedition, he collected very carefully; but, instead of fighting, he endeavoured to manage the matter by the cheaper method of negotiation.—Afterwards indeed, in the spring of 1489, he found himself compelled to equip a small force, which proceeded to Bretagne; but he had previously assured the French government that if the troops were sent they should act only on the defensive—an engagement which was faithfully kept. Charles eventually compelled the Duchess of Bretagne to marry him, after she had been affianced to Maximilian, the King of the Romans; and the duchy was thus finally annexed to the French crown. The indignation in England at this result forced Henry to conduct an army to France in person, in the beginning of October, 1492; but he had already secretly arranged a peace with Charles, and before there was any fighting the treaty was published in the beginning of November. By this treaty, called the Treaty of Estaples, Charles bound himself to pay Henry the sum of 149,000*l.* sterling, in half-yearly instalments of 25,000 francs. In 1496, notwithstanding this peace, Henry joined the league of the Pope, the King of the Romans, the King of Castile, the Duke of Milan, and the republic of Venice, which, after Charles had overrun the kingdom of Naples in 1494, had in a few months expelled him from his sudden conquest; but when Charles died, in 1498, the treaty of Estaples was renewed with his successor Louis XII., and conti-

nued to regulate the relations of the two kingdoms to the end of the reign.

By successive truces with James III. and James IV., the peace with Scotland was preserved till 1495, when, on the recommendation of the French king and the Duchess of Burgundy, Perkin Warbeck was received in that kingdom as the rightful heir of the English crown. After Warbeck's final discomfiture, however, in 1497, a new truce was concluded between the two countries, to last till the expiration of a year after both kings should be dead; and this led in 1502 to a treaty of perpetual peace, cemented by the marriage of James with Henry's eldest daughter, the Princess Margaret. This marriage, from which flowed, after the lapse of a century, the important political result of the union of the two crowns, was solemnized at Edinburgh on the 8th of August, 1503. It was reported, Bacon informs us, that, when the project of the marriage was discussed in the council of the English king, an objection was raised on the ground that it might possibly lead to the kingdom of England falling to the king of Scotland. "Whereunto," continues the historian, "the king himself replied, that, if that should be, Scotland would be but an accession to England, and not England to Scotland, for that the greater would draw the less; and that it was a safer union for England than that of France. This passed as an oracle, and silenced those that moved the question."

Nearly two years before this, namely, on the 14th of November, 1501, a marriage, long contemplated and agreed upon, had been solemnized between Henry's eldest son Arthur, prince of Wales, and Catherine, the fourth daughter of Ferdinand, King of Castile. Arthur however, who was a prince of the highest promise, died within six months after; and then it was arranged that Catherine should be married to his surviving brother Henry. The marriage of Catherine and Arthur proved still more momentous in its consequences than that of Margaret and James.

Queen Elizabeth died on February 11th, 1503, a few days after giving birth to a daughter; on which Henry

lost no time in proceeding to turn his widowhood to account in the acquirement of some political advantage, or in the augmentation of his riches, now his ruling passion, by means of a new matrimonial alliance. One disappointment after another, however, met him in this pursuit; and, after having first made application to the widow of the King of Naples; then concluded a treaty with the Archduke Philip, husband of Joanna, Queen of Castile, for the hand of his sister Margaret, widow of the Duke of Savoy; and finally, on the death of Philip, in September, 1506, once more changed his ground, and proposed himself as the husband of Philip's widow, the Queen Joanna, who was insane—he died before he could accomplish his object. His death took place at Richmond, as the royal palace at Sheen was now called, 22nd April, 1509, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign and the fifty-third of his age.

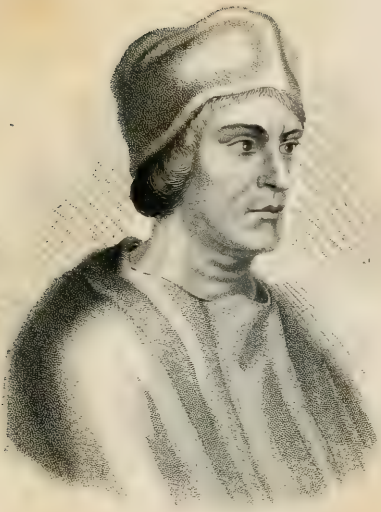
The children of Henry VII. by his queen Elizabeth of York were—1. Arthur, born 20th September, 1486, created Prince of Wales 1489, married to Catherine of Spain (to whom he had been contracted eleven years before), 14th November, 1501, died at Ludlow Castle, 2nd April, 1502; 2. Margaret, born 29th November, 1489, married to King James IV. of Scotland, 8th August, 1503, died 1539; 3. Henry, born 28th June, 1491, succeeded his father as Henry VIII., and died 28th January, 1547; 4. Elizabeth, born 2nd July, 1492, died 14th September, 1495; 5. Mary, born 1498, married to Louis XII. of France, 5th November, 1514, and secondly, in 1515, to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, died 25th June, 1533; 6. Edmund, born 21st February, 1499, soon after created Duke of Somerset, died in infancy; 7. Edward, born February, 1500, died young; and 8. Catherine, born 2nd February, 1503, died a few days after her mother.

Bacon has drawn this king as a hero of policy and craft, who may almost compete with the 'Principe' of Macchiavel, if we make allowance for the greater ruthlessness and more sanguinary spirit natural to the Italian blood. It may be admitted that this great writer, in the

elaboration of his design, has been drawn into some degree of exaggeration or over-refinement; and he has probably also softened the more repulsive features in Henry's moral character, as much as he has unduly exalted his intellectual endowments. But the difficult position which he occupied, and the success with which he maintained himself in it, vindicate the title of this sovereign to be regarded as at least one of the greatest masters of king-craft that figure in history. Bacon compares him, justly enough, to Louis XI. of France and Ferdinand of Spain, designating the three as "the *tres magi* of kings of those ages." The age in which Henry lived was that of the birth of modern policy, and that in which the foundations were laid of the still enduring system of the European states. Nothing that was then established has been greatly shaken since; all the changes that have since taken place have been little more than the growth and development of the arrangements that were then made and the principles that were called into action. This reign therefore may be considered as the beginning of the modern history of England.

The life of Dean Colet was neither a long nor an eventful one, and an outline of its course may be given in small space. His father was Sir Henry Colet, knight, a distinguished citizen of London, and member of the Mercers' Company, who twice held the office of lord-mayor, first in 1486, and again in 1495; his mother's name was Christian Knevet; and John was the eldest of twenty-two children, eleven boys and as many girls—of all of whom he appears to have been the only survivor at the death of his father, in 1510. As for his mother, she outlived himself, and reached a great age.

Colet was born at his father's house in the parish of St. Anthonine's, now commonly called St. Antholine's, London, in 1466. He received the rudiments of his classical education at what was then the most eminent school in London, that called St. Anthony's, which was in Threadneedle Street, near where the French church lately stood, and where the Hall of Commerce is now



built—a spot of ancient eminence, having probably been the site of a building of distinction in the Roman time, as the beautiful tessellated pavement discovered when the church was taken down a few years ago would seem to attest. About the year 1483 he was sent to Oxford, it is supposed to Magdalen College, and there he spent seven years in the study of logic, philosophy, and mathematics. Meanwhile, having been intended for the ecclesiastical profession, he had, after the irregular custom that then prevailed, been presented by his relation Sir William Knevet to the rectory of Denington in Suffolk, so early as the year 1485, while he was still under age, and before he had taken holy orders; and five years after he was presented by his father to another rectory, that of Thyrning in Huntingdonshire. The latter preferment he appears to have soon after resigned; the former he retained to his dying day. It is supposed to have been in 1493 that he left England to improve himself by travel on the Continent; he visited both France and Italy, and did not return home till 1497. In Italy he made the acquaintance of Lilly, Linacer, Latimer, and others of his countrymen who were then studying Greek there under the learned exiles from Constantinople, or their pupils and successors; and he also himself acquired a knowledge of that language, of which little or nothing was as yet understood at Oxford. While he was abroad, he had been presented to a prebend in the church of York, and to another in that of St. Martin's-le-Grand, and also to a canonry in the latter church. Yet his ordination even as a deacon did not take place till after his return. He now retired to Oxford, and he appears to have read lectures in divinity there for the next four or five years. It was at Oxford that, in the latter part of the year 1497, he first met Erasmus, with whom he continued in the most intimate friendship from this time till his death, and to whose notices of him in his letters and other writings we are indebted for the most interesting particulars of Colet that have been handed down to us. In 1502 he obtained a prebend in the church of Salisbury, on which he resigned the one he held in that of St. Mar-

tin's-le-Grand; but he was shortly after instituted to another in St. Paul's Cathedral. It appears, too, that along with his rectory of Denington he had up to this time held the vicarage of Stepney; for he is stated to have resigned that living on being made dean of St. Paul's, to which eminent dignity he was raised in 1505. He had taken his degree of doctor in divinity the preceding year. He was also, in his capacity of dean, rector of the Guild of Jesus in St. Paul's church; and he was one of the preachers in ordinary to the king, Henry VIII.

With all these church livings Colet was of course very well off; and, when he came into the inheritance of all his father's property on the death of Sir Henry in 1510, he must have been a person of considerable wealth. He appears to have formed the design which has principally immortalized his name, the founding of a classical school in his native city, some years before his father's death; but it was not fully carried into effect till then; and the foundation of St. Paul's school is properly dated in the year 1510.

Some years after this date, finding his strength decaying, though he was still not in advanced life, he became anxious to find some monastery or other place of religious retirement, in which he might close his days in quiet and solitude. But, before he could determine upon his retreat, he was attacked by the disease then called the sweating sickness, the repeated visitations of which proved so destructive in England, and also in other countries, in the latter part of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century; and, after several recoveries and relapses, he sunk under it, at a house which he had built for himself near the royal palace of Richmond, on the 16th of September, 1519.

Colet presents himself to us in various capacities: as a man; as a clergyman, preacher, and divine; as a scholar; and as a great public benefactor, to whom posterity has been indebted in every age that has elapsed since that in which he lived. His personal appearance has been preserved both in description, and in picture and sculpture.

From a drawing representing him in his ecclesiastical attire, in a manuscript of the two first Gospels which had belonged to him, and which is now in the public library at Cambridge, he seems to have been eminently handsome. Erasmus also describes him as both comely and tall. The same friend reports, that Colet declared himself to be by natural disposition inclined to indulge in all the ordinary ways of the world; but he had subdued these tendencies by the most determined self-discipline. "He conquered, and then commanded himself," says his modern biographer, Dr. Knight, abstracting in English the account given by Erasmus, "and brought his high spirit to be subject to reason; so that he would bear a reproof even from his own servant. His disposition to sleep and luxury he restrained by a continual abstinence from suppers, a strict sobriety, a close application to his studies, and by serious and religious conversation. . . . And yet, whenever opportunities offered themselves, either of jesting with facetious persons, or talking familiarly with the female sex, or of appearing at feasts and great entertainments, there nature would break forth, and you might see some little signs and tokens of it. For which reason he very much forbore acquaintance with laymen, and especially all public entertainments, where, if necessity brought him, he picked out some learned friend and talked Latin with him to avoid the profane discourse of the table, and in the mean time he would eat but of one dish, and take but one or two draughts of beer, refraining commonly from wine, which yet he relished with delight if very good, but drank it in the most sparing manner. Being always jealous of himself, he would therefore be constantly upon his guard, and cautious to the last degree of offending anybody; and he so behaved himself in all the minute circumstances of human life as if he well knew the eyes of all people were fixed upon him. There never was a more flowing wit; which, for that reason, delighted in the like society; but even then he chose rather to divert to such discourse as savoured most of religion and eternal life. And if ever he indulged him-

self in any light and pleasant stories, he would still give some turn of philosophy and serious application to them. He was a great lover of little children, admiring the pretty innocence and simplicity in them; and he would often observe how our Saviour had set them for our example, being wont to compare them to the angels above." The only detriment which he contracted from this constant self-observance and asceticism seems to have been some slight severity of temper; which, however, he also, as well as its opposite vices, generally kept under control. Yet it was a principle with him that boys should occasionally be soundly whipped, even when they had committed no fault, to break their spirits or to humiliate them, as he expressed it. He would sometimes have one of the boys of his school brought to him while he was at dinner, and subjected in his presence to what he considered this salutary discipline. On this point his milder or easier-natured friend Erasmus differed from him, as also upon the matter of going to bed supperless. Erasmus hints, too, that Colet was not without a tincture of avarice; he sometimes did not respond to the applications of the great scholar for pecuniary assistance so liberally or so readily as the latter could have wished, or he would accompany his bounty with unasked advices and cautions; but such complaints are very apt to be made by habitual borrowers, or beggars rather; and Erasmus was one of the most inveterate of that class, always receiving, always in want. He admits that Colet would supply him when nobody else would—when the charity of all his other friends had been tired out and run dry; and he further admits, that if Colet ever really showed anything like stinginess, it was not that he wanted to hoard his money, but only to bestow it on the worthiest objects, to apply it to the best use.

As a theologian, Colet occupies a very eminent place among the forerunners of the Reformation—among those who, without leaving the communion of the Romish Church, had yet abandoned many of its doctrines, as well as laboured to expose and remedy its corruptions, before the great popular revolt which finally separated from that

communion a third of Christendom. Although he held so many preferments, he at least did what he could to provide that the duties, whenever there were any, should be properly performed, either by himself or a deputy. Erasmus tells us, that when he was appointed to his principal office, the deanery of St. Paul's, as if he had been called to the labours, not to the dignity, of the place, he "restored the decayed discipline of his cathedral church, and brought in what was a new practice there, preaching himself upon Sundays and all solemn festivals." These sermons, it is added, were always attended by a numerous auditory, including amongst others the chief magistrates of the city. It appears that Colet's example had a good effect in making the deans of several other churches introduce the same practice of preaching. Colet's theological writings, some of which exist in manuscript, appear to contain very little doctrine that can be called peculiarly Romish. The only repository of divine truth which he recognised seems to have been the Bible, the obscurities and difficulties in which he interprets by comparison of one passage with another, and by the common lights of reason and learning, not by either tradition or the decisions of popes and councils; and his interpretations in various instances were contradictory to those upon which the church of Rome founds its peculiar doctrines. He was also accustomed to inveigh strongly against the pride, luxury, avarice, ignorance, and idleness of the clergy; the open profligacy of many of their number; and the general disorder into which the religious houses had fallen in his time—an evil which was already so universally felt that no new monastery or nunnery had been founded in England for many years, and the system of such institutions was thus pining away from mere neglect long before the fatal blow given to it by Henry the Eighth. One or two of the popish doctrines or practices Colet even ventured the length of distinctly dissenting from and condemning; in particular, the celibacy of the clergy, and, to a certain extent also, auricular confession. For the freedom with which he was

wont to express himself upon these and other points, he was more than once exposed to some annoyance and danger. One of the persons who looked upon him with suspicion and dislike for the general complexion of his opinions, was Fitz James, Bishop of London. "The dean," Erasmus informs us, "had never stood right with the bishop, who was a very rigid Scotist, and the more jealous of the dean because his lectures and sermons were chiefly employed in opening the sense of the Scriptures; which, being in the new way of learning, was called heresy. And, in truth, at that time, any divine that had more learning or piety than the grosser part of his order, or did touch or talk of any thing out of the common road of the church of Rome, was counted a perverse heretic, or at least suspected of the crime of heretical pravity. The bishop upon this score accuses the dean to the archbishop as a dangerous man; and, calling in the assistance of two other bishops of equal bigotry and no less virulency, he began to create him a great deal of trouble and vexation; using no other weapon but that of the charge of heresy, which was then reckoned the most fatal engine for the destruction of their enemies. So the bishop drew up certain articles against the dean. One was, that the said Dr. Colet had taught that images were not to be worshipped. A second was, that he had preached against the temporal possessions of the bishops, by denying that the repeated exhortation of Christ to Peter, to feed his sheep, could be at all meant of hospitality, or the worldly ways of entertainment, because the apostles were then poor, and unable to give any such reception. A third was, that he had preached against some men's reading their sermons in a cold unaffected manner, whereby he must needs mean to reflect upon the bishop himself, who, by reason of his old age, had taken up that idler way of preaching. But Archbishop Wareham, who knew the integrity and worth of Dr. Colet, undertook to defend the innocent party; and, from a judge, became his advocate and patron, and dismissed him without giving him

the trouble of putting in any formal answer."* The bishop, nevertheless, was not quieted by this first failure; and some time after he and his friends were much excited by the hope of being able to represent Colet to the king as a disaffected and dangerous person, on the ground of one of his sermons, in which he had spoken of reconciling the quarrels and differences of Christian states and princes by persuasion; and had exhorted his hearers to conquer those evil passions, out of which, he said, came wars and fightings among men. The sermon was preached before his majesty, who had just declared war against France; and, a little disturbed at the doctrine, Henry, immediately after the service, sent for the preacher. Colet waited on his majesty in the Franciscan monastery adjoining the royal palace at Greenwich; they met in the garden of the monastery, where the king went to walk; and as soon as the dean came up to him his majesty dismissed all his attendants. The rest of the story may be given in the words of Colet's modern biographer:—"The Bishop of London and his party, who hated the dean, and especially friar Bricot, were waiting in the palace, full of hope and expectation that the preacher would fall under the suspicion of treason, and the king's highest displeasure upon it, and would immediately be sent from the court to the Tower. But, on the contrary, as the king and Dean Colet were alone in the garden, his highness commanded him to be covered, and then spoke to him in this friendly manner:—'Master Dean, that you may fear no harm, I sent for you at this time; not to interrupt your holy labours in preaching, which I would rather encourage and promote, but to disburthen my own conscience of some scruples upon it, and by your ghostly advice to direct myself in the present posture of my affairs.' The king then told him that he was now engaged in a war against the French king, not at his own desire, but by force and urgent necessity for the defence of his kingdom; and therefore,

* Translated by Dr. Knight, in his Life of Colet, 8vo. Lon. 1724; pp. 88-90.

though the doctor, in his truly Christian sermon, had spoken admirably well of Christian love and charity.... yet, since this was a war, not of choice, but of necessity ..... he must desire him in another sermon to defend the lawfulness of such a war as was defensive, and should be entered upon for the honour and safety of our country. Dean Colet with all dutiful readiness obeyed the king's command; and at the next opportunity, in the same grave and eloquent way, he spoke of the grounds of a lawful war among Christian states and princes with such strength of reason and Scripture, that he not only confirmed the king and his nobles in their intended enterprise, but even raised the spirits of the common people, before cool and indifferent in that matter. At the end of this last sermon the king thanked him publicly before all the people; and said to his nobles, who stood about him:—'Well, let every one choose his own doctor, but this shall be my doctor before all other whatsoever.' And so the king took a glass of wine, and drank to him very graciously, and dismissed him with all the marks of affection; promising him any favour at court he would ask for. After this great honour done him by the king, his enemies, that stood gaping like wolves for a prey, slunk away with shame and vexation; and the dean, now secure from their envy and malice, went on in his constant course of preaching, and had always a full audience, as well of courtiers as of citizens, who were all pleased, and even charmed, with his excellent way of preaching."*

Inclined upon principle, if not by original disposition, to the utmost plainness and simplicity in all things, Colet, somewhat of an ascetic and a puritan in religion, was also something of a utilitarian in scholarship. He had a high value for learning, and appreciated the importance of whatever contributed to make knowledge sound and correct; but whatever was, or seemed to be, merely ornamental, he was apt to disregard or despise. He and his friend Erasmus differed entirely upon

* Life of Colet, pp. 205-208.

the subject of rhetoric, which Colet seems to have looked upon as only another name for falsehood and misrepresentation, or at least thought to be good only for confusing or disguising the truth. Its efficacy in arousing the passions and the imagination he certainly would not have admitted as any defence of it; for it was an essential part of his creed, that the imagination and the passions ought in all circumstances to be as far as possible subdued and kept down, and that the less part they were allowed to have in human affairs the better. Yet this is the only ground or apology for the employment of what is commonly called eloquence in writing or speaking. Colet would have had the reason or judgment to be the only faculty of the mind ever called into exercise, the only part of our nature ever appealed to. And with his robust and homely tastes he did not relish or approve of any tendency to subtlety or over-refinement even in reasoning. The logic of the schools he despised and hated, denouncing alike both Thomists and Scotists (as the followers of Thomas Aquinas, and their opponents, the followers of Duns Scotus, were denominated) as triflers and abusers of the gift of speech. In this feeling his religious opinions and tendencies took part with his literary tastes; for the schoolmen were the great defenders of Romanism, both theological and political; and the strongest antagonism and hostility also subsisted between their old logic and the new learning, directed in great part to the original language and better interpretation of the Christian Scriptures, which preceded and mainly helped to produce the Reformation. This was also no doubt the motive of much of Colet's zeal for the advancement of Greek scholarship, in which, as we have seen, he sought to accomplish himself after he had finished the ordinary course of study, and for the public and permanent teaching of which, as we shall presently find, he was one of the first persons who made provision in England. But, although a good, he never himself became a great scholar; and his name has only a place in the history of learning in connexion with the great classical school of which he was the founder.

There had been in very early times a school connected with the cathedral church of St. Paul's, as there were with most of the other principal churches and monasteries throughout the kingdom. But, like many of the other better parts of the Romish system, this seminary, in Colet's days, appears to have fallen into complete decay, and to have subsisted, if at all, in little more than in name and form. His own institution, which entirely superseded it, was founded by him, as we have already stated, about nine years before his death, and its settlement and superintendence principally occupied the remainder of his life. The best account of how he proceeded is that given by Erasmus, who says, "Upon the death of his father, when by right of inheritance he was possessed of a good sum of money, lest the keeping of it should corrupt his mind, and turn it too much toward the world, he laid out a great part of it in building a new school in the churchyard of St. Paul's, dedicated to the child Jesus, a magnificent fabric, to which he added two dwelling-houses for the two several masters; and to them he allotted ample salaries, that they might teach a certain number of boys free and for the sake of charity. He divided the school into four apartments. The first, namely, the porch and entrance, is for catechumens, or the children to be instructed in the principles of religion, where no child is to be admitted but what can read and write. The second apartment is for the lower boys, to be taught by the second master or usher; the third for the upper forms, under the head master; which two parts of the school are divided by a curtain, to be drawn at pleasure. . . . . The fourth or last apartment is a little chapel for divine service. The school has no corners or hiding-places; nothing like a cell or closet. The boys have their distinct forms or benches, one above another. Every form holds sixteen; and he that is head or captain of each form has a little kind of desk, by way of pre-eminence. They are not to admit all boys of course; but to choose them according to their parts and capacities. Their wise and sagacious founder . . . . . after he had finished all, left the perpetual care and over-

sight of the estate, and government of it, not to the clergy, not to the bishop, not to the chapter, nor to any great minister at court; but amongst the married laymen, to the Company of Mercers, men of probity and reputation. And when he was asked the reason of so committing this trust, he answered to this effect:—that there was no absolute certainty in human affairs; but, for his part, he found less corruption in such a body of citizens than in any other order or degree of mankind."*

But the nature of the original establishment, and also some points in the character of the founder, will be best illustrated by a few extracts from the statutes, as drawn up by Colet himself. They are dated the 18th of June, 1518.

The school is described as founded "in the honour of Christ Jesu *in pueritia*, and of his blessed moder Mary." The high or head master is directed to be "a man whole in body, honest and virtuous, and learned in good and clean Latin literature, and also in Greek, if such may be gotten, a wedded man, a single man, or a priest that hath no benefice with cure, nor service that may let the due business in the school." His wages are appointed to be "a mark a week, and a livery gown of four nobles, delivered in cloth."

The number of children received in the school is directed to be a hundred and fifty-three (in allusion, it is supposed, to the number of fish taken by St. Peter, as recorded by the evangelist John, chapter xxi. verse 11), "of all nations and countries indifferently." One of the rules with regard to the scholars is, that "in the school, in no time in the year, they shall use tallow candle in no wise, but alonely wax candle, at the costs of their friends." Colet, though he hated show and luxury, was a great lover of cleanliness: he dressed only in black, while many of the other clergy of his degree arrayed themselves in purple: but he was always remarkable for the neatness of his attire, and also for the good condition and order of his house and everything about him. Other

* Translated in Life by Knight, pp. 110-113.

rules which he lays down for the boys are the following: —"Also I will they bring no meat, nor drink, nor bottle, nor use in the school no breakfasts nor drinkings in the time of learning in no wise; if they need drink, let them be provided in some other place. I will they use no cock-fighting, nor riding about of victory, nor disputing at St. Bartholomew, which is but foolish babbling and loss of time. I will also that they shall have no remedies [that is, holidays]. If the master granteth any remedies, he shall forfeit 40*s. totiens quotiens* [for every time], except the king, or an archbishop, or a bishop present in his own person in the school desire it. All these children shall every Childermas-day come to Paul's church and hear the Child Bishop Sermon; and after be at the High Mass; and each of them offer a penny to the Child Bishop; and with them the masters and surveyors of the school." This festival of the Boy Bishop is remarked as almost the only popish observance attendance upon which the dean enjoined upon those educated at his school.

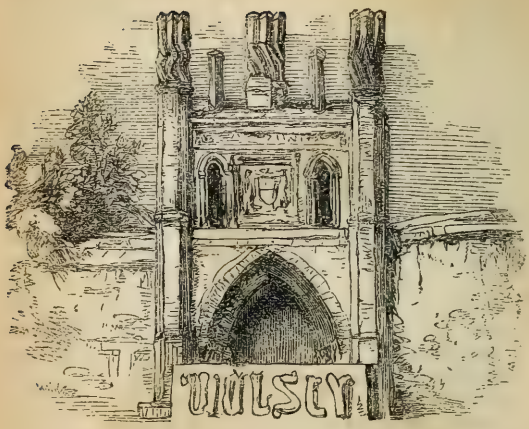
Some instructions are given as to what should be taught and what books should be read in the school. Generally it is explained that the purpose of the seminary is to afford instruction both in Latin and Greek, but always as far as possible in connection with Christian truth. He recommends, therefore, that Lactantius, Prudentius, and other Christian authors who wrote in Latin be used; but at the same time he wholly banishes and excludes, along with everything immoral, whatever corruption or adulteration of style "the later blind world brought in," "which," he facetiously adds, "more rather may be called blotterature than literature."

Finally, Colet shows his good sense in a very unusual provision with which he concludes, under the title of "Liberty to declare the Statutes." Notwithstanding all that he has laid down under previous heads, "yet because," as he well says, "in time to come many things may and shall survive and grow, by many occasions and causes which at the making of this book was not possible to come to mind," he leaves entire liberty to the Com-

pany of Mercers, to whom he had intrusted the government of the institution, "to add and diminish of this book, and to supply in it every default; and also to declare in it every obscurity and darkness, as time and place and just occasion shall require."

Colet's first head master was William Lilly, the principal author of the Latin grammar which goes under his name. Lilly had visited not only Italy but Rhodes to acquire and perfect himself in the Greek language, which he is said to have been the first person who taught at Oxford, at least after the revival of letters. He was a married man with many children; and he lived and presided over St. Paul's school till the year 1522, when he was carried off by the plague.

Colet's allowance to his head master of a mark (13*s.* 4*d.*) a week, with two houses (one attached to the school; the other, as an occasional country retreat, at Stepney), was a liberal provision according to the value of money at that day. The revenues of the school, however, derived from land, have of course since greatly increased: they amounted, as Colet calculated them, to about 120*l.*, and are understood to be now nearly 6000*l.* The estates lie chiefly in Buckinghamshire.



Thomas Wolsey was born in the year 1471, in the pleasant and prosperous town of Ipswich in Suffolk. This place, being the chief port of a very rich agricultural and pastoral district, and a great mart of the trade carried on with Holland and the whole of the Low Countries, had from very early times been a thriving town. A considerable portion of that great staple the wool of England had been annually exported from the port of Ipswich and the broad Orwell to the Netherlands, and a very frequent intercourse had been steadily kept up between the men of Ipswich, and the more civilized and manufacturing people of Flanders, Brabant, and Holland. A full century and a half before the birth of Wolsey, Ipswich was one of the most trading of our English cities. At his time commerce had brought both civilization and wealth; and shortly after his death, when the Reformation began in England, the people of Ipswich, and the county of Suffolk generally, were among

the foremost and steadiest that embraced the new doctrines; for in their foreign intercourse they had made themselves acquainted with the object and the operations of Luther and the earliest German Reformers, and their superior enlightenment rendered them more open to conviction than the population of any other of the island. At the date of the birth of our great and last prince of the Roman Church Luther was not born; but the mental development and the prosperity of Ipswich stood remarkably high. Many of the trading burghers were exceedingly wealthy.

It is quite certain that Thomas Wolsey was the son of plebeian parents, but it is not quite so certain that his father was a mere butcher. It was a poet, and a most bitter satirist, his contemporary John Skelton, who first designated Wolsey as the "butcher's dog," as a man of "greasy genealogy," and "that was cast out of a butcher's stall." Lord Herbert of Cherbury says indeed in plain prose that Wolsey was a butcher's son; Shakspere makes the angry Duke of Buckingham call the Lord Cardinal "this butcher's cur," and speak of "this Ipswich fellow's insolence;" but the words proceed from the mouth of an exasperated enemy. The probabilities are that Wolsey's father was a substantial yeoman that may have sold the wool of his flocks to the wool-staplers, and have fattened sheep and cattle for the stalls, without being himself a butcher. It is unquestionable that Robert and Joan Wolsey, his parents, were reputable persons, and possessed of sufficient means to provide a learned education for their son. It is true that children of poor and obscure parents did occasionally obtain the advantages of such an education; but in these cases the youths were devoted to the cloisters, and received gratuitously the instruction of the monks. Such was not the case of Thomas Wolsey. He received preparatory instruction, at the cost of his father, in Suffolk, and was then sent at the same charge to Magdalen College, Oxford, where he graduated at the age of fifteen, gaining by his early advancement to academical honours the nickname of the "boy-Bachelor." He became fellow of

his college, teacher of a school connected with it; and was ordained. Greek was not as yet taught in either of the universities; but the Cardinal's letters and state papers in Latin show that he had diligently studied the Roman classics; and the high reputation he indisputably enjoyed at Oxford, may be taken as good evidence that he cultivated all such learning as was accessible at that time. It is also to be mentioned to his honour that he afterwards, in the days of his greatness, founded a Greek professorship in the college he built at Oxford, and published a general address to the schoolmasters of England, ordering them to institute their youth in the most elegant literature.*

While master of the school attached to Magdalen College, Wolsey had for his pupils three sons of Thomas Grey, Marquess of Dorset, and to his acquaintance with this noble and powerful family the future Lord Cardinal owed his first humble preferment in the church, being presented by the marquess to the living of Lymington in Somersetshire. At this time Wolsey was twenty-nine years old. He was not distinguished at any period of his life by temperance and sobriety, and a command of his passions; and in the hot season of youth he is said to have been publicly guilty of various indiscretions. Thus it is said by Bishop Godwin that almost as soon as he had set footing in his Somersetshire living, "he was very disgracefully entertained by Sir Amias Pawlet, who clapped him in the stocks, a punishment not usually inflicted upon any but beggars and base people."† This Protestant prelate does not give the cause of this punishment, but communicative tradition says that Wolsey had gotten drunk at a neighbouring fair. "What the matter was," says Bishop Godwin, "that so exasperated Sir Amias Pawlet against Wolsey, a man not of

* Warton, Hist. Eng. Poet.—G. L. Craik, Sketches of the History of Literature and Learning in England.

† Bishop Godwin wrote his History of the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary, in the time of King James. It was first published in 1616. Godwin also has the story of Wolsey's father being a butcher.

least account, I know not: this I know, that Wolsey being afterwards made Cardinal, and Lord Chancellor of England, so grievously punished this injury, that Sir Amias was fain to dance attendance at London some years, and by all manner of obsequiousness to curry favour with him. There remains to this day a sufficient testimony hereof in a building over the gate of the Middle Temple in London, built by the knight at the time of his attendance there, and decked round about very sumptuously with the Cardinal's arms, the knight hoping thereby somewhat to allay the wrath of the incensed prelate." But Wolsey had qualities which could not be obscured, and a spirit that would not be depressed by any temporary disgrace. It is thought that his mind soon looked beyond his poor rural benefice. He certainly did not stay long at Lymington. Among other Somersetshire gentlemen, to whom he recommended himself by his wit and vivacity and captivating address, was Sir John Nafant, Treasurer of Calais, then an English possession and a great emporium of our trade. It appears that at first this knight engaged him as his chaplain: but that being incapacitated by age and sickness, and finding Wolsey admirably qualified for business, he soon appointed him his deputy in the office of Calais Treasurer, and afterwards conceived such a liking for him that he introduced him to King Henry VII. and obtained for him a nomination of king's chaplain. This crafty king, who was very sagacious in judging of the abilities and character of men, and who is said never to have employed or promoted a dull man, was charmed with the alacrity of his new almoner. According to Bishop Godwin, Wolsey's introduction to the king was brought about more indirectly by Sir John Nafant making him first known to Henry the Seventh's favourite minister Fox, who was at that time Bishop of Winchester and Lord Privy Seal, and, like his master, "a man that knew right how to judge of good wits." "And he (Fox) finding this young man to be very sprightful, of learning sufficient, and very active in despatch of affairs, so highly recommended him to King Henry the Seventh, who

relied much upon Fox's faith and wisdom, that he thought it good forthwith to employ him in affairs of great moment. What need many words? He so far pleased the king that in short time he became a great man." In these times the clergy were not barred from any state employment, and Henry the Seventh, making more account of their literature than of the pedigree and warlike qualities of the lay aristocracy, generally employed them in the various offices of government, and rarely if ever used any other ambassadors. Wolsey owed his next great rise to his skill as a negotiator and his rapidity as a traveller. The subject of Wolsey's first embassy, or as Bacon calls it, "this his first piece," was matrimonial: the grand cause of his final downfall was a divorce. Henry VII., in his old age, had determined to take to himself another wife, and was looking through all Europe for a rich and fair one. After sundry disappointments he obtained a promise of the hand of Lady Margaret, duchess dowager of Savoy, only daughter to the Emperor Maximilian, and sister to Philip, King of Castile, "a lady wise and of great good fame." In furtherance of this match it was found necessary to send a trusty, quick-witted, and quick-moving envoy into Flanders; and Wolsey, being named by Henry, went and returned to court before his royal master thought he had had time to get out of England. In the end the negotiation came to nothing; but the king was so much pleased with Wolsey's conduct that he procured for him the valuable deanery of Lincoln, to which he was appointed in February, 1508. In the following year the king died, and was succeeded by Henry VIII. The character and habits of the young sovereign differed in all essentials from those of the old one, but they were much more favourable to the advancement of a man of Wolsey's turn, and accordingly we find the expert, gay, and courtly Dean of Lincoln rising rapidly in favour and greatness from the beginning of this new reign. As he had lived a good deal about the court, and had alike distinguished himself by his aptitude for business and by his captivating manners, he must have attracted the notice of

the gay young heir to the throne. He had also another advantage over the grey-headed ministers of Henry VII., for he was in the prime of life, and could pursue pleasure and amusement with as much heart and skill as state business. "The young prince," says Bishop Godwin, "coming to the crown, was wholly taken with his smooth tongue and pliable behaviour." Wolsey's first promotion under Henry VIII. is, however, attributed by Lord Herbert of Cherbury and others, to the political jealousies of the time. Fox, Bishop of Winchester, lord privy seal and principal secretary of state, is said to have been jealous of the influence of the Earl of Surrey, the Lord Treasurer, and to have introduced Wolsey into the council with the view of strengthening his party, hoping to benefit by his "quick and stirring wit," without being disquieted by his ambition. And as Bishop Fox appears to have been one of Wolsey's earliest patrons at court, he may have committed the mistake of counting on his submission and entire dependence, or of considering that his want of high birth would prevent his reaching the high offices of state. "Wolsey," says Lord Herbert, "was already a chaplain in the household and almoner, and from thence raised to the place of a counsellor. Being in this nearness, he knew as well how to discourse with the young king, in matter of learning, (the king being much addicted to the reading of Thomas Aquinas,) as to comply with him in his delights; insomuch, as (saith Polydore) he would sing, dance, laugh, jest, and play with those youths in whose attendance and company the king much delighted; briefly (to use Polydore's words), he made his private house *voluptatum omnium sacrarium, quo regem frequenter ducebat*, a receptacle for pleasures of all kinds, where he frequently entertained the king. He omitted not yet, in the midst of all these jollities, to speak seriously, so representing all businesses to the king, as he got much credit with him, and this, again, was confirmed by those gallants, who contributed no little thereunto, whereupon he began to tell the king, that he should sometimes follow his studies in school divinity, and sometimes take his pleasure, and leave the

care of public affairs to him: promising that what was amiss in his kingdom should be rectified. Likewise, he omitted not to infuse fears and jealousies of all those whom he conceived the king might affect. Whereby he became so perfect a courtier that he had soon attained to the height of favour. For as princes have arts to govern kingdoms, courtiers have those by which they govern their princes, when through any indisposition they grow unapt for affairs." Tradition is too unvarying and there is too much substantial evidence of the facts to allow us to doubt that Wolsey encouraged Henry's natural turn to dissipation, took an active part in his expensive and loose pleasures, and turned to his own advantage all his art as a most accomplished courtier and all his influence as a favourite; but it may still be doubted whether there was any man about the court or government of Henry VIII. that would have made a better or a more disinterested minister. He could turn from pleasure to business with a happy facility, and in the midst of the amusements of the court he devoted much time to public affairs; his naturally joyous and confident disposition made him averse from acts of cruelty and oppression, and when the extravagance and the capricious and absurd wars of his master drove him to the necessity of laying on irregular taxes, he so gilded the pill or honeyed it over with sweet words, that for some time no complaints were raised against him or against the king. If allowances be made for the times in which he lived, it must be confessed that the absolute favourite and minister of a despotic prince was seldom less arbitrary or tyrannical. His leading maxim was rather to win and persuade men than to terrify them. Henry, according to an old writer, had at this time as little inclination to trouble himself with business, as a wild ox has to be yoked to the plough. Wolsey did everything for him, and reaped the fruit of his labour in rich gifts and rapid promotions. Before Henry VIII. had finished the first year of his reign he was made Lord Almoner, and presented with some valuable lands in the parish of St. Bride, Fleet Street, which Empson, one of

the extortionate finance managers of Henry VII., had forfeited to the crown upon his attainder and execution. In the next year, 1510, Wolsey became Rector of Torrington; in 1511, Canon of Windsor and Registrar of the Order of the Garter; in 1512, Prebendary of York; in 1513, Dean of York and Bishop of Tournay in France; in 1514, Bishop of Lincoln, and in the same year Archbishop of York. By this time he had not only checked the power and ambition of my Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Surrey, but had also completely eclipsed his patrons, the Lord Privy Seal and Secretary Fox, bishop of Winchester. Fox, who had never shown any lack of ambition or indifference to wealth, and whose own rise to greatness had been very rapid under Henry VII., had possessed a great capacity for business, and had acquired no inconsiderable fame as a deviser and manager of feasts, pageants, and court-entertainments; but in the despatch of business his greatest speed was slowness compared with the pace of Wolsey; and his other conceptions appear to have been tame and niggardly when put in contrast with the magnificent devices of the son of the Ipswich burgher, who was a refiner of the sensual pleasures, and whose talent in pageantries and festivities may indeed be said to have amounted to genius. Bishop Fox, too, had grown old and parsimonious, and had the uncourtly habit of complaining of the vast expenditure of the young, gay, and most ostentatious king. Finding himself disregarded at court, and completely overshadowed in the state by the plebeian churchman he had patronized and brought into the council to serve him, the old man in 1515 retired in disgust to his diocese, and spent the rest of his life in discharge of the duties of his episcopal office, and in works of munificence and piety. The same year, 1515, which witnessed the retirement of Fox, saw Wolsey elevated to the rank of a Cardinal, and to the office of Chancellor of England. The Cardinal's hat was given to him by Pope Leo the Tenth (whose character and tastes in many respects resembled his own), in order to gratify the powerful King of England, and to keep him steady to the league

against the French king, who, among other schemes of conquest, was contemplating the reduction of a great part of Italy; for the great seal Wolsey was indebted to the resignation and retirement of William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Chancellor, who, like Bishop Fox, had found his authority reduced to nothing.* In the very next year after these high promotions, in consequence of services rendered, or in the hope of securing other services and an active co-operation on the part of King Henry in the continental wars, Leo X. made Wolsey his legate *à latere* in England, a commission which gave him great wealth and an almost unlimited power over the English clergy. He was likewise allowed to farm, for the foreign bishops who held them, the revenues of the dioceses of Bath and Worcester, the latter of which two sees had been given to Julius de' Medici, cousin to Leo X., and afterwards Pope Clement VII. It appears that Wolsey paid these foreign churchmen fixed stipends far below the annual proceeds which he drew from the dioceses. He had also in commendam the rich abbey of St. Alban's. All these enormous revenues were further increased by stipends received from the Kings of France and Spain, and from the Doge of Venice, and by occasional gifts made to him by other princes. All the powers of Europe were eager to secure the friendship of the English king, and applied to Wolsey as the only means of effecting the desired end. He had few scruples about taking this foreign money, but he seems always to have made the king privy to the transactions, and it is pretty

* Wolsey received the great seals on Christmas-eve, the 24th of December, 1515. The solemn act of delivering them to him, and the oath of office he took, are given in Rymer's Fœdera. The last clause of the oath is worth notice. It is this:—"And ye shall do and purchase the king's profit in all that ye may, as God help you and the Holy Evangelists." It must have been found difficult to reconcile this part of the oath with a preceding clause, which says, "And ye shall do right to all manner of people, poor and rich, after the laws and usages of this realm."

evident that a good part of this money either went directly into the king's privy purse or was spent by the Lord Cardinal in splendid entertainments for him. By the year 1517 Wolsey had the whole power in the state, both civil and ecclesiastical, and an income of enormous amount. Pope Leo himself scarcely lived with more splendour and magnificence. Wolsey's taste was rather for spending than accumulating. He became most gorgeous in his dress, retinue, housekeeping, and all other things; his portly figure was set off with silks and satins of the finest texture, and richest scarlet and crimson dye. Polydore Virgil says that he was the first among all priests, bishops, and cardinals that ever wore silks for his uppermost vestment. His neck and shoulders were covered with a tippet of costly sables; his gloves were of red silk; his hat of a cardinal was scarlet; his shoes were silver gilt, inlaid with pearls and diamonds. The eye of imagination is almost dazzled by this warm and glowing picture, which was drawn by one of Wolsey's own servants.* He maintained a train of one hundred persons, among whom were nine or ten lords, the beggared descendants of proud barons who had lost their lives or fortunes, or both, in the long War of the Roses, which had so broken the power of the ancient aristocracy, and which had laid the way for the despotism of the House of Tudor. Besides these lords he had fifteen knights and forty squires in his service. All his domestics were splendidly attired: his very cook wore a silk or velvet jerkin, and a chain of gold round his neck. Whenever he appeared in public, his cardinal's hat was borne before him by a person of rank; two priests, the tallest and best-looking that could be found, immediately preceded him, carrying two ponderous silver crosses, one to denote his dignity as Cardinal, the other as Archbishop of York; two gentlemen, each bearing a silver staff, walked before the two priests; and in front of all went his pursuivant-at-arms, carrying on his shoulder a huge mace of silver gilt. Most of his

* Cavendish.

followers were mounted upon spirited horses, perfect in training, and splendidly caparisoned; but he himself, as a priest, rode a mule, with saddle and saddle-cloth of crimson velvet, and stirrups of silver gilt. At his levee, which he held every morning at an early hour, after a very short mass, he always appeared clad all in red. The king, who loved show and parade beyond all precedent, seems really to have prided himself in the splendour of his favourite; and it is thought that jealousy was avoided by his considering all this pomp and glory as a mere reflection of his own: he had raised him from poverty to this enormous wealth, and he may have reflected, that by his arbitrary and unopposed will he could at any moment cast him down and seize whatever he had. Even the nation was less jealous of the low-born minister than might have been expected; for Wolsey's wealth was like an overflowing river that reached far and near; he was a liberal and punctual paymaster; he fed thousands of artists and artisans; he constantly gave alms to the poor, and very frequently largesses to the people. At the same time he encouraged men of learning and letters, exerted himself most strenuously for the revival of Greek and pure classical literature, and endowed schools and colleges, without waiting, as Bishop Fox and others had done, for the season of old age or disappointment, or for the hour of death, to make this noble use of riches. At court, no doubt, there were many lords who daily bent the knee to him and flattered him, full of envy and hatred; but with the people, with the great body of the nation, Wolsey appears to have been a favourite, until the king's increasing wants made him put his hands too frequently into the people's pockets. As chancellor, he was praised for the strict justice he dispensed, although his severity too often resembled that exercised under Henry's father by Empson and Dudley, who fined rich offenders rather in proportion to their wealth than in proportion to their offences. He, however, repressed with a strong hand the arbitrary power which some members of the aristocracy still attempted to exercise in

the remoter parts of the kingdom; and he put down thieves and robbers by improving the police, or by encouraging the sheriffs and local magistrates. He allowed none to maltreat or oppress the poor, he erected a court of requests where the complaints and claims of the needy were to be heard; and he introduced other things in the civil government of the kingdom that were very acceptable to the people, and that were continued and improved after his time. "Herein," says Bishop Godwin, "he alike manifested his wisdom and love of his country. Certainly they that lived in that age would not stick to say, that this kingdom never flourished more than when Wolsey did, to whose wisdom they attributed the wealth and safety that they enjoyed, and the due administration of justice to all without exception."

His foreign policy was bad, and even base; but much of this is to be laid to the account of the capricious, violent, and jealous character of the master he served. England occupied a position which might have enabled her to be the arbitress of Europe, and which might have given such weight to a wise and liberal policy as would have checked the long wars waged between the French kings and the emperors Maximilian and Charles V. But Henry was avid for military glory, and, without any genius for war, conceited himself into the hope and belief that he was to be a greater soldier and conqueror in France than Henry V.; and, to say the truth, the English people were at first disposed to be of this opinion, and therefore to encourage his warlike propensities. In the fourth year of his reign he rushed into the war as a principal by invading France. The Emperor Maximilian and his other allies could not, or would not, do that which he had expected; and so, breaking off from them all, he suddenly, in the summer of 1514, concluded a treaty of family and political alliance with Louis XII. of France. Louis XII. died shortly after, but his brilliant and more warlike successor Francis I. flattered the vanity of Henry, who confirmed the league which had so recently been made, and by so doing encouraged Francis to cross the Alps. Then, in a very short time, the glory

which the young French king was acquiring in Italy excited the jealousy of Henry, and an outcry was raised in the English court against French ambition and encroachment. If Henry had not already spent all the treasures which his father had left him, he would instantly have declared war against Francis. To tempt him to this step the poor and faithless Maximilian hinted that he was weary of the weight of the imperial crown, and might be easily persuaded to resign it to the English king, for some present assistance, or for a proper consideration in money. Henry's egregious vanity took the bait; and the Earl of Worcester and Doctor Cuthbert Tunstall, afterwards Bishop of Durham, were sent to the emperor's court to negotiate for this cession of the imperial crown. Schemes were laid at home for the raising of money and the equipment of great armies. But Tunstall, one of the most accomplished scholars in Europe, and an excellent statesman and man of business, presently discovered the specious cheat which Maximilian was attempting to practise, and boldly and bluntly told his master that the constitutions of the Germanic empire and other circumstances rendered it utterly impossible that he could ever be emperor even by name. "But the crown of England," said this patriotic priest, and with not less truth than patriotism, "is an empire of itself, much better than now this empire of Rome." Tunstall also told Henry, that he really believed that Maximilian's offer had only been made in order to get thereby some money, and that the emperor's court was a place of great dissimulation, where no promises were kept.* Upon this Henry's jealousies of Francis I. gave way to other and fresher feelings, and, instead of declaring war, in order to make the French king evacuate Italy, he concluded with him a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive. During the negotiations which preceded this treaty Wolsey was gratified by French money, but it is

* Original Letters illustrative of English History, edited by Sir Henry Ellis. The originals are in the British Museum.

pretty clear that his master's disappointment and irritation led to this sudden change of policy, and were too violent to be resisted. At the beginning of the following year, 1519, when Maximilian died unexpectedly, and when Francis proposed himself as a candidate for the vacant dignity, Henry promised the French king his countenance and support. Yet, after doing this, he sent the learned Richard Pace to the German electors, to announce himself as a candidate. Then, as the Archduke Charles began the canvass, and showed that his better qualifications, his wise policy, and his immense resources must secure him the election, Henry, from that common desire men feel for being on the winning side, or from some new offence taken to Francis, or in a miserable attempt at manœuvre, wrote to assure Charles of his earnest wishes for his success; and at this very time Sir Thomas Boleyn, one of Henry's ambassadors at the diet, was repeating to Francis the most solemn assurances that Henry would support him. Charles the Fifth was elected on the 28th of June, 1519. The eagerness with which both he and his dissappointed rival Francis attempted to secure the friendship of the King of England, was a tribute paid to the power and importance of the nation; but Henry was incapable of benefiting either himself or his people, or the cause of peace and humanity in Europe, by the advantages afforded him by his enviable position. The correspondence preserved in the State Paper Office, and published a few years since, shows that the imperious and constantly changing will and the gusty passions of the king directed, far more than Wolsey's schemes and projects, the foreign policy or no policy of these times. If the Cardinal had been allowed to take the lead in foreign as in home affairs, although the policy might not have been much more elevated, it would certainly have been somewhat more regular and consistent. Just before the imperial election, Henry had proposed to Francis a personal interview, to take place between the English town of Calais and the French king's town of Boulogne. Francis now requested Henry to keep this engagement, and the meeting was fixed for

the summer of 1520. The Emperor Charles was greatly alarmed hereat, and his ambassadors in England did all they could to keep the king at home. But Henry, who longed to display his magnificence, was firm to his purpose. As he was collecting his finery for embarkation at Dover, he received news that the emperor was in the Channel. According to the commonly received account, Henry was taken by surprise, but not so his minister; for Wolsey had been secretly corresponding with the emperor, and had concerted this opportune visit, and Charles had granted his "most dear friend" a pension of 7000 ducats, secured upon two Spanish bishoprics. The emperor anchored at Hithe near Dover on the 26th of May, and was there received by my Lord Cardinal in great state. Henry met him at Dover and conducted him to Canterbury, where the two sovereigns laid their offerings on the tomb of Thomas à Becket. Charles spent three days in England, and during that time he is said to have had many conferences with Wolsey, and to have encouraged the Cardinal to aspire to the tiara or triple crown of Rome, promising him his support if Leo X. should die. He treated Wolsey with great reverence, and affected to submit to his superior judgment in state affairs; he also gave him many magnificent presents—"a great part of the spoils of Mexico"—says Lord Herbert of Cherbury. On the fourth day Charles re-embarked at Sandwich, and set sail for his Netherlands dominion, trusting that, by anticipating Francis and by winning the Cardinal, he had prevented any evil consequences that might otherwise have arisen out of the more formal meeting of Henry and the French king. On the same day Henry, with the Cardinal, the queen, and the whole court, sailed for Calais to keep that appointment. The place fixed upon, and afterwards styled the "Field of the Cloth of Gold," was within the English pale, between Guisnes and Ardres. The manner of meeting, together with the whole ceremonial and pageant, was left by both monarchs to Wolsey. Francis thought to flatter the vanity of the Cardinal by this arrangement; but the concession was a trifle compared with Charles's promises to make the Cardinal a Pope.

In the long and costly pageantries exhibited in the Field of the Cloth of Gold, none could vie in magnificence with Wolsey, although it was said of some of the French nobles that they carried their entire estates on their backs. According to an old writer, who had a surpassing love for all shows and gaudy dresses and dazzling pageantries, and who was thereby qualified to be the proper historian of such a reign, the Frenchmen were so struck with Wolsey's splendour and magnificence that they afterwards "*made books*, showing the triumphant doings of the Cardinal's *royalty;* as, of the number of his gentlemen, knights, and lords, all in crimson velvet, with marvellous number of chains of gold; the multitude of horses, mules, coursers and carriages that went before him with sumpters and coffers; his great silver crosses and pillars, and his embroidered cushions; the great and honourable number of bishops giving their attendance on him, and the mighty and great number of servants, as yeoman and grooms, all clad in scarlet."* Before the ten days of tilting, tourneying, fighting at the barriers, and feasting and dancing began, Wolsey spent two whole days in arranging an additional treaty with the French sovereign. Francis, whose head and heart were full of his Italian conquests, readily agreed to pay a high price for the neutrality of the King of England in the war with the Emperor Charles, which he saw was inevitable: he renewed the recent marriage treaty, and, in addition to the money therein promised, he bound himself and his successors to pay to Henry and his successors the yearly sum of one hundred thousand crowns, in the event of the marriage between their children being solemnized, and the issue of that marriage seated on the English throne. Many extravagant professions of friendship were made on either side; and by the royal word of Henry, as well as by the treaty, Francis was led to believe that he should have nothing to fear from England in his contest with the Emperor Charles for the dominion of Italy. Yet the first thing Henry did on

* Hall.

quitting the Field of the Cloth of Gold, was to go to Gravelines and pay a visit to the more sober-minded and politic emperor. Charles accompanied him back to Calais, to pay, as was given out, his respects to his dear aunt Catherine, Queen of England; but, in reality, to concert measures with those who had so recently pledged themselves to his rival's interests. The emperor flattered the vanity of his dear uncle Henry by attempting to appoint him umpire for the settling of all differences between him and the French King; and he again assured Wolsey that he would aid him in the next vacancy at Rome. Splendid entertainments were given at Calais; and when, after three days, Charles took his leave, he was "mounted on a brave horse covered with a cloth of gold richly beset with stones which the king had given him." "He would often," adds Bishop Godwin, "speak of his aunt's happiness, that was matched to so magnificent a prince." Henry and his court soon returned to London, "all safe in body, but empty in purse." The most lasting effect produced by the Field of the Cloth of Gold was the ruin of many of the nobility, who, in their desire to please the gorgeous king and outshine the French, had contracted enormous debts. Even under that despotism there were some men who expressed their disapprobation of the ruinous and useless expense. One of the loudest of these murmurers was Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, who had long been an object of dislike and jealousy to the king. The origin of the duke's misfortunes was his close connection with royalty by his descent from the ancient line of the Plantagenets. His next misfortune was his great wealth, which tempted the impoverished king to make it his own by a sentence of attainder and forfeiture. He had also been guilty of the folly of listening to one Hopkins, a Carthusian friar, who had gained great reputation as an astrologer and fortune-teller, and who had predicted or hinted to him that his young son would be Henry's successor on the throne of England. Eight years before, when he was much less jealous and suspicious than now, Henry had cut off the head of the Duke of Suffolk for no other

crime than that of his royal birth. Before leaving England for the Field of the Cloth of Gold, he had been alarmed at a report that the Duke of Buckingham was augmenting the number of his armed retainers: he had called into the Star Chamber one Sir William Bulmer for having deserted the royal household to take service in that of Buckingham, and although he had pardoned that knight, he had in so doing made use of ambiguous expressions against the duke. The ill-will and fears and angry passions of the king are quite enough to account for the cruel fate of this great nobleman, without charging the capital guilt upon Wolsey, whose revenge had certainly not been of a fierce or sanguinary kind. It is clear, however, that there was no friendship between the unfortunate duke and the Cardinal, and there is good ground for believing that if Wolsey did not urge on the duke's ruin, he did little to prevent it. Lord Herbert says that on one occasion the choleric Duke of Buckingham had drawn his dagger against the Lord Cardinal. Bishop Godwin says that Buckingham could by no means bear with the intolerable pride of the Cardinal. "There goes a tale," adds the bishop, "that the duke once holding the basin to the king, the Cardinal, when the king had done, presently dipped his hands in the same water: the duke, disdaining to debase himself to the service of a priest, shed the water in his shoes. The Cardinal, therewith incensed, threatened him that he would sit upon his skirts." All the historians of the following century, and the traditions to which the greatest of our poets always adhered, bear Shakspere out in representing the high-born duke as a scoffer at the pride and pomp of the plebeian Cardinal, and in assigning Wolsey's revenge as an immediate cause of his arrest: yet still we cannot but think that there was a stronger cause in the king's own heart. The duke, who was living quietly on one of his estates in Gloucestershire, was basely inveigled up to town by an invitation from the king. His suspicions were first awakened at Windsor, by seeing that he was closely watched and followed by three knights of the king's body-guard and some servants-at-arms. Making

no vain or desperate effort to escape, he continued his journey to Westminster, where he took his barge, in order to go by water to Greenwich, where the court then was. On his way he stopped at my Lord Cardinal's quay, or the jetty at York House; but the Cardinal made his servants say that he was indisposed; and he would not see the uneasy face of the doomed nobleman. Between Wolsey's residence and London Bridge the duke's barge was boarded by the captain of the body-guard and a company of his men; and Buckingham was attached as a traitor and conveyed to the Tower, to the great regret and astonishment of the people. Seventeen slavish peers, chosen by the king, and the Duke of Norfolk as high steward, constituted the tribunal which sent Buckingham to the block as a convicted and attainted traitor. It was while the blood of Buckingham was fresh upon him that King Henry took the field as champion of the holy Roman mother church. Three days after the duke's execution he wrote, with his own hand, a terrible letter to Lewis of Bavaria, denouncing the Reformation as "a fire which hath been kindled by Luther, and fanned by the arts of the devil." The royal polemic was the more incensed against the German reformer, because Luther had spoken disrespectfully of St. Thomas Aquinas, his favourite author. After recommending the Bavarian prince to burn Luther and all his books, he himself took up the controversy, and wrote what he at least considered as a full refutation of the detestable and damnable errors of the German innovator. He was assisted in this composition by the learning of Wolsey and More, and probably by other scholars; but he took all the praise to himself; and his ambassador at Rome presented the Defence of the Seven Sacraments to Leo X., who declared it to be sprinkled with the dew of ecclesiastical grace, and conferred upon Henry the title of Defender of the Faith.

Shortly after this, upon the application of the French king, the Cardinal went over to Calais to act in the name of his master, as umpire between Francis and Charles. He found the pretensions of the two rivals irreconcileable; and his inclinations and interests, or his reliance

upon the emperor's promise to promote the grand scheme of his ambition at Rome, led him to take part with Charles, who moreover was by far the most successful of the two great belligerents. Dismissing the ambassadors of Francis, he repaired to the city of Bruges, where the Emperor Charles received him with wonderful respect. The Cardinal's pomp and magnificence excited universal amazement. It was reported that gentlemen of the first rank served him on their knees. "He spent a huge mass of money in that ambassage, not against his will; for he by all means sought the emperor's favour, hoping that Leo X., although much younger than he, either cut off by treachery or his own intemperance, might leave the world before him."* On the 19th of August, 1521, this impartial arbitrator wrote from Bruges to his master Henry, that the emperor earnestly required his grace forthwith to declare war against France, and that he, Wolsey, had finally convinced the emperor that it would be better to defer for a time this declaration of hostilities. These last expressions were very grateful to Henry, who wished to keep his treaty with the emperor secret, in order to continue to draw his pension from Francis till the last moment. He therefore praised Wolsey for his "high wisdom." Returning to Calais, the Cardinal declared to the reassembled French diplomatists, that their master Francis had been the aggressor in the war, and that the King of England was bound by treaty to assist his ally the emperor. In the month of October the mask was dropped, and a league was signed at Calais between the pope, the emperor, and the English king. On the first of December following, Leo X. died suddenly at Rome. Adrian, Cardinal of Tortosa, a Fleming by birth, who had been tutor to the emperor, was elected by a conclave, in which not so much as the name of Wolsey appears to have been mentioned. For this time the disappointment and resentment of the great English Cardinal were moderated by the reflection that Adrian was a very infirm old

* Bishop Godwin.

man. In a few months—in May, 1522—the emperor came on a visit to King Henry, and spent more than a month in England, during which it was agreed that Henry should invade the north of France with forty thousand men, and that Charles should invade the southern provinces of that kingdom with an equal force. The two contracting powers were to divide between them the conquered provinces, but Henry was promised the larger share. This unprincipled war brought heavy taxes and no glory to the English nation, and Henry grew weary of it before it had lasted six months. In the month of September, 1523, Pope Adrian died, after a pontificate of only twenty months and six days. This time Wolsey was not only named, but he also obtained some considerable number of votes in the conclave. Yet in the end Giulio de' Medici, the cousin of Leo X., got the tiara. Again to all appearance Wolsey bore his disappointment with an unruffled mind, though this time he could scarcely flatter himself with another chance, for the successful candidate was young and vigorous. The new pope, however, forthwith appointed him legate for life, enlarging his authority and giving him permission to suppress certain religious houses in England. Early in the year 1525 the French king was thoroughly defeated and taken prisoner by the Spaniards and Imperialists, in the great battle of Pavia; and hereupon Henry, who, a short time before, had been secretly negotiating with Francis, with the view of breaking with Charles, brushed up his insane hope of seating himself on the French throne. He sent to the emperor to propose that he should put himself at the head of a great army, and march upon Paris, where he, the King of England, would meet him with another great army, when they might amicably partition the kingdom between them. But Henry at the same time intimated that he, by right of lawful inheritance, must ascend the French throne, and that Charles must rest satisfied with the provinces he claimed in France as the representative of the House of Burgundy. Without waiting for the emperor's answer, he began to raise more troops and to levy more money

by way of benevolence, and by other illegal and equally arbitrary means. Parliament, which had become almost a nullity, was not consulted; but the judges of England did not blush to affirm that the king might tax his people in any way which seemed to him best. Daring and great as had been the growing of the Tudor despotism, the people would not so read the law; in Wolsey's native county of Suffolk four thousand men flew to arms; the men of Kent drove away all the fiscal agents of the court, and the people of other counties prepared to follow these examples. The court was dismayed, and by a fresh proclamation the illegal demands were annulled. It was reported, and certainly believed by many, that Wolsey had been all along opposed to this irregular taxation, and that it was at his advice and prayer the king had annulled his first proclamation. "But the people took all this for a mock, and said, God save the king—for the Cardinal he is known well enough."* And from this time it should appear that the decline of the Cardinal's popularity was very rapid. Moreover in the course of this year some misunderstandings arose between the king and him: Wolsey wished to annex the revenues of the few monasteries he had suppressed with the pope's licence to the new college he intended to found at Oxford; Henry wished to keep those revenues for himself. Some exaggerated accounts of these differences reached Martin Luther, who sat down and wrote a long letter for Henry, calling Wolsey "the monster, the nuisance to God and man," "the pest of the kingdom, and caterpillar of England." The reformer said that he understood his grace had now begun to loathe that wicked sort of men, and in his mind to favour the true doctrine. But before this letter reached England the quarrel between king and cardinal was made up; and Henry told the reformer that Wolsey was the best, the most faithful, the most religious of men, and that he, Luther, was a monster of impiety.

As the Emperor Charles would not enter into Henry's

* Hall's Chronicles.

wild scheme, Henry resolved to contract forthwith an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the French regency. The negotiations were driven on with amazing speed, and the treaty was concluded in the month of August, 1525. France engaged to pay a high price for it: King Henry was to get for himself two millions of crowns, and an annual pension of a hundred thousand; Wolsey got thirty thousand crowns in compensation for the bishopric of Tournay, and a hundred thousand more were promised him. The emperor, after making his own hard terms with the French king, released him from his captivity, in January, 1526. Henry took the unnecessary pains to urge Francis to break the treaty which had been extorted from him in his prison at Madrid, and pledged himself to support the French in the war which must follow, and never to make peace with Charles without the consent of his dear ally. The pope readily absolved Francis from the oaths he had taken at Madrid, and entered into the league with the Kings of France and England, bringing with him the Duke of Milan, the Florentines, the Venetians, and some minor Italian states. The league, for which Henry did next to nothing, led to the sacking of Rome, the ruin of most of the Italian states, and the firm establishment of Charles in Lombardy and the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. On the 6th of May, 1527, the Constable Bourbon, a traitor and rebel to the King of France, and who on this occasion acted rather for himself than for the emperor, scaled the walls of Rome with ten thousand desperate mercenaries at his back. The constable was killed in the act of storming, but Rome was taken; the pope and his cardinals shut themselves up in the castle of St. Angelo, the holy city was sacked, and the foreign bands committed in it nearly every possible crime and atrocity. The news reached England at the end of May; and on the 2nd of June, Wolsey, who appears to have felt the blow sincerely and deeply, wrote a letter to Henry, calling upon him as Defender of the Faith to relieve and succour the pope who was pressed by siege in the castle of St. Angelo.

The king, who was already engaged in those amorous matters which were soon to change him into the bitterest enemy of Rome, and to cause Wolsey's ruin, responded rather coolly to the Cardinal's letter. He could do nothing, he said, by means of arms in Italy; and it was but a mockery to tell Wolsey that if money could help the pope he might take it—for his treasury was empty. In July, however, Wolsey was allowed to proceed on another embassy to France; and it is said that he even took three hundred thousand crowns with him to assist the French king in making some immediate effort on behalf of the pope.* This was the last of the Cardinal's grand displays. Perhaps he had never before exhibited so much pomp. On setting forth from London he was accompanied by nine hundred lords and gentlemen, among whom were the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishop of London, the Earl of Derby, the Lords Sandys and Mounteagle, and many knights of high name, all splendidly dressed and mounted: the cardinal's servants and retainers swelled the number of the party to two thousand; and there was a long line of carts, carriages, and sumpter mules guarded by bowmen and spearmen. The French Cardinal of Lorraine met him at his landing in the name of the king and clergy of France. The Cardinal was received in France as if he had been a king. By the French king's orders he was permitted in all such places as he passed through on his journey, "to release, pardon, and put at liberty all such transgressors as be detained in prison, of whatsoever quality their offence." On the 4th of August, Francis himself welcomed the Cardinal, having advanced a mile and a half from the city of Amiens to meet him on the road. The gallant king met him with his bonnet in his hand, and then embraced him "with most hearty kind loving countenance and manner."† Four separate treaties with Francis were soon concluded: the first confirmed the recent engagement of perpetual alliance between England and France;

* Guicciardini.

† Letters from Wolsey to the king, in State Papers, published by order of government.

the second related to intermarriage; the third fixed the subsidies to be furnished by England for the war in Italy, which was to be conducted by Francis in aid of the pope, and for the acquisition to himself of Lombardy and Naples; and the last of the four stipulated that, until the pope should be liberated and enabled to resume the government of the church, whatsoever should be determined in France by the clergy of the Gallican church, and in England by the Cardinal-legate Wolsey and the principal members of the English church, convoked on the king's authority, should be held good and valid, even as if the pope had decreed and spoken it. The great Italian historian of the period says that Wolsey aspired to be a pro-pope or universal vicar in France, England, and Germany during the pontiff's imprisonment, and that the king of France made a pretence of gratifying him in this ambitious wish;* but the charge, though often repeated, does not appear to be supported by fact. It has been more plausibly supposed that the object of the last treaty, or that part of it which went to place the whole authority of the Anglican church in the hands of the king and Wolsey, and to make that authority decisive in all matters, was to invest the Cardinal or the king with full power to manage "the great and secret affair," or the divorce of Queen Catherine, upon which Henry had already determined. Letters written at the time by Wolsey to his impatient master contain passages which go to support this hypothesis. We unhesitatingly take the word of the Cardinal's faithful attendant and minute biographer for the fact, that during his last and most splendid embassy Wolsey was cast down with grief and anxiety. He was too thorough a churchman not to feel the degradation of the tiara; and perhaps he already foresaw that Henry, being once put in possession of the supreme authority over the English church, would grow too fond of the power ever to resign it. None of the Protestant historians of the following century, or even of a much more recent period, were able to comprehend the character of Wolsey as a prince of the Roman church, or to draw a distinction between his conduct and disposition

* Guicciardini.

as a courtier and man of the world, and his fixed principles as a cardinal and churchman. The sacred college contained many cardinals as fond of worldly pomp and pleasure as he, and more profligate, self-seeking, ambitious than he had ever been, yet when the system was in danger these very cardinals braved torture and death for the cause of the pope.

Shortly after Wolsey's return to England the French king despatched an embassy to our court still further to confirm the league, and to invest Henry with the order of St. Michael. The Cardinal had just finished his palace at Hampton, and there he entertained for four or five days the noble Montmorency and his numerous suite. Among the latter was du Bellay the historian, who has left upon record an account of the magnificence of the palace. "The chambers," he says, "had hangings of wonderful value, and every place did glitter with innumerable vessels of gold and silver: there were two hundred and four-score beds, the furniture to most of them being silk, and all for the entertainment of strangers only." But during Wolsey's recent absence in France, the king had taken counsel of other men; and perhaps it is a proof of Wolsey's uneasiness and declining favour, that he now gave this splendid palace, with all its furniture, to the king. Henry took the gorgeous bribe; but he could no longer take to his heart any man that did not give up his whole soul and conscience to his plan of espousing Anne Boleyn. It is said that Wolsey was not opposed to the divorce from Queen Catherine, but that he intended his master should marry the sister of the French king. All this, however, is at the very least doubtful, for Queen Catherine had always been the friend of the Cardinal, and from the time when the divorce was first mooted Wolsey appears to have been a disquieted and unhappy man. He had not courage enough openly to disobey his tyrannical master, but he evidently entered upon the business with a misgiving mind and a heavy heart. As Pope Clement escaped from Rome disguised as a gardener, and assembled a court within the strong walls of Orvieto, Wolsey could no longer settle the

matter as legate and pope's vicar in England. Clement sent Cardinal Campeggio to act with Wolsey in this delicate commission. When the English Cardinal ventured to explain some doubts and difficulties which he had encountered among the English canonists, all his past services were forgotten in the king's one absorbing passion, and Henry answered him "with terrible terms." The English Cardinal took his seat in the great hall of the Blackfriars with his Italian brother, and summoned Queen Catherine before them; but his heart was not in the business, Campeggio would not proceed in the matter, and, by Pope Clement's authority, adjourned the court. It was clear that the court of Rome would not grant the divorce; and this sealed the doom of the already falling Wolsey. Anne Boleyn, who had vowed an eternal friendship to him only the year before in consequence of some concessions and compliances, had now bent heart and soul on his destruction. Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and brother-in-law to the king, whom Wolsey had stung to the quick at the trial in the hall of the Blackfriars, the great Duke of Norfolk, and others of the old nobility, the Lord Rochford, Anne Boleyn's father, and many more great lords and knights, who for nearly twenty years had bent the knee before the royal favourite, now leagued against him, and made common cause with Anne, who was plainly about to become their queen, with or without the pope's sanction to the divorce. They represented that Wolsey had never wished for the divorce except in favour of his French matrimonial scheme; that he had constantly been bribed and bought by France; and that he was in very deed a traitor to King Henry. Henry turned a ready ear to all this, and already in conceit devoured Wolsey's immense wealth, which he thought to be even greater than it was. The courtiers laid wagers that the Cardinal's game was up.* They also began to talk at dinner-time, that when once the Cardinal was dead or ruined they would relieve the English church of its superfluous

* Cavendish.

wealth.* Soon after the rising of the court in the Blackfriars the amorous king set out on a progress: Anne Boleyn was with him, and Wolsey was not. The Cardinal, however, soon rode after the king, and joined the royal household at Grafton in Northamptonshire. Freezing was the reception he met with; all the great lords and courtiers shunned him as if he brought the plague or sweating sickness with him; and he was told that no apartment had been prepared for him. Only Sir Henry Norris entreated him to make use of his room, for changing his riding dress into more courtly apparel. Yet to the astonishment and dismay of the betting courtiers the king received the Cardinal with an appearance of his old familiarity and affection, discoursing with him for some time in the deep embrasure of a window, and dismissing him very courteously. That same day Henry dined with Anne Boleyn in her chamber, and before he rose from table or came out of that chamber he gave the fascinating Anne a promise that he would never more admit the Cardinal to an interview or hear the tongue of Wolsey again. On the morrow, when at an early hour the Cardinal presented himself, he found that the king was mounting and riding away without noticing him: he was ordered back to London, and he never more saw his master's face. At the commencement of Michaelmas term, 1529, when Wolsey went as Chancellor to the Court of Chancery, the law officers treated him as disrespectfully as the courtiers had done; and on that same day two informations were filed against him in the Court of King's Bench, charging him with having, as legate, transgressed the statute of premunire. His long life as a courtier had deprived him of the spirit of a man. Without an effort he submitted himself to the scourge, and ordering his counsel to admit his guilt, where he was innocent, he abjectly threw himself upon the king's mercy, saying he knew not how he had offended. Some allowance is, however, to be made for this weakness or mean-

* Letters written at the moment, from the English court, by the French ambassador, the Bishop of Bayeux.

ness of spirit: the absolute king was about to begin a reign of terror, and the law was administered by trembling slaves; submission might avert Henry's fatal wrath, but resistance was sure to provoke it; the whole court was leagued and banded against him, and as matters now stood, the church could no longer shield him. The Court of King's Bench, upon his plea of guilty, pronounced their sentence—that he was out of the protection of the law, that his lands, goods, and chattels were forfeited, and that his person was at the mercy of the king. With the hope of being allowed to retain his rank and property in the church, he drew up a deed transferring his entire personal estate to his gracious master, from whose bounty, he said, he had derived it all. The property thus surrendered was valued at half a million of crowns; but neither the amount nor the promptitude of the surrender could disarm persecution. He was presently told that he must quit York Place, as the king meant to live there himself, and that he must confine himself to his house at Esher. To this Wolsey only replied by prostrations and protestations of submission. When his implacable enemies, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, who had both owed many favours to him in the days of his greatness, went to demand from him the great seals and to insult him in his fallen fortunes, Wolsey summoned up a little more heart. "The great seal of England was delivered to me by the hands of my sovereign, I hold it by his majesty's letters patent, and I may not deliver it at the simple word of any lord!" The two dukes represented to their master that the Cardinal was refractory and insolent; and they returned the next day with a written order, under the royal sign manual. The Cardinal read the paper and immediately resigned the seal. "Sir," said his treasurer Sir William Gascoigne, "I am heartily sorry for your grace, as I understand you shall go to the Tower." "It is a false and a blasphemous statement," exclaimed the Cardinal: "have you no better comfort than this for your master in his adversity? But I thank God that I have never done aught to bring me under arrest, albeit it hath pleased the

king to take to himself my house ready furnished at this time." He then issued from his sumptuous palace at Whitehall, and entered his barge. The Thames was covered with boats full of people, who hooted and shouted, and told him how happy they were to see him sent to the Tower. Their triumph was indeed ungenerous and misplaced, for the words of Wolsey's faithful attendant were fully verified; and right soon there came another hungry and lean minister "that bit nearer the bone than the old one."* And instead of descending the river to the Tower, Wolsey ascended it to Putney. As he was travelling by land from Putney to Esher, Sir John Norris, one of the royal chamberlains, overtook him on the rise of a hill, and presented him with a ring from the king, who had taken it from his own finger, with "a very comfortable message." "Therefore," added Sir John, "take patience, for I trust to see you in better estate than ever." The Lord Cardinal alighted from his mule, fell upon his knees in the road, pulled off his cap, and humbly thanked God for such happy intelligence from his lord the king. He told the chamberlain that his glad tidings were worth half a kingdom; but, as he had nothing left except the clothes on his back, he could make him no suitable reward. He, however, gave Sir John a small gold chain and crucifix. "As for my sovereign," he said, "sorry am I that I have no worthy token to send him! But stay, here is my fool, that rides beside me. I beseech thee take him to court, and give him to his majesty. I assure thee, for any nobleman's pleasure, he is worth a thousand pounds." The poor fool was so much attached to his old master, the Cardinal, that he would not leave him until forcibly carried off by six stout yeomen, who delivered him to the king. But other attendants besides his poor buffoon were fondly attached to Wolsey. It seems to have cost a pang even to his ambitious secretary Thomas Cromwell, ere he could quit him in his solitude and poverty at Esher, and get him to Court "to make or mar." Those

* Cavendish.

beautiful solitudes were gloomy and horrid to the Cardinal without the smiles of the king, and without the pomp to which he had been accustomed. But he was so closely shorn as nearly to be wanting at this time in the ordinary comforts of life. He soon fell prostrate with despondency and sickness. "I have been to visit the Cardinal in his misfortunes," writes the French ambassador, "and have seen the most striking change of fortune. He explained to me his hard case in the worst rhetoric that was ever heard. Both his tongue and his heart failed him. He recommended himself to the pity of the king and Madame (Francis and his mother), with sighs and tears, and, at last, left me, without having said anything half so moving as his appearance. His face is dwindled to one half of its natural size. In truth his misery is such, that his enemies, Englishmen as they are, cannot help pitying him: still they will carry things to extremities. As for his legation, the seals, his great authority, he thinks no more of them. He is ready to give up everything, even the shirt from his back, and to live in a hermitage, if the king would but desist from his displeasure." The Cardinal wrote the most abject letters to his "most gracious and merciful and most pious sovereign lord," calling himself a poor heavy and wretched priest that was dying for want of the light of his countenance; but Henry gave him no further comfort till he heard that he was consumed by a slow fever, and was generally thought to be dying. Then the king somewhat relented towards the man who had been his friend for so many years; and he not only said that he would lose 20,000*l.* rather than that Wolsey should die, but he also sent his physicians and some presents and tokens of friendship to Esher. Wolsey revived marvellously at these signs of grace.

At this great crisis in the history of the country, when Henry was on the point of defying the pope and breaking from his communion because he would not assent to the divorce, it was thought expedient to summon a parliament. On the 1st of December, 1530, a bill of im-

peachment against Wolsey, containing forty-four articles, mostly of a vague and ridiculous description, was presented to the Commons, who, after an eloquent speech from Thomas Cromwell, who was already rising fast in the king's service, threw it out. The Cardinal now mended rapidly. If he had been allowed to retain his numerous church preferments he would still have been very wealthy. But in the beginning of the following year he was formally deprived of everything except the archbishopric of York and the bishopric of Winchester, and the far greater part of the revenue of the latter was appropriated by the king, who divided it among the Viscount Rochford (Anne Boleyn's father), the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Sandys, Sir John Russell, and other laymen, who, if not all favourable to the contemplated changes in the national religion, were all eager enough to share the spoils of the national church. In return, however, Wolsey received a free pardon, and some plate, furniture, and a little money for his present expenses. He was also permitted to come nearer to the court, and he removed from Esher to Richmond. But Anne Boleyn and her party took the alarm, and the king being as amorous as ever, and not yet free from his matrimonial bondage to Catherine, was easily induced to order him to reside in the north of England within his archbishopric. The Duke of Norfolk was Anne Boleyn's uncle; he was uncle to two beheaded queens, for the beautiful young Catherine Howard was also his niece. None were more eager than he to drive the Cardinal to a distance from the king. Meeting Thomas Cromwell one day, he said to him, "Master Cromwell, methinks the Cardinal, thy master, makes no haste to go northward. Tell him, if he go not away I will tear him with my teeth!" These words being reported to the Lord Cardinal at Richmond by Cromwell, his lordship said, "Then, Tom, it is time to be going!" The king sent him a little money for his journey, and he set out a short time before Easter.* Lingering at every stage, in the fond

* Cavendish.

hope of being recalled to court, Wolsey travelled to York. Yet, when once there, and with work to do, his mind seemed reconciled to the change, and he appeared to devote his whole soul to his ecclesiastical duties. Casting off his courtly pride and arrogance, he became meek and mild as a primitive apostle—courteous and affable to all men. The gentlemen of Yorkshire he entertained at a plain but hospitable table; to the poor he gave liberal alms, and (what was far better), abundant employment to three hundred of them in repairing the churches and houses of the see. He won the hearts both of clergy and laity. But this winning of men's hearts did not suit the selfish and vindictive faction who now ruled at court, and who were alarmed not only at the Lord Cardinal's popularity, but also at a correspondence he was carrying on with the French king and with the pope. How they discovered this correspondence, or what was the real nature of it—or, in fact, whether there was any correspondence at all beyond some wishes expressed to the French ambassador that Francis would intercede in his behalf with Henry—is not very clear. But they made Henry believe that there was such correspondence, and that it was of a treasonable nature, and for the thwarting of the marriage with Anne Boleyn.

The clergy of York, delighted with their metropolitan, waited upon Wolsey in a body, and begged that he would be installed in his cathedral according to the custom of his predecessors, which he had not hitherto observed. Wolsey consented on condition that the thing should be done with as little pomp and expense as possible; and the first Monday after All Saints was fixed for the ceremony. As soon as this was known, the neighbouring nobility and gentry sent into York great store of venison, wine, and other things needful. "Who," exclaims his affectionate servant and biographer, "was ever less beloved in the north than my Lord Cardinal—God have his soul!—before he was among them? Who better beloved after he had been there a while? We hate ofttimes whom we have cause to love. It was a wonder to see how they were turned; how of utter enemies

they became his dear friends."* The Lord Cardinal, however, was disquieted by bad omens. Apparently he had never risen above those superstitions of the time, and his misfortunes, and his too certain knowledge of the power and malice of his enemies, may have rendered him the more sensitive and superstitious. One day as he was rising from dinner, Doctor Agostino, his Venetian physician, caught with his loose gown the great silver cross which was always placed at the end of the table, and threw it down on the head of Doctor Bonner, who had not yet risen from the table. Wolsey eagerly inquired whether blood had been drawn by this accident; and upon being told that it was so, he shook his head, and said, "It is *malum omen*." He afterwards explained to Cavendish, who was present, "that by the cross he understood himself; by Agostino, who threw it down, the person who should accuse him; and that Doctor Bonner, whose head was broken, to the effusion of blood, prefigured his death, which shortly came to pass." On the 4th of November, three days before that fixed for the installation in York Minster, as the Lord Cardinal was sitting at dinner in his house at Caywood, near York city, he was suddenly told that the Earl of Northumberland, with Sir Walter Walsh, had arrived from court, and was dismounting in the yard. He expressed regret that he had not arrived before dinner began, for the Earl had been brought up in his household, and he did not doubt that, as a friend, he had been chosen by the king to be the bearer of good news. He arose with a cheerful countenance to welcome Northumberland as he came into the hall. Seeing that the earl was rather numerously attended, and that most of the men with him were old servants of the family, he said, "Ah, my lord, I perceive that you observe the precepts and instructions which I gave you when you were abiding with me in your youth—to cherish your father's old servants. These be they that will not only serve and love you, but live and die with you." And the Cardinal then took the earl

* Cavendish.

affectionately by the hand, and led him into a bed-chamber. Northumberland was much affected, and hesitated for a while, but at length he laid a trembling hand on the old man's shoulder, and said in a faltering voice, "My lord, I arrest you of high treason!" For a season Wolsey stood rooted to the ground, mute as well as motionless, and when he recovered speech it was only to utter unmanly and unavailing lamentations, accompanied by torrents of tears. He was innocent, he said, innocent not only of treason, but of all offence to the king; if they would but confront him with his accusers, he would have no fear of proving his innocence; but this was known, and for this his powerful enemies would deprive him of every chance of a fair trial, and bring him to the scaffold by falsehood and treachery: and then he wept again. His great popularity in that country was known and feared. The king had ordered Northumberland to execute his commission with quickness and quietness, lest there should be commotion and interruption; and the noble earl, unannounced, had crept into the court-yard at Caywood like a bailiff or a thief-taker. When the object of the earl's coming was known, the people showed a lively sympathy for the Cardinal, and might, no doubt, have been easily induced, by a few words from his mouth, to rescue him and convey him to the coast, whence he might have escaped to the Netherlands, or to the more friendly territories of the French king; but he was as passive as any doomed victim of an Eastern sultan, and followed Northumberland without making any effort for his life. The sad journey began on a Sunday morning. "Many people," says Cavendish, "were at the gate of the house lamenting: there were above three thousand, who, as they saw the Cardinal, cried out 'God save your Grace! God save your Grace! The foul evil take them that have taken you away from us!' And thus they ran after him through the town of Caywood, for he was there right well beloved, both of rich and poor." When he reached Sheffield Park, the seat of Lord Shrewsbury, steward of the king's household, he was sick and faint,

and shortly after his arrival he was seized with a dysentery which confined him to his bed for a fortnight. The noble master of the mansion made use of much "comfortable discourse;" and even when Kingston, the lieutenant of the Tower, arrived with a small guard to take charge of the prisoner, he told Wolsey that he was in no danger, that the king would remember his long services and past friendship, and that this storm would soon blow over. It appears that Shrewsbury did not use these words in kindness and commiseration, but that he was afraid that Wolsey might yet throw himself under the protection of the people, and so effect his escape. On resuming his slow journey, he was so reduced in strength that he could scarcely sit on his mule without support. Some of the men in Kingston's guard had formerly been in his own service, and these men "could not abstain from weeping, considering that he was their old master, and now in such miserable case. The Cardinal took them by the hand, and as he rode by the way he would sometimes talk with one and sometimes with another of them. On the third evening he reached Leicester Abbey; he was received at the gate by the lord abbot and the monks holding lighted torches, the hour being late. "Father," said he to the abbot, as he dismounted, "I am come to lay my bones among you." The monks carried the Lord Cardinal to his bed, from which he never rose again. In the course of the following day and night he swooned repeatedly; and on the second morning his affectionate servants saw to their great grief that he was dying. Cavendish, his chamberlain, and the most affectionate and faithful of them all, says, "As I stood by his bed-side about eight of the clock, the windows being close shut, having wax-lights burning upon the cup-board, I beheld him, as me seemed, drawing fast to his end. He, perceiving my shadow upon the wall by his bed-side, said, 'Who is there?' 'Sir, I am here,' quoth I. 'How do you?' quoth he to me. 'Very well, sir, if I might see your grace well," quoth I. 'What is it of the clock," said he to me. 'Forsooth, sir,' said I, 'it is past eight of the clock in

the morning.' 'Eight of the clock!' quoth he, 'that cannot be;' rehearsing diverse times, 'Eight of the clock! Eight of the clock!' 'Nay, nay,' quoth he at the last, 'it cannot be eight of the clock; for by eight of the clock ye shall lose your master, for my time draweth near that I must depart out of this world.'" The clock, however, had struck eight, and he did not die that morning. The lieutenant of the Tower tormented him in his last moments about money, saying that my lord of Northumberland had discovered, by a book found at Caywood, that he had lately borrowed fourteen hundred pounds, of which not so much as a penny had been found. Kingston further said that Northumberland had told the king about this loan, and that his grace was very pressing for the same. The dying Cardinal replied that all that he ever had, had been by him held as the king's; that he never aimed at more than the bare use of it during life, to be all left to his grace at death; but that as for this money, it was none of his, but borrowed, to be bestowed upon his poor faithful servants, from divers of his friends; to wit, 200*l.* from Sir Richard Gresham, 200*l.* from the dean of his college at Oxford, and five sums of 200*l.* each from other friends, and he hoped that the king, who would have all his property, would see these sums repaid. In course of the opening day and following night he had repeated fainting fits. Early on the following morning the hand of death was clearly upon him; but his intellect was still clear and his mind composed. He called to him Kingston, the lieutenant of the Tower. As the lieutenant came into the chamber of death, he bade the Cardinal good-morrow, and asked him how he did. "Sir," said Wolsey, "I tarry but the will and pleasure of God to render unto him my simple soul into his divine hands." "And now, Master Kingston," he continued, "I pray you have me commended most humbly to his majesty; and beseech him, on my behalf, to call to his gracious remembrance all matters that have passed between us from the beginning, especially respecting Queen Catherine and himself, and then shall his conscience know whether I have offended

him or not. He is a prince of most royal courage, and hath a princely heart; for, rather than miss or want any part of his will, he will endanger one half of his kingdom. And I do assure you, I have often kneeled before him in his privy chamber sometimes for three hours together, to persuade him from his appetite, and could not prevail. And, Master Kingston, this I will say—Had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, He would not have given me over in my grey hairs. Howbeit, this is my just reward for my pains and diligence, not regarding my service to God, but only my duty to my prince." Here his voice failed him, and the abbot of the house, being summoned, administered extreme unction. The clock then struck eight, and in the striking thereof the Cardinal breathed his last. He was in the sixtieth year of his age.*

Kingston immediately sent one of his guards post to London, and ordered the funeral for the very next day, he being in a great hurry to get back to court. The mayor of Leicester and others of the town were brought into the abbey to see that the Cardinal was "personally dead," and so prevent false reports that he was yet alive. His body was laid in a coffin; his shirt of hair and his over-shirt of fine holland were taken off and put within the coffin; and his mitre, cross, ring, pallium, and other insignia were laid upon the coffin. They buried him in the Ladie Chapel in the church of Leicester Abbey, at three o'clock in the afternoon. The morning after the interment a grand funeral-service was performed; and then, adds Cavendish, "We prepared for our journey to the court, where we attended his Majesty. The next day I was sent for to the king, conducted by Master Norris, where the king was in his nightgown of Rochet velvet, furred with sables, before whom I kneeled the space of an hour, during which time his Majesty examined me of divers particulars concerning my Lord Cardinal, wishing rather than twenty thousand pounds that he had lived. He asked me concerning the four-

* Cavendish.

teen hundred pounds which Master Kingston moved to my lord: Quoth I, "I think I can perfectly tell your grace where it is and who hath it." "Can you," quoth the king. "I pray tell me, and you shall not be unrewarded." "Sir," quoth I, "after the departure of Master Vincent from my lord at Scrooby, who had the custody, leaving it with my lord in divers bags, he delivered it to a certain priest, safely to be kept to his use." "Is this true?" quoth the king. "Yea," quoth I, "without doubt the priest will not deny it before me, for I was at the delivery thereof, who hath gotten divers other rich ornaments which are not registered in the book of my lord's inventory or other writings, whereby any man is able to charge him therewith but myself." "Then," said the king, "let me alone for keeping this secret between me and you: howbeit three may keep counsel if two be away; and if I knew my cap were privy to my counsel, I would cast it into the fire and burn it; and for your honesty and truth, you shall be our servant in our chamber, as you were in your master's." Such was the manner in which the prince of most royal courage and princely heart dwelt upon the death of the servant and bosom friend of twenty years; of his favourite who had sacrificed soul and conscience in his service, and whose worst deeds had assuredly been done for his selfish gratification.

When far worse ministers succeeded, supplanting and being rapidly supplanted by court-intrigue and their own base treachery; when the people were bitten not only nearer to the bone, but into the bone; when capital executions and insurrections, which had been but little known in Wolsey's time, became things of almost daily occurrence, and when England was turned into a shambles, men tenderly remembered and regretted the great Cardinal, and sighed for the by-gone times. If their conduct be fairly and carefully examined, and if the truth be honestly spoken without the Protestant bias which is calculated to do far more harm than good to the cause of the Protestant Church of England, it will be allowed that there was not one minister or statesman of any note, either in the

remaining years of Henry VIII. or during the reign of his son Edward VI., but was as eager for money and power as Wolsey, without having his liberality, his munificence, his taste, his passionate love of letters and the arts, and his generosity to all who could advance them in the country. Wolsey, out of the revenues of a few suppressed nunneries and monasteries, endowed colleges and schools: his successors, after throwing a part at the feet of the tyrant Henry or the corrupt and low-minded protector Somerset, divided among themselves the vast spoils of the whole monastic world and clergy of England, and did nothing for our seats of learning, nothing for the education of the people, nothing for the relief of the poor, and next to nothing for the solace of the sick, the maimed, and the blind. What they got, they kept for themselves. After laying their hands upon everything else, they seriously debated whether they should not suppress, as useless or as unsound in doctrine, the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and divide their lands and revenues. The little that was gotten out of their greedy hands was gotten after a hard struggle, and almost by miracle. In some cases the spoilers were visited by death-bed compunctions, and bequeathed to schools or charitable institutions property which they could no longer enjoy. But Wolsey, in the year 1525, when his health was sound and his faculty for enjoyment unimpaired, founded the Cardinal's, now Christchurch College, Oxford, and gave to that university several new professorships. About 1527 he began to erect a college in his native town of Ipswich, giving an ample and apparently a magnificent endowment out of the lands and tenements belonging to the monastery of St. Peter and other suppressed priories or cells in that town or neighbourhood, intending, as he himself said, that "Many scholars" should be "brought up and maintained" therein, and "always trained in virtue—to the end that a perpetual memory of God shall be kept and honoured."* He wrote to the French court

* Letter to the Count de Beaumont, grand master and marshal of France.

to request that a new quarry might be opened at Caen to supply him with good stone for the buildings, which he intended to be magnificent as well as enduring. Ipswich College was never finished; the portions which had been erected were destroyed soon after his sudden fall from greatness, and the appropriated revenues were seized. Nothing now remains of the edifice except the gateway, which is mostly built of compact red brick, and much in the style of the Cardinal's buildings at Hampton Court. Even this interesting and very picturesque relic is going to decay, and will soon disappear unless the good feeling and taste of the people of Ipswich should do something to preserve it as a memorial of the most illustrious man that was ever native of their town. This college lay very near the Cardinal's heart. In 1528, when the divorce case of his master was commencing, and when he was oppressed with business and cares of all kinds, he drew up in Latin the rules of his school in Ipswich, which are yet extant. They have been printed in an 'Essay on a System of Classical Instruction,'* and contain the course of Latin studies which Wolsey prescribed for the eight classes into which he divided the school. It appears to have been his intention that this noble establishment at Ipswich should be preparatory for youths whose studies were to be finished in his own college at Oxford. Christchurch College survived the storm of violence and rapine, and still survives, but the several professorships he had established were soon suppressed.

Wolsey had a natural son, who went by the name of Thomas Winter, and who received from his father no fewer than eleven benefices. He is said to have had two other children, but there is no good evidence of the fact. In judging of him we must always bear in mind the general loose morality of the times in which he lived, a period of nepotism and debauchery among the highest of the Roman churchmen. There can be no doubt that he used his influence, abroad as well as at home, for his

* London: John Taylor, 1825.

own aggrandizement; but if he loved to get, he loved to spend; he was never sordid, and a great part of his wealth always went to objects which tended to raise the civilization of his country. The splendid Gothic church architecture had been elaborated into wonderful richness, at the expense of its original grand simplicity, in the time of Henry VII.; but Wolsey was one of the first, if not the very first, to attempt to give beauty and magnificence as well as comfort to our domestic architecture. "His part in the death of the Duke of Buckingham," says Sir James Mackintosh, "was his most conspicuous crime: the circumstance most favourable to him is the attachment of dependants." We still hold it as being at the least doubtful whether he took any active part against Buckingham, or even whether he could have prevented the legal murder of that nobleman. The man who had often pleaded on his knees for three hours together without success, may have pleaded for Buckingham in vain, or may have been deterred by fear from making any attempt to persuade Henry from his appetite for blood. Wolsey was never a man of high courage. For many a year he must have felt that he was living encaged with a lion that could be kept quiet only by submission and coaxing. At the very first and very faint show of a different conduct, the royal monster struck his claws to his heart. The great redeeming circumstance of the attachment of his dependants is indisputable. His servants adhered to him even when there was danger in so doing, and they wept for him when he died. Thus there is at least one inaccuracy in the well-known lines which Samuel Johnson wrote upon his fall:—

"At length his sovereign frowns—the train of state
Mark the keen glance, and watch the sign to hate.
Where'er he turns, he meets a stranger's eye,
His suppliants scorn him, *and his followers fly;*
Now drops at once the pride of awful state,
The golden canopy, the glittering plate,
The regal palace, the luxurious board,
The liveried army, and the menial Lord.

With age, with cares, with maladies oppress,
He seeks the refuge of monastic rest;
Grief aids disease, remembered folly stings,
And his last sighs reproach the faith of kings."*

* Vanity of Human Wishes.

Thomas More was born in Milk-street, Cheapside, in the city of London, in the year 1480, or nine years after the birth of Cardinal Wolsey. He was the son of Sir John More, one of the justices of the Court of King's Bench. Sir John lived to the advanced age of ninety, dying in 1533, only two years before his great son, who had so much reverence for him, that when he was Chancellor of England, in passing through Westminster Hall to the Chancery, he never failed to fall on his knees and ask his father's blessing if he saw the old man sitting in the court. Thomas was educated at St. Anthony's school in Threadneedle-street, one of the many free schools which then existed in London, "to teach all that will come." The master of St. Anthony's was Nicholas Hart, a scholar of some celebrity. About his fifteenth year young More was placed in the household of Cardinal Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Chancellor of England. This was in accordance

with the custom of those times, when the sons even of great noblemen were sent to be brought up in the houses of great prelates. Thus, as we have seen in the life of Cardinal Wolsey, the young Earl of Northumberland had been trained in that great churchman's household. These prelates seem always to have entertained some men of learning, from whose instructions the young men committed to their charge or service derived many advantages. In after times More neatly characterised Morton as "a man of great natural wit, very well learned, and honorable in behaviour, *lacking nowise ways to win favor*." The Cardinal, who loved natural wit in others, became much attached to him. At Christmas there were merry plays given in the lord cardinal's palace. "At Christmas-tide," says his son-in-law and biographer, Roper, "More would suddenly sometimes step in among the players, and, never studying for the matter, make a part of his own there presently among them, which made the lookers on more sport than all the players beside. In whose wit and towardness the Cardinal much delighting, would often say of him to the nobles that dined with him—'This child here, waiting at the table, whosoever shall live to see it, will prove a marvellous man.'"* When Thomas More entered the household of the primate Morton he became known to the learned John Colet, the founder of St. Paul's school, who used to say —"There was but one wit in England, and that was young Thomas More." Having remained about two years with the Cardinal, More, in 1497, went to Oxford. He had rooms in St. Mary's Hall, but carried on his studies at Canterbury College. Here he studied Greek, which was now beginning to be publicly taught in the University, though not without strong opposition. More was uncommonly fortunate in his instructors; his Greek professor was the learned and pains-taking Grocyn, one of the great revivers of true classical literature, a native of Bristol, an alumnus of Winchester school, and a student of New College, Oxford, whose great object it had been

* Roper, Life of Sir Thomas More, edited by Singer.

to obtain a perfect knowledge of the Greek language, and who for that end had gone into Italy and had spent two or three years in that country, studying under Demetrius Chalcondylas, Poliziano, and Hermolaus Barbarus. Grocyn had returned to Oxford, and had begun to teach Greek—for the first time as it ought to be taught—about six years before More repaired to that university, the members of which were now divided into two factions, called the Greeks and the Trojans. More, from his first arrival, appears to have rallied under the Greek banner, and to have laughed at those who considered that religion and morality were endangered by reading Homer. Grocyn was an enthusiast, not only for his Greek, but for every species of learning; contemned riches and honours, and was so generous and open-handed as to be always ready to give, out of the little he possessed, to friends and scholars: he was, if not a wit, a great humourist, and his admiring pupil More seems to have caught some of his eccentricities. More also derived instruction in Greek from the learned Lynacer, who like Grocyn had travelled in Italy to study the language under scholars who had fled from Constantinople at the taking of that city by the Turks. His son-in-law Roper indeed calls Lynacer his Greek master; but it appears that the learned physician only gave occasional lectures at Oxford, while Grocyn was established there as a regular teacher of Greek. More had not been long at Oxford (probably only a few weeks) when he became acquainted with Erasmus, who resided there in constant communion and fellowship with Grocyn during the greater part of the years 1497 and 1498. The learned Dutchman, who was thirty years old, formed a most intimate friendship with More, who was only in his eighteenth year; and this friendship continued for life. When More had risen high in the world, and had the power of serving men of learning and merit, nothing seems to have given him more delight than the attending to any recommendation sent him from the Continent by Erasmus in favour of a poor scholar. It was during his happy residence at Oxford that More wrote the greater

part of his English poems. He seems to have been held in the highest esteem as well for his wit and humour and sociable qualities, as for his industry and learning. Upon quitting Oxford he took up the study of the law, first at New Inn and afterwards at Lincoln's Inn. He must have laboured very hard at his new studies, for he was soon as noted a man among lawyers as he had been at Oxford among classical scholars. His legal knowledge and reputation obtained for him the post of reader at Furnival's Inn, where, for the space of three years, he delivered lectures on the law. About the same time he delivered theological lectures at St. Lawrence's Church in the Old Jewry, on the work of St. Augustin, 'De Civitate Dei.' Roper mentions that these lectures were attended by the erudite Grocyn, and "by all the chief learned of the city of London." He was always fond of theology, and for some time balanced in the choice of a profession between the church and the law; but at last he decided for the paternal profession. To prepare himself by diligent and uninterrupted study, he took up his lodging among the monks of the Charter-house, the Chartreux or Carthusians of London, where he remained for the space of four years, and "until he resorted to the house of one Mr. Colte, a gentleman of Essex." This worthy gentleman had three fair daughters; More preferred the second, as being rather "the fairest and best favoured," but he took pity on the eldest, considering that it would be "great grief and some shame to her" to see a younger sister married first; and so he "framed his affections towards the eldest." But Jane Colte made him an excellent and loving wife, and he was fondly attached to her as long as she lived. He lodged her in Bucklersbury, and resumed his studies at Lincoln's Inn. The date of his becoming a barrister is uncertain. It appears that he soon acquired an extensive practice. He was appointed one of the under sheriffs of London, at that time a post of considerable importance, for the under sheriff was judge of the sheriff's court, which then possessed a far more extensive jurisdiction than it does now. Lord Herbert of Cherbury calls him Judge of

the Sheriff Court in London. He was considered one of the most eloquent speakers of his day; and it is said that even before the accession of Henry VIII. there was no case of consequence before any court of law in which he was not engaged as counsel. Roper says that he was returned to parliament before he had finished reading in the inns of court. In the last parliament of Henry VII. More was of the House of Commons, where he boldly opposed a subsidy demanded by the king for the marriage of his eldest daughter Mary. Henry VII., a prince who never forgave what he considered an injury, and who, as Bacon says of him, "would sometimes strain up his laws to his prerogative," allowing the laws to be "no impediment to him to work his will," was in the habit of letting loose those terrible finers and extortioners Empson and Dudley upon the parliamentary opposition, and, not unfrequently, to wreak his vengeance upon person as well as upon property. A gentleman of the bed-chamber who had attended the debate in the Commons told the king that a beardless boy had disappointed all his purpose. Hereupon there was much royal wrath; and "forasmuch as he nothing having, nothing could lose, his Grace devised a causeless quarrel against his father, keeping him in the Tower till he had made him pay to him one hundred pounds in fine."* More, it is said, was so alarmed that he made up his mind to fly the country; but the old king died shortly afterwards and saved him from this hard necessity. As the connexion between the royal court and the city was then very close, and as Henry VIII. and Wolsey were very frequently in the city and in very familiar communication with the principal citizens, the learned, witty, and alert More must have become known to both these personages at an early period.

Soon after the accession of the young king, we find More, by his Majesty's consent, sent abroad by the English merchants to settle "certain great causes betwixt them and the merchants of the Steel-yard." He

* Roper.

was greatly applauded for his success in this mission. The government seized at Southampton a rich ship belonging to the pope. The pope's ambassador retained More as counsel, none being so meet as he, who could readily translate and repeat in Latin all that was said on either side. More gained the cause, and much honour thereby.* Already he had been repeatedly urged by Wolsey to enter the king's service; but he was well satisfied with the emoluments of his profession, and was very shy of going to court. But the capital was now ringing with his fame and his witty sayings, and the absolute Henry would no longer be refused. Having no better place then vacant, he made More Master of Requests; and thus commenced a faithful service which lasted twenty years and above. "A good part thereof," says his son-in-law, "used the king upon holidays, when he had done his own devotions, to send for him into his traverse, and there sometimes in matters of astronomy, geometry, divinity, and such other faculties, and sometimes of his worldly affairs, to sit and confer with him; and otherwise in the night would he have him up into the leads, there to consider with him the diversities, courses, motions, and operations of the stars and planets. And because he was of so pleasant a disposition, it pleased the king and Queen Catherine, after the court had supped—yea, at the time of their supper—to send for him to be merry with them. When he perceived them to delight so much in his talk, that he could not in a month get leave to go home to his wife and children (whose company he most desired), or be absent from the court two days together, but that he should be thither sent for again: he much misliking this restraint of liberty, began hereupon somewhat to dissemble his nature; and so, by little and little from his former accustomed mirth, to disuse himself, that he was by them no more so frequently sent for."† In 1515 he was sent with Tunstall, Master of the Rolls, and afterwards Bishop of Durham, to transact some important diplomatic business in the Netherlands

* Roper. † Ibid.

and in France. He appears to have corresponded directly with Wolsey, and to have sought that powerful man's patronage and friendship with much assiduity. The Cardinal was much pleased with his services, and favoured his promotion without any visible sign of jealousy. In 1516 More was admitted into the privy council, and received other signal marks of royal favour. It was about this time that More wrote his 'History of Richard the Third,' and his more celebrated work, 'Utopia, or the Happy Republic.' The history was written in good bold vernacular English, the political romance in elegant Latin. The history is but a fragment, breaking off suddenly at the point when Morton, Bishop of Ely (afterwards primate and chancellor, and More's patron) endeavours to persuade the Duke of Buckingham to declare against Richard as a tyrant and usurper, and leaving untold the miserable failure and fate of Buckingham, the complicated intrigues of the Earl of Richmond, and the grand catastrophe of Bosworth field. But what More tells us is in many respects valuable: he evidently derived much information from his patron, Morton, who was one of the chief actors in those revolutions, and some portions of the narrative are given with extraordinary vigour and effect. Shakspere has followed, and has scarcely improved upon, the terrible scene in the Tower, where Richard arrests the members of the council, and sends Lord Hastings to the block. More imitates Livy in putting long-winded speeches into the mouths of historical personages, and in explaining, by means of such speeches, many of the circumstances of the story, and the feelings with which they were regarded at the time of their occurrence. On the whole, however, the narrative is easy and flowing, and far superior to any prose composition of the sort which preceded it in England. More, indeed, may be taken as the first historian England produced: those who had gone before him were, indeed, only chroniclers and annalists. The 'Utopia' was published first at Louvain in 1516, and afterwards at Basle in 1518. The object of this work was to exhibit a perfect commonwealth in an imaginary island. The ima-

ginary society existing in this fabled island is constructed on the principle that no one in the state shall have a right to separate property, since separate property is said to involve an inequality of distribution, and thus to occasion great suffering to those who are obliged to labour, and mental depravation to those who live on the labours of others. Slavery, however, is admitted as an element, but no family possesses more than two slaves. Agriculture, and a taste for rural pursuits, are kept alive by a residence in the country; but the civilization of city life is not lost sight of, for one half of a household passes two years in the town, while the other half lives in the country, and they all take the town and country life, turn and turn about, and each time for a space of two years. It is reasonably doubted whether the fundamental principles of this republic, and the political opinions expressed in the 'Utopia,' are to be seriously considered as More's real sentiments, or as a model which he would have men to imitate. Such a republic, if it could be made, would be a dead flat, without variety or spirit; a dry, hard, rectangular thing; a moral chess-board; a formality more stiff and chilling than that of the Chinese empire: but the indestructible feelings of human nature should seem to be eternally opposed to its construction. Nevertheless this romance in politics is very pleasant and improving reading, abounding with noble and original thoughts, and being exceedingly suggestive of wholesome and humane reflections. Even at that period, when the law was so merciless that thieves and footpads were gibbeted so fast that there were frequently twenty on one gibbet, he made the discovery that crime was not diminished by this terrible abuse of capital punishments; and he not only recommended the adoption of a humane penal code as favourable to the diminution of crime, but he also earnestly advocated, in his 'Utopia,' a better education and training for the people, as the surest of all means for bettering the condition of the poor and the general morality of the country. "Not only you in England," said he, "but a great part of the world, follow the example of some bad schoolmasters, that are readier

to chastise their scholars than to teach them." And in another page: "If you suffer your people to be ill educated, and their manners to be corrupted from their infancy, and then punish them for those crimes to which their first education disposed them, what else is to be concluded but that you first make thieves, and then punish them?" This was said at the beginning of the sixteenth century under Henry the Eighth, when it was a novel and startling truth. Alas! we may still repeat it, and in good measure as a reproach, in the middle of the nineteenth century. The work abounds with pleasantry and humour, and a subdued and unmalicious irony. The humour and the quiet satire are, indeed, the most prominent characteristics of this little book, which is much more frequently named than read. The title of 'Utopia' has passed into a proverb; but very few people peruse the romance either in its original Latin or in its very satisfactory English translation. It may certainly be included among the various old works to which Swift was considerably indebted in conceiving 'Gulliver's Travels.' But More has none of Swift's gall and black bile. The same stories were told of the 'Utopia' that were afterwards related about 'Gulliver's Travels.' People took the imaginary island for a real one, "inasmuch that many great learned men, as Budeus and Johannes Paludanus, upon a fervent zeal, wished that some excellent divines might be sent thither to preach the Gospel; yea, there were here amongst us at home sundry good men and learned divines very desirous to undertake the voyage, to bring the people to the faith, whose manners they did so well like."*

More, the busiest man in a busy and absorbing profession, had but little leisure to devote to his literary pursuits. He tells us himself, in his introduction to that work, that he wrote the 'Utopia' by snatches when he was overwhelmed with business; and that, indeed, all the time which he could gain for himself was that which he stole from his sleep and meals.

* Fuller, Worthies.

In the year 1517, when the London apprentices, in their wanton turbulence and ignorant hatred of foreigners, made the terrible riot or insurrection which got the name of the "Evil May-day," More went out among the desperate mobs and endeavoured to restore tranquillity by reasoning with them; but, though he was much respected and beloved, "as being a native of that city," he could do no good. The subdued rioters were not forgiven until four or five of them were hanged, drawn, and quartered; about ten of them hanged on gibbets erected in the streets of the city; and some four hundred of them brought before the king in Westminster Hall, with halters round their necks, barefooted, stripped to their very shirts, and bound, one by one, to a long thick rope. In the course of the year 1519 More resigned his office of under-sheriff, or Judge of the Sheriff's Court, and in the second year after this (in 1521) he was knighted and made treasurer of the Exchequer. He was now very frequently at court, where the king appears to have consulted him on all matters connected with learning and education. The hostility of a part of the clergy to Greek still continued, and one of the Trojans or Scotists ventured to abuse the language of Homer in a sermon preached before the king. After sermon-time Henry called the priest into his presence, and ordered him to discuss the subject with Sir Thomas More. More, with his wit, learning, and long-practised skill in debate, beat the poor preacher so completely that he had no argument to produce; and so, falling on his knees before the king, he begged pardon, and said that the words he had spoken in the pulpit against Greek had been put into his mouth by the Holy Ghost. "Not so," said Henry, "but by the spirit of foolishness." "And pray," continued the king to the perplexed and abashed monk, "have you ever read any of the works of Erasmus?" ("For the king had been told," says Erasmus, the relater of this story, "that the preacher had abused *me*.") To the king's question the fallen Trojan replied, "Alas! No!" "Then," rejoined the king, "are you not a very great fool to pretend to criticize that which you have never

read ?" The forlorn preacher, bethinking himself, said that now he did remember having once perused a thing they called Moria—meaning Erasmus's little book, 'Encomium Moriæ,' or 'The Praise of Folly.' "And may it please your highness," said Sir Richard Pace, who was present, and a true Greek, "was not the reader made for the book? Could he have chosen better?" The poor Trojan was dismissed with strict orders never more to presume to preach before the king.* Sir Thomas was employed by Henry in other public missions to France and the Netherlands; and when he was at home and Wolsey was abroad, Henry often made use of his hand in writing his instructions to the cardinal. Several of these letters in More's handwriting are preserved in the British Museum and in the State-Paper Office.† In his private letters to Erasmus he laments his hard fate in being obliged to leave his friends and his books to discharge these perplexing and disagreeable commissions. And certainly little pleasure or honour for such a man as More was to be gained by serving in Henry's crooked and always tricky diplomacy. In the year 1522, when the Emperor Charles V. paid his second visit to England, and was conducted into the city of London in triumph, More was selected, on account of his wit and scholarship, to welcome the emperor at the city gates; and there he delivered in choice Latin an eloquent oration, which greatly pleased Charles without displeasing the jealous Henry.

In the parliament which met in 1523 More was chosen Speaker. He maintained the dignity of his post at the risk of giving offence to the all-potent cardinal. Finding the Commons slow in passing some money bills, Wolsey resolved to go down to the house in person in order to make them quicken their speed. Although such a visit was a breach of privilege, the Commons, after some debate, agreed that the cardinal should be ad-

* Erasmi Epist.

† Some of them have been published by the Record Commission, in State Papers relating to the Reign of Henry VIII.

mitted and heard, but not answered in the house. The gorgeous favourite, in all his pomp, and attended by an army of servants and retainers, entered the house, and after dwelling upon the great expenses of the war against Francis I., demanded forthwith a vote of the fifth of every man's goods. When he had done he looked to More, as the Speaker, for an answer; but More sat as silent as a statue. He then spoke to a member; but the member only rose from his seat to show his respect, and then sat down again without saying a word. The cardinal then spoke to another gentleman, but he only rose and sat down again. All the members were determined not to commit the privileges of the house: they were as silent in their seats as a set of Chinese mandarins on a mantel-piece. The fiery cardinal soon lost his little patience. "Gentlemen," said he, "as I am sent here immediately from the king, it is not unreasonable to expect an answer; yet here is without doubt a surprising and most obstinate silence!" As none spoke, he turned once more to the Speaker, and demanded an explanation. More, reverently falling on his knees, to express, we suppose, his reverence to the king, excused the silence of the members. "They were abashed," he insinuated, "at the sight of so noble a personage, his presence being enough to overcome the wisest and most learned men in the realm; but his coming thither," he observed, "was far from expedient, and contrary to the ancient liberties of the house; and as to requiring a reply from him individually, the thing was simply impossible. The members had, indeed, trusted him with their voices; but unless each could infuse the essence of their several wits into his head, he alone, in so weighty a matter, was unable to make his grace an answer."* The cardinal rose up in a rage and quitted the house. It appears, however, that in the debates which followed the departure of the cardinal, Sir Thomas More spoke stiffly for the court, and pleaded that four shillings in every pound was not too much to vote for the king. The demand

* Roper.

was lessened by one-half; but the Commons would not consent to pay even two shillings in the pound, and the most stormy debate that had ever yet been known was kept up for fifteen or sixteen days. The cardinal again went down to the house, but with no better success than before; no words could he get from them except that it was not their practice to answer strangers or debate in their presence. The king then sent for Montague, a leading member of the house, who was afterwards chief justice. When Montague fell on his knees before the king, Henry clapped his hand upon his head, and exclaimed, "Ho! man, will they not suffer my bill to pass? Get my bill passed by to-morrow, or else to-morrow this head of yours shall be off!" The bill was passed, but not until the amount of the tax had been considerably diminished. It is said that Wolsey took great offence at More's conduct on this occasion, and at some satirical expressions he had used in the house against the cardinal's pomp and pride; but the feeling of resentment could not have been strong, for More continued to thrive and rise, and in 1525 the king made him Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Perhaps his pleadings for the four shillings in the pound may have conciliated both the king and cardinal. Yet from his conduct to More, Wolsey seems entitled to the benefit of the doubt that he was much less jealous and vindictive than he has been generally represented. The presenting of the Speaker by the Commons for the recognition of the sovereign was then a great deal more than the mere matter of form which it now is. Wolsey considered that it was he that had put More in the Speaker's chair; and after the parliament had risen, he, "in his gallery at Whitehall," complained and said—"Would to God you had been at Rome, Mr. More, when I made you Speaker!" Sir Thomas, who had had nothing but labour and anxiety in the office, said—"Your grace not offended, so would I too!" and then, "to wind such quarrel out of the cardinal's head, he began to talk of the gallery, saying, 'I like this new gallery of yours even better than your gallery at Hampton Court.'" Roper says that Wolsey, as a punishment, would have

sent More on an unpleasant embassy to Spain, but it is quite clear from the narrative of this best of biographers that neither the anger of Wolsey nor that of the king lasted long. It is, indeed, immediately after this little storm that the biographer mentions that the king, "for the pleasure he took in his company, would suddenly sometimes come home to his house at Chelsea to be merry with him," and to walk with him in his "fair garden." The correspondence between More and the cardinal continued to be rather friendly and familiar than otherwise, More's humility and deference being generally reserved for the conclusion of his letters, which he invariably signed (after prayer for the cardinal's honour and health) "your humble orator and most bounden beadsman, Thomas More:" compliments there are, indeed, in abundance, and a sort of admission throughout that he, More, has owed his fortune or promotion to Wolsey.

Wherever his religious scruples were touched, More was wonderfully bold and upright. When Henry was making up his mind to the extreme measure of divorcing Queen Catherine, he put into More's hands a treatise he had written on the subject, requesting his advice. Sir Thomas tried to excuse himself by saying he was no divine. The king bade him confer with some of the bishops. More, knowing how difficult and impossible it would be to get an unbiassed judgment from any of the tyrant's own subjects, entreated Henry to consult such "as neither in respect of their own worldly commodity, nor for fear of his princely authority," would be led to deceive him. The king asked who were those to whom he would refer him for an opinion. More replied by naming St. Jerome, St. Augustin, and the great fathers of the church. The king was disappointed and displeased, but he did not make Sir Thomas feel any present effect of his displeasure. More, however, became very uneasy, foreseeing the violence and bloodshed that this perplexing business of the divorce would occasion. He told his son-in-law Roper that he would gladly die or be put into a sack and cast into the Thames, upon condition that three things were well determined: "The first, that whereas

the most part of Christian princes be at mortal wars, they were all at universal peace: the second, that whereas the church of Christ is at this present sore afflicted with many errors and heresies, it were settled in perfect uniformity of religion: the third, that whereas the matter of the king's marriage is now come in question, it were to the glory of God and the quietness of all parties brought to a good conclusion."

When this "matter of the king's marriage" drove Wolsey in disgrace from the court, the king looked about for some lawyer of high reputation and influence over his brethren to succeed him as Lord Chancellor. In the whole profession there was none stood so high as More; but the king appears to have doubted whether he would be sufficiently submissive, or whether he would, in every case, place the prerogative of the crown above the law. After some hesitation Sir Thomas was, however, named to the vacant dignity on the 25th of October, 1529. In taking his seat as Chancellor, More spoke honourably and tenderly of his predecessor Wolsey, and very humbly of his own qualifications. "But when I look upon this seat," said he; "when I think how great and what kind of personages have possessed this place before me; when I call to mind who he was that sat in it last of all—a man of what singular wisdom, of what notable experience, what a prosperous and favourable fortune he had for a great space, and how at the last he had a most grievous fall, and died inglorious—I have cause enough by my predecessor's example to think honour but slippery, and this dignity not so grateful to me as it may seem to others; for both is it a hard matter to follow with like paces or praises a man of such admirable wit, prudence, authority, and splendour, to whom I may seem but as the lighting of a candle when the sun is down; and also the sudden and unexpected fall of so great a man as he was, doth terribly put me in mind that this honour ought not to please me too much, nor the lustre of this glistering seat dazzle my eyes."* Yet, when Wolsey's impeachment was brought into Parliament, More was obliged to

* More, Life of More.

make a sacrifice of his good feelings to please the tyrant, and to call Henry "the father and shepherd of his people," and Wolsey "a great rotten wether," that had been separated from the sound sheep, because he had juggled with the good king craftily and untruly.* More, however, discharged the duties of his new dignity with astonishing impartiality and integrity. This made him many enemies. But not even the bitterest of these ever attempted to charge him with a corrupt exercise of his power as chancellor. Though, like his friend Erasmus, and many of the learned and disinterested professors of the ancient faith, More—who, in his 'Utopia,' had satirized the idle and luxurious monks more severely than any other class of men—was not indisposed to extensive changes in the discipline, rituals, and management of the Roman church, he was still, in all capital points of faith, a believing and devout Catholic, looking with consternation upon the doctrines of Luther and the other reformers, and regarding the schism in the Christian church as the sure source of long and terrible wars, if not as the origin of a universal anarchy. But fear, which is one of the greatest sources of cruelty, did not make More cruel. Fox, the Martyrologist, who wrote with the zeal of a partisan, at a time when the horrors of the Marian persecution were fresh and vivid in the recollection of the nation, and who was not unfrequently incorrect, appears to have been the first to assert in print that More was guilty of great cruelty in persecuting the Protestants during his chancellorship. Burnet, in his 'History of the Reformation,' followed Fox without inquiry; and as later writers followed Burnet, the cruel charge has been very generally affixed to the otherwise applauded and pure reputation of More. It has been well said that, even if the fact were true, it could not justly be brought as a serious charge against More's character in an age in which all sects and parties that had the power persecuted their opponents.† But we have, on the contrary, the strong testimony of Erasmus, that

* Parl. Hist., vol. iii. p. 41.

† Penny Cyclopædia, art. More.

" whilst More was chancellor, no man was put to death for these pestilent dogmas." This, too, is confirmed by More's own expressed declarations, in his ' Apology,' published in 1533, the year after his downfall from power, when he was surrounded by busy and powerful enemies, and when his assertion, if false, could easily have been contradicted. It appears to have been a few days after, and not before More's retirement, that Thomas Bilney, a learned and amiable man, was burned at Smithfield for having attempted to expose the doctrinal errors of popery.

It is said that More's attention to business was so exemplary, and his despatch of it so wonderful, that he left not a single cause depending in the Chancery Court. The following epigram is an old one :—

> When More some years had chancellor been,
> No more suits did remain;
> The same shall never more be seen,
> Till *More* be there again.

While he held the great seal, More was obliged to perform several offices which went against his conscience. Thus, as chancellor, he was sent down to the House of Commons with twelve peers, spiritual and temporal, to declare all that the king had done for dissolving his marriage with Catherine ; to repeat the fiction the king had set up as sufficient justification of the divorce ; and to show that Henry, like a virtuous prince, and for the safety of his conscience and the peace of his kingdom, had consulted divers universities, not only at home, but also abroad, even in the pope's dominions. At this time no man seemed to stand better than he did with the king. More, however, seems never to have forgotten the selfish, capricious, and tyrannical character of his royal master. The king, says his best biographer, one day paid More an unexpected visit, coming to dine with him at his house at Chelsea, and after dinner walked with him for an hour in his garden with his arm round the chancellor's neck. As soon as his majesty was gone, Mr. Roper, son-in-law to Sir Thomas, observed to him

how happy he was, since the king had treated him with a familiarity which he had never shown to any person before, except once to Cardinal Wolsey. "I thank the Lord," said More, "I find his grace a very good lord indeed; and I believe he doth as singularly favour me as any subject within the realm. However, son Roper, I may tell thee I have no cause to be proud thereof; for if my head would win him a castle in France, it would not fail to go."*

He was constant in his attendance at church, and, being a good musician, he always sang in the choir. "The Duke of Norfolk coming on a time to Chelsea to dine with him, fortuned to find him in the church in the choir, with a surplice on his back, singing; to whom, after service, as they went homeward arm in arm, the duke said—'God's body, God's body, my Lord Chancellor! What! a parish clerk! a parish clerk! You dishonour the king and his office!' 'Nay,' quoth Sir Thomas, smiling on the duke, 'your grace may not think that your king and mine will be offended with me for serving God his master, or thereby account his office dishonoured.'"†

When the king again pressed him "about the marriage with Mistress Anne," the chancellor fell upon his knees and reminded Henry of his own words, on his delivering the great seal to him—"First look upon God, and after God upon me;" and he protested that though it pained him not to be able to serve his grace in that matter, he could in nowise commit a breach of that original injunction. Henry said he was content to accept his service otherwise, and would continue his favour, never more molesting his conscience with that matter. But More was too well acquainted with the king's unsteadiness, with the influence which Mistress Anne exercised over him, and with the vindictive spirit of her party, to feel any security in this solemn promise. The faction which had overthrown the powerful Wolsey would not hesitate to attempt his ruin, and could hardly

* Roper. † Ibid.

fail in their object. He foresaw that the rapid progress of events which were bringing on the king's marriage with Anne would call for the use of the great seal, which his conscience would not allow him to use in that matter. Nor could he possibly be blind to the temper of the court and the occurrences of the day, which went to prove that all law was to be laid prostrate, that a reign of terror was at hand, and that the religious fury of contending faiths would be superadded to the dark intrigues and spites of selfish political factions. Thus situated, More drew his honest cloak about him, and retired from the stage. It was not until he had made long and importunate suit through "his singular dear friend" the Duke of Norfolk, that he obtained permission to resign the great seal into his majesty's hands.* Henry received it with thanks and praise for his past conduct, and promised to be a good and gracious master unto him in all time to come. And after this the Duke of Norfolk was commanded to declare in the most public manner that his majesty had, with much pain, yielded to the prayer of Sir Thomas More to be released from his office.

So honest in his office as chancellor, and at all times, had been this successful lawyer, diplomatist, and statesman, that, after resigning the chancellorship, and paying his debts, his whole fortune in gold and silver was not worth a hundred pounds, and his whole income, independent of grants from the crown, did not amount to more than fifty pounds per annum. Though never rich, he was much richer than this before he entered the king's service. He had spent much for his sovereign, whose royal grants did not exceed, all together, fifty pounds a-year. He indulged his merry humour when other men's hearts would have been well nigh broken. His wife Alice

* More pleaded bad health, and apparently not without reason. He says, in a letter to Thomas Cromwell, "This disease of mine is thought to have grown by the stooping and leaning on my breast that I have used in writing."

(the second of his bed), like most other women, was fond of rank and titles, and other worldly vanities, and delighted in hearing her husband called My Lord. On the morning after his resignation More went with his lady to Chelsea church, where, as was his custom, he sat with other gentlemen in the choir, while the ladies sat or kneeled by themselves in the body of the church. In the days of his chancellorship it had been usual for one of his household to go to the lady at the end of the service and say, "My Lord is gone." This morning Sir Thomas went himself to his wife, and pulling off his cap, and bowing humbly, said, "Madam, my Lordship is gone." His wife being but slow in understanding a joke—although she must have had great practice, as More was always joking—could not conceive what he meant; and when the light broke upon her, she thought it no joke at all, but gave way to a fit of passion and mortification. But when More called his family together to discuss seriously how they were all to live upon the little that was left to him, he could not restrain his merry happy humour. Seeing his children and grandchildren perplexed and silent, he said—"Well! I have been brought up at Oxford, at an Inn of Chancery, at Lincoln's Inn, and also in the King's Court, from the lowest degree to the highest, and yet I have at present left me little above a hundred pounds the year; so that now, if we like to live together, we must be content to be contributaries together. But we must not fall to the lowest fare first: we will begin with Lincoln's Inn diet, where many right worshipful men, and of good years, do live full well; which, if we find not ourselves the first year able to maintain, then will we the next year go one step to New Inn fare, wherewith many an honest man is well contented: if that year exceed our ability, we will the next year descend to Oxford fare, where many grave, learned, and ancient fathers are continually conversant. If our abilities stretch not to maintain either; then may we yet with bags and wallets go a-begging together, and, hoping for charity, at every man's door to sing Salve Regina; and so still keep company and be merry to-

gether."* What a contrast is this to the manner in which the gorgeous and extra-dependent Wolsey bore his misfortunes!

More went both manfully and merrily to work in the trying task of reducing his establishment, so as to fit his altered income. Every great man entertained his fool or jester. There was no amusing fashionable company without a fool. The king had his fool, and one of great celebrity; his ministers had each his fool; his archbishops and bishops could not do without them. Cardinal Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor, in whose house More had been traimed, had a fool of good repute; and More has given that fool an imperishable existence in the first book of his 'Utopia.' Upon attaining to greatness, More himself retained a fool—Henry Patenson, the Henricus Patensonus Morio of Erasmus, who salutes him in the dedication to More of the 'Praise of Folly,' and who mentions him in several of his epistles; but these men of the cap and bells were expensive, and the ex-chancellor must now part with his; and casting about him where he might best bestow his fool, he sent him to the lord mayor for the time being. His gentlemen and yeomen he recommended to the service of some peers and prelates; and his eight lusty watermen, and his state-barge (state-carriages were not as yet, and the river Thames was "the silent highway"), he sent to Sir Thomas Audley, his successor in the chancellorship. Having provided for his dependants, he felt no sting in poverty. In his common intercourse with his friends he was serene and facetious, and his serenity was not disturbed when tyranny and danger were present to his mind's eye. He said to his beloved family that there was a happiness in suffering for conscience' sake and the love of God, and that if his wife and children would but hold up their hearts, and not weaken his, he would run merrily to death. It required a fiend-like malice to strike at such a man!

When obliged to appear in public, he retained all his wit and readiness at repartee. A member of the house of Manners, who by the king's capricious favours had come

* Roper.

suddenly to some title or dignity, was inflated by the accident: he had been a great friend to More in his prosperity, but perceiving the king and world to frown upon him, he wanted to insult and pick a quarrel with the ex-chancellor, and so said, in More's hearing, "*Honores mutant mores.*" "Sir," replied Sir Thomas, "Honours change a Manners, but not More."

In the month of January, 1533, Henry was privately married to Anne Boleyn in a remote garret of the palace of Whitehall, formerly York House, and the residence of Cardinal Wolsey, by Dr. Lee, one of the court chaplains, who was told by the king that the church of Rome had granted a divorce, and that the pope's instrument to that effect was under lock and key in the royal closet. On the 30th of March Cranmer was consecrated as Archbishop of Canterbury, taking the oaths of canonical obedience to the pope. On the 12th of May Cranmer declared the discarded Queen Catherine to be truly and manifestly contumacious; on the 23rd of May he pronounced her marriage to be null and void; and on the 28th of the same month he declared that his master had already been lawfully married to the Lady Anne; that their marriage was and had been public and manifest; and that he now confirmed it by his judicial and pastoral authority. On the 1st of June, only four days after the confirmation of her marriage at Lambeth, Anne Boleyn, "being somewhat big with child," was crowned and anointed at Westminster, Cranmer officiating and setting the crown upon her head. Henry, who had all along been excessively anxious to obtain at least More's tacit assent to these proceedings, had commanded his old friend and brother diplomatist, Cuthbert Tunstall (now Bishop of Durham), and other prelates, to desire his attendance at the coronation. These bishops wrote a letter to persuade More to comply with the wishes of the tyrant, and knowing his honest poverty, they sent him twenty pounds to buy a court dress. The ex-chancellor, who knew right well that the court of Rome had not granted, and never would grant, the divorce from Catherine, and who felt that all the recent proceedings in which Cran-

mer had taken so conspicuous a part were contrary to the Christian law, and abhorrent to his own conscience, not only declined going to the abbey, but warned his friends the bishops as to the consequences which might follow their attendance at the coronation. He said: "Take heed, my lords: by procuring your lordships to be present at the coronation, they will next ask you to preach for the setting forth thereof, and finally to write books to all the world in defence thereof." We have little doubt that this answer was as much as a death-warrant to him that made it. On the 11th of July the pope annulled the judgment given by Cranmer, and published his bull of excommunication against Henry and Anne. Then began in earnest the terrible storm, which lasted with scarcely any interruption for twenty years, and which was accompanied by an amount of misery, bloodshed, crime, and meanness never equalled in the history of this country. Henry, retaining all the dogmas of the old religion, and being readier than ever to burn Protestants, threw off entirely the authority of the pope, and declared himself supreme head of the English church. A fearful persecution was commenced against all such priests and monks as would not submit to and applaud the sudden changes; and because these ecclesiastics, and the great body of the people, expressed much sympathy for the king's discarded wife, poor Catherine, in her retirement or prison at Ampthill, was treated with execrable barbarity. These persecutions only gave a louder tongue to the discontents and murmurings they were meant to repress. Two monks from the pulpit, Friar Peto and Friar Elstow, preaching before the king at Greenwich, told him to his face that his marriage with Anne Boleyn was unlawful, and would provoke the vengeance of heaven. Other people, who were rather to be set down as enthusiasts than as impostors, began to see supernatural visions and to utter prophecies; and they found a credulous people prone to believe whatever they uttered. The most famed of the seers was Elizabeth Barton, a young woman of *Allington*, called the "Holy Maid of Kent." She had been subject to fits

and a strange kind of disease, and when the fits were upon her there came from her distorted mouth very strange sounds and words. The incoherent sentences which the maid uttered were caught up as prophecies, and she herself was induced to believe that she was a prophetess. Her epilepsy and her fancied revelations were of no recent date: they had been known in the country for years. They seem to have first attracted notice at the time when Cardinal Wolsey, with the pope's licence, was suppressing some few nunneries and friaries. The Holy Maid of Kent, however, was not seriously molested during the time of Wolsey, who had a mind superior to such persecutions. Some discontented priests took up the maid and her awful vaticinations. She announced that in a dream she had seen God and Cardinal Wolsey together, and had heard the Almighty declare that unless the lord cardinal used his authority properly, it should be sorely laid to his charge. The priests not only took down her words in writing, but caused them to be printed and circulated. The king showed some of these sibylline leaves to More, of whose learning and wit he then made so much account, and More told him that he found nothing in the maid's words worth notice; "for, seeing that some part fell in rythm, and that, God wot, full rude also, for any reason that he saw therein, a right simple woman might speak it of her own wit well enough." His learned friend John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, agreed with More that the maid might do what she had done without accomplices, and that her pretended miraculous gifts were undeserving of further notice. It appears, however, that as the stream of the prophecy went on in a broader and clearer channel, both Fisher and More were excited by it. The learned of that age were seldom entirely exempt from superstition: it was a part of the Catholic faith to believe miracles, as well new as old, and perhaps the sudden fall and miserable death of Wolsey were considered as the fulfilment of the prophecy. More, in a letter written in the end of 1532, while he was yet chancellor, told Thomas Cromwell that

he durst not and would not be bold in judging the maid's miracles. In the course of the same year, More is said to have been induced by some monks, who were afterwards executed as the maid's accomplices, to see the prophetess. But it is said that he refused to hear her speak any words about the king. The doom of the prophetess was precipitated by her venturing to prophesy (apparently at the beginning of 1533) that if Henry put away Catherine, he would die some infamous death before seven months, and be succeeded on the throne by Catherine's daughter, the pious princess Mary. The jealous eye of the government was now upon her: of a sudden, Elizabeth and a number of her alleged accomplices were apprehended and brought to that tyrannical and terrible court the Star Chamber. According to a contemporary annalist, the matter was investigated "by the great labour, diligence, and painstaking of the Archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer) and the Lord Cromwell, and one called Hugh Latimer, a priest, which shortly after was made Bishop of Worcester."* In the month of November, 1533, the Holy Maid and her friends were sentenced by the Star Chamber to stand on a sort of pillory at Paul's Cross, and there publicly declare that the whole business of the visions and prophesyings had been a deliberate piece of imposture. They all confessed as commanded, but evidently in the hope of saving their lives and escaping any further punishment. It is even believed that the ministers who had tried them had given a promise to this effect, in order to extract from them the public declaration. As the king gave a much better proof of the maid's being no true prophetess, by doing that which she had warned him not to do, and by outliving the term she had fixed for his death, the maid and her companions might have been safely dismissed with contempt. But they were all sent back to prison; and when the slavish and brutalized parliament met in the month of January of the following year, 1534, they passed a bill of at-

* Hall.

tainder of treason against the maid; Bocking, a monk of Canterbury; Maister, the rector of her parish of Allington; Dering, a monk; Gold, bachelor of divinity; Rich, a friar; and Risby, a gentleman; and then a bill of misprision of treason against several other persons of greater note, who were charged with having had communications with the false prophetess, and with having concealed her treasonable predictions. On the 21st of April, the poor maid and the six men attainted of treason were conveyed to Tyburn, and there hanged, drawn, and quartered in the old bestial manner. According to the somewhat suspected authority of the contemporary annalists who belonged to the party adverse to her, the poor prophetess, at the place of execution, not only repeated the declaration which she had made at St. Paul's Cross, but also confessed that she had been prompted by learned men, who had endeavoured to turn her prophesyings to their own advantage. Among those accused of holding correspondence with the holy maid were Edward Thwaites, gentleman; Thomas Laurence, registrar to the Archdeacon of Canterbury; John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester; and Sir Thomas More, late lord chancellor. But More's name was struck out of the bill of misprision of treason before the bill was submitted to parliament. This was done by the king, in the vain belief that he could terrify a fearless man by the prospect of so narrow an escape, and win him over to compliances by his present gratitude or by his fears for the future. Accordingly the attempt was made; More was summoned before the present Chancellor Audley, the Lord Archbishop Cranmer, the Duke of Norfolk, and the unscrupulous Thomas Cromwell; but he stood firm and erect, and was neither to be moved by their entreaties nor by their threats, although these last were delivered in the king's name, and were loud and terrible. Hereupon Henry swore that More's name should be put into the bloody statute, and that he would go himself to the House to see the bill pass quickly. The chancellor and some of his colleagues, more anxious to save appearances than to support law and justice, had implored their

master to forbear, lest he should be dishonoured throughout Christendom. These ministers said that More's innocence with respect to the prophesyings of the Kentish maid was so clear, that mayhap the parliament would not pass the bill at all if his name were in it; that it would be better for the king to wait awhile for the gratification of his vengeance against More, and they doubted not soon to find a meet occasion "to serve his turn." To the last cheering prospect the bloodthirsty tyrant yielded, and More's name was not inserted. When his beloved daughter Margaret Roper spoke with a transport of joy to her father about this escape, More said, "In faith, Meg, what is put off is not given up—*quod differtur non aufertur*." When the Duke of Norfolk said to him, "By the mass! Master More, it is perilous striving with princes! The anger of a prince brings death!" the imperturbable man replied, "Is that all, my Lord? Then the difference between you and me is but this, that I shall die to-day and you to-morrow." And before this reign of terror closed, the great Norfolk was attainted of treason, his accomplished son the Earl of Surrey was beheaded, and he himself only escaped by Henry's dying in the night before the morning fixed for his execution.

Ministers soon found the opportunity they wished for to serve their master's turn. An infamous statute was hurried through parliament, making it high treason after the 1st of May, 1534, to write, speak, do, or say anything against the king's lawful matrimony with Queen Anne, and enjoining all persons to take an oath to maintain the whole contents of the statute. On the 30th of March, the day of closing the session, when there was no time for debating upon it, the Chancellor Audley read the king's letters patent prescribing the form of the oath to be taken, and appointing Archbishop Cranmer, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the chancellor to be commissioners for exacting and receiving the said oath. This was a trap for More and Fisher, but it caught many others. Within a fortnight Sir Thomas was summoned from his quiet house at Chelsea, to which he never re-

turned again, to the archiepiscopal palace at Lambeth, there to appear before Cranmer and the three other oath-commissioners. On his way across the river he whispered to his son-in-law, "Son Roper! I thank our Lord the field is won!" By this he meant that he had triumphed over his natural affections, and was ready to die rather than sully his conscience. The commissioners made him read the statute and the form of the oath, and then called upon him to swear. This More declined doing, but at the same time offered to swear to the maintenance of the order of succession to the throne as established by parliament. He could not, he said, swear to the whole contents without offending against his own conscience; but he was quite ready to take an oath that in the refusal he was actuated by nothing but pure scruples of conscience. The commissioners said that Lords and Commons and Bishops had taken the oath without any scruple at all, and that he was the first recusant; but the prisoner, knowing that no sincere Catholic could take it except with mental reservation, and being determined not to make the pliability of their consciences the rule of his, was not to be moved. He was committed to the custody of the abbot of Westminster, and on the 17th of April, 1534, the fourth day after his summons before the commissioners, he was sent to the Tower, from which there was now no issue to prisoners except to the scaffold. His friend Fisher was there before him, and although they were confined in separate cells, they contrived to comfort one another by an interchange of messages and notes. His wife Alice, who could no more comprehend his scruples than his wit, was an indifferent comforter to More.* She said to him bluntly, "How can a man taken for wise, like you, play the fool in this close filthy prison, when you might be

* This second wife, by whom he had no children, was Mrs. Alice Middleton, a widow in London when he married her. In his book of 'Comfort in Tribulation,' he calls this second wife "a jolly master-woman," and says that she would oft times rate her husband because he had no mind to set himself forward in the world, saying to him, "Tillie vally, Tillie vally! will you sit and make goslings in the ashes? My mother has often said unto me, it is better to

abroad at your liberty, if you would but do as the bishops have done?" She tried to tempt him into weakness and submission by speaking of his fair house at Chelsea, his garden and orchard, his gallery and library, his desolate wife and weeping children. His affectionate daughter, Margaret Roper, had a nobler soul, and she administered to his moral strength, instead of trying to create a weakness within him. By the savage order of the king they deprived the glorious wit and scholar of the solace of his books, and of the use of pen, ink, and paper. But some commiserating jailor put scraps of paper in his way, and upon them, and with pieces of charcoal, he wrote notes to Fisher and to the daughter that was so worthy of him. Not filthy prison, nor the imminent scaffold, could quench the old spirit in him. His witty conceits flowed from him in that dungeon as readily as Fuller's flowed from his pen when that rich humourist was writing at his ease in happier times in his own pleasant study. When they took his books and pens from him, he shut up his prison-window, saying, "Now the wares are gone and the tools taken away, we must shut up shop." In one of the last letters he wrote with charcoal to his high-minded daughter Margaret, he said—"If I were to declare in writing how much pleasure your daughterly loving letters give me, *a peck of coals would not suffice to make the pens.*" For a long period he was denied all resort of family or friends; and when his dearest child was first admitted into the Tower to see him, it appears to have been in the expectation that her grief and tenderness would soften him. Without any need of the spirit of prophecy, but from a mere reviewal

rule than to be ruled." Possibly this hatching of goslings in the ashes may have had reference to some experiments or amusements of More, who may have learned in Herodotus the process of the ancient Egyptians, and who says, in his political romance, that the Utopians hatch their poultry by means of a gentle artificial heat.

Mistress Alice, however, had many good qualities, and More, whose temper could not be ruffled, seems to have lived happily with her.

of the character of the king and his court, he could easily foretell the fate that awaited the fair cause of all his misfortunes. On one occasion he asked Margaret Roper how it fared with Queen Anne? "In faith, father," said she, "never better." "Never better, Meg," quoth he; "alas! Meg, it pityeth me to remember into what misery, poor soul, she shall shortly come!" On the 2nd or 3rd of May, 1535, when he had been more than a year in his foul and hungry prison, he was visited by Cromwell, the attorney and solicitor-general, and certain civilians, who urged him to recognise the statute which made the king supreme head of the church. More replied, "I am the king's true and faithful subject and daily beadsman. I pray for his highness, and all his, and all the realm. I do nobody harm, I say no harm, I think none harm, and wish everybody good; and if this be not enough to keep a man alive, in good faith, I long not to live. I am dying already, and since I came here have been divers time in the cases that I thought to die within one hour. And I thank our Lord I was never sorry for it, but rather sorry when I saw the pang past; and therefore my poor body is at the king's pleasure. Would to God my death might do him good."* This fruitless visit was followed by another in a few days, when Cromwell was accompanied by Archbishop Cranmer, Audley the chancellor, the Duke of Suffolk, and the Earl of Wiltshire, the said earl being Anne Boleyn's father. They reasoned and threatened; and Cromwell told him that unless he yielded he must die, for that "his grace the king would follow the course of his laws towards such as he should find obstinate." Cranmer, who too often followed evil counsels with his eyes open to their wickedness, but who often leaned to mercy and justice, without having the courage to risk the displeasure of his tyrannical master by opposing his will in anything—Cranmer, who ought never to have entered upon such business at all, but who had taken a very prominent part in all its stages, as is proved by his own letters, now wrote a persuasive but timid letter to Cromwell, praying

* Roper.

that the king might be induced to rest satisfied with More's engagement to maintain the succession as voted by parliament.* Bishop Fisher, who had been visited and tormented as his illustrious friend, had given nearly the same answers and had offered to take the same engagement. But more than this Fisher would not do. Cranmer's letter produced no effect.

On the 6th of May Sir Thomas was brought out of the Tower, led on foot through the crowded streets to Westminster Hall, and there arraigned of high treason. He was clad in a coarse woollen gown, and bore about him frightful evidences of a rigorous confinement: his hair had become white, his beard very long and matted, his face was pale and emaciated, and he was obliged to support himself on his staff. But the mind was much less bowed and bent, and some of his old wit and vivacity soon lighted up his sunken eye; and his vile judges—the slavish remorseless instruments of a despot—shrunk from his eloquence, and dreaded the sympathy which the mere sight of the man created. These judges were the Lord Chancellor Audley, the chief justice, six puisne judges, and the *Duke of Norfolk*. They attempted to overpower and confound the prisoner with the length and wordiness of the indictment. But, after declining an offer of pardon upon condition of doing the king's will, More entered upon a clear and eloquent defence, stripping the clauses of their verbiage and false coverings, and exposing them in their nakedness and nothingness. He maintained that neither by word nor by deed had he done anything against the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn; he had, indeed, in his conscience, disapproved of that business, but he had never expressed this disapprobation to any other person than the king, who had commanded him on his allegiance to give his real opinion. He said "that it could never be treason for one of the king's advisers to give him honest advice." As to his having sought to deprive the king of his new title of supreme head of the church, he said that all that he had done was to be silent thereon, and that silence was not treason. Robin Rich,

* State Papers.

the infamous solicitor-general, who had tried to entrap More by professing great friendship to him while in the Tower, and leading him into familiar and confidential discourse, now said that the prisoner's silence was malicious. To this More replied that "he had a right to be silent where his language was likely to be injuriously misconstrued." As to the charge that he had called the act of settlement "a two-edged sword which would destroy his soul if he complied in it, and his body if he refused," he made answer that "he supposed the reason of his refusal to be equally good, whether the question led to an offence against his conscience or to the necessity of criminating himself." The prosecutors were reduced to the necessity of examining one of their own number. Rich, who was soon afterwards created a peer for these and similar services, stood up and said that he had gone to More in the Tower as to a friend, and had asked him whether an act of parliament could not make a pope as well as a king;—that More had answered another question affirmatively, but had evaded the question about the pope. Rich then went on to swear that Sir Thomas had said in the most decided manner that the parliament could not make the king supreme head of the church, because parliament is a civil tribunal without authority in spiritual matters. The prisoner denied that he had spoken these words; and he remarked upon the character which Rich had borne in the world. "I am more sorry," said he, "for your perjury than for mine own peril. Neither I nor any man ever took you to be a person of such credit as I could communicate with on such matters. For we long dwelt together in the same parish, where, as yourself can tell (I am sorry you compel me to say it), you were esteemed very light of your tongue, a great dicer, and of no commendable fame." Two witnesses, Sir Richard Southwell and Mr. Palmer, were now brought forward to prop Rich's tottering evidence; but, in their case, conscience so far got the better of authority, that they declared that when they had gone to the Tower with Rich, and were in More's room or dungeon, they did not pay attention to the words

that were there spoken. But the judges who had been appointed to condemn and sentence, and who were kept in mind of their duty by the Duke of Norfolk, who sat with them, and by other great men who were sent into court by the king, laid it down as good law that silence *was* treason; and a jury of twelve Englishmen, without any hesitation, returned a verdict of guilty.* Audley, the chancellor, who was at the head of this iniquitous court, or special commission, was for pronouncing sentence at once, but More claimed the common and legal privilege of being heard, to show that judgment should not be passed. When he was allowed to speak, More urged that his scruples of conscience were at least sufficient to free his refusal to take the oaths from the imputation of disaffection, or of what the law calls malice. The chancellor, who was a very impatient listener, asked him again, as the prisoner had often been asked before, how he could set up his scruples against the weight of the parliament, people, and church of England. "Would you," said Audley, "be esteemed wiser or of purer conscience than all the bishops, doctors, nobility, and commons in this land?" More replied, as he had always done, that if the weight of authority was to be thrown into the balance, it was all on his side. "Nine out of ten of Christians now in the world think with me," said he: "for one bishop on your side, I can produce a hundred bishops on mine. Nearly all the learned doctors and holy fathers, who are now dead, agree with me: and, therefore, I think myself not bound to conform my conscience to the council of one realm against the general consent of all Christendom." The chancellor pronounced the frightful and disgusting doom which the statute awarded to treason. When this sentence had been pronounced, More rose to address the court: he was

* These twelve jurymen seem to have been nearly all of superior condition. They were Sir T. Palmer, Sir T. Bent, G. Lovell, esquire, Thomas Burbage, esquire, G. Chamber, gentleman, Edward Stockmore, William Brown, Jasper Leake, Thomas Bellington, John Parnell, Richard Bellamy, and G. Stoakes, gentleman.

coarsely interrupted. He tried again, and was again interrupted; but on a third attempt he was allowed to proceed. He told them that what he had hitherto been silent upon he would now openly declare; and he did boldly declare that the oath of supremacy was utterly unlawful, and that after seven years' diligent study "he could find no colour for holding that a layman could be head of the church." He regretted to differ from the noble lords whom he saw on the bench, but his conscience would not permit him to do otherwise. He protested that he had no animosity against them, and that he hoped that, even as St. Paul was present and consentient to the death of Stephen, and yet was afterwards a companion saint in heaven, so they and he should all meet together hereafter. "And so," he concluded, "may God preserve you all, and especially my lord the king, and send him good counsel!" As he moved from the bar, his son rushed through the hall, fell upon his knees, and begged his blessing. With the axe turned towards him, and with Sir W. Kingston, the constable of the Tower, weeping at his side, he went back to his dark prison, amid the great wonderment and commiseration of the citizens. On the Tower wharf his dear daughter Margaret forced her way through the officers and halberdiers, clasped him round the neck, kissed him, and sobbed aloud. Sir Thomas consoled her and gave her his blessing, and she collected sufficient strength to bid him farewell for ever: but as her father moved on, she again rushed through the crowd, and threw herself upon his neck. Here the weakness of nature overcame him, and he wept as he repeated his blessing and his Christian consolation. The people wept too; and his guards, though used to sights of woe, were so overpowered by their feelings, that they could hardly summon up resolution to separate the father and daughter. After this bitter trial the anguish of death was passed.

But there was a long and very unusual delay in carrying the sentence into execution. The tyrant still hoped to reduce More to some compliances. Bishop Fisher was still in the Tower and untried; and as he and his friend

More were universally esteemed the most learned men in the country, and as they were the only two that had as yet refused the oaths, it was deemed expedient to make further experiments on their constancy. On the 14th of June interrogatories were separately administered to them in the Tower by Mr. Bedle, Dr. Aldridge, Dr. Layton, and Dr. Curwen, in the presence of Pelstede, Whalley, and Rice. Among the objects proposed to themselves by the inquisitors were these:—to entrap the prisoners into some confession that they had had communications, since their coming to the Tower, with people who shared in their scruples—to lead More to make use of words that might be turned against Fisher at his approaching trial. The inquisitors were completely disappointed; nothing was to be gotten from More, and Fisher was equally firm. To some of the interrogatories he replied that he would promise obedience, "saving always his conscience: to others he would not speak, desiring that he might not be driven to answer, lest he should fall thereby into the dangers of the statutes.* Three days after these inquisitorial proceedings, Fisher was put upon his trial in Westminster Hall: as a matter of course he was condemned as a traitor, and on the 22nd of June he was dragged out of the Tower to execution. Fisher was in his eightieth year; he was the king's oldest friend. More was left to linger in his dungeon another fortnight. His wit flashed brightly in his last moments. When told that the king had been graciously pleased to commute the hanging, drawing, and quartering into simple decapitation, he said, "God preserve all my friends from such royal favours." On Tuesday, the 6th of July, the eve of St. Thomas, 1535, "his singular good friend" Sir Thomas *Pope* went to him very early with a message from the king and council to signify that he was to die before nine o'clock that morning. The time and the messenger appear to have been selected in cruel mockery by Henry and his creatures, who were much given to this kind of sport. Pope told him that "it

* State Papers, published by government.

was the king's pleasure he should not use many words on the scaffold." "I did purpose," said More, "to have spoken somewhat, but I will conform myself to the king's commandment; and I do beseech you to obtain from him that my daughter Margaret may be present at my burial." Pope told him that the king had already consented that his wife, children, and friends might be present thereat. He then put on his best attire; but as the lieutenant advised him to put it off, "for he that should have it was but a javel," he composedly changed his suit, and sent the executioner an angel of gold. The lieutenant of the Tower at the time appointed conducted him to the scaffold. The framework was so weak that some fears were expressed that the scaffold might break down. "Master lieutenant," said More, "see me safe up; and for my coming down, let me shift for myself." Although prohibited from addressing the spectators, he ventured to declare from the scaffold that he died a faithful subject and a true Catholic. The executioner, as usual, asked his forgiveness. "Friend," said More, "thou wilt render me to-day the greatest service in the power of man: but my neck is short; take heed, therefore, that thou strike not awry, for the sake of the credit of thy profession." After prayers said, he placed his head upon the block, but he bade the headsman hold his hand until he removed his long white beard, saying with a smile, "My beard has never committed any treason." Then the axe fell, and the neck was severed at once. His head was picked up, and fixed for some time on London Bridge, by the side of the head of his friend Fisher. This was the common practice in such cases, but two such heads had not often been seen together. After a time his darling daughter obtained permission to take down and keep the head of More; and when Margaret died some nine years after her father, the head was laid upon her breast and buried with her.*

These detestable murders spread a panic through the

* "Her body," says Granger, "is in the Roper's vault, at St. Dunstan's church, Canterbury, near which part of their

nation; and the expression of the popular feeling, however timid, went with the inward workings of his own conscience to increase the tyrant's suspicion and fear. We are told that Henry himself threw the blame of More's death upon his young wife, who perished on the scaffold on the 19th of May following; that, when an account of that execution was brought to him, he was playing at tables with the queen; that thereupon he looked sternly at her, and, saying "Thou art the cause of this man's death," withdrew, in evident perturbation, to the solitude of his chamber. The story is probable, and quite consistent with the character of the brutal king. In the month of August following the execution, Erasmus wrote to a friend that the English were living in such a state of terror that they durst not write to foreigners or receive letters from them. In Italy, in France, in every country where civilization had made any progress, the fate of Fisher, and still more that of the author of the 'Utopia,' excited universal execration, and *there*, at least, men could speak their minds loudly. No greater mistake can be committed than in believing that this vehement and lasting feeling proceeded from the prejudices of Catholics, or was only a part of the religious feeling of those countries. Men wept for More who would have joined hands with our church reformers (who were not really Protestants until after the death of Henry VIII.). They wept for the wit and scholar, for the friend of humanity and the man of lofty principle, who, whether right or wrong in his judgment, had braved a slow torture and death rather than soil his conscience. The lofty eloquence of Cardinal Pole, the classical point of Erasmus, the writings of

ancient seat is still remaining. In the wall of this vault is a small niche, where, behind an iron grate, is kept a skull, called Sir Thomas More's, which Mr. Gosling, a learned and worthy clergyman of Canterbury, informs me he has seen several times on the opening of the vault for some of the late Sir Edward Dering's family, whose first lady was a descendant of the Ropers."—*Biographical History of England.*

Paolo Giovio, and other popular authors, recorded the crime, and awakened throughout Europe a hatred and detestation of the tyrant who had consummated it. Wherever Henry had ambassadors, men shunned them as the agents and slaves of a monster. The Emperor Charles V. said that if he had had such a servant as More, he would rather have lost the best city in his dominions than so able and worthy a counsellor. Nor did Charles's rival Francis I. feel a less lively emotion.

More's English writings were collected and printed in the year 1557, at the instance of Queen Mary. The Life written by Roper, the husband of his darling daughter Margaret, was not then ready for the press, and after the death of Mary (in 1558) none durst publish it in England. In fact, this exquisite and thoroughly authentic piece of biography, though copies of it seem to have been known in MS., did not appear in print until the year 1626, in the reign of Charles I., and even then it was printed at Paris. It is a small 18mo. volume, and entitled 'The Mirrour of Vertue in worldly Greatness, or the Life of Sir Thomas More, Knight, sometime Lord Chancellor of England.' It is an exceedingly rare book. Mr. Singer, who edited and reprinted it in 1817, knew at that time of no copy except the one in his possession. There is a copy of it—a venerable and precious relic—in the library of the British Museum; but it is irreverently bound up under one coarse cover, with other old books that have no connection with the subject, and the last page is torn out and missing. The Life of More, by Cresacre More, the chancellor's great-grandson, is little more than an amplified copy of Roper's book, but it contains a few anecdotes and family traditions, which give it a value.

END OF VOLUME II.

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THE

CABINET PORTRAIT GALLERY

OF

BRITISH WORTHIES.

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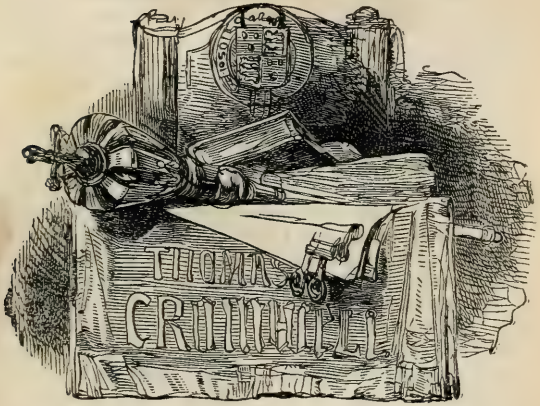
CABINET PORTRAIT GALLERY

OF

BRITISH WORTHIES.



It sometimes happens that a remarkable man has a very commonplace history; sometimes that a man whose life has been full of strange events has been a person of a very commonplace character: in the present instance the man and his fortunes were alike extraordinary. The life in all its parts has the colour of a legend or romance; both his rise and his fall were rocket-like; but he was neither carried so rapidly to so great a height solely by the force of circumstances, nor would he perhaps have been thrown down as he was but in some degree through that same irrepressibiiity, and, as we may say, brilliant

wildness of nature which had helped him to mount so far above his original condition.

Thomas Cromwell, best known, both in his own day and in our national history, by his first title of nobility, the Lord Cromwell, was born in or near the village of Putney, in Surrey, where his father, Walter Cromwell, it is commonly said, followed the trade first of a blacksmith, afterwards of a brewer; but, according to another account, was a fuller, though that version of the story may possibly have arisen from the circumstance of his mother after his father's death, which appears to have happened when her son was a boy, marrying a London shearman, or cloth-shearer. The date of his birth is not recorded, but it was probably about the year 1490.

Of his other relations we only know that he had a sister who married Morgan Williams, a gentleman of an ancient Welsh family, whose son, changing his name to that of his uncle and patron, became Sir Richard Cromwell, and was the grandfather of Oliver Cromwell the Protector. From this marriage of Thomas Cromwell's sister, which must have taken place before her brother became a great man, since his nephew, Richard Williams, or Cromwell, was then of mature age, and from other considerations which he advances, Noble, the author of the 'Memoirs of the Protectoral House,' argues that the blacksmith or brewer of Putney was probably, although a tradesman, a man of substance, and by no means, as he has been sometimes represented, a mere handicraftsman or mechanic. "We may presume," says Noble, "that, as the blacksmith was enabled to change his business, from many favourable circumstances, to that of a brewer, which latter was a much superior one in the reign of King Henry VIII. than at present, it is highly probable that, though he died a brewer, he might leave a very good (perhaps large) fortune behind him: we know of many of the noblest families in England that are descended from persons who were lord mayors and sheriffs of London, and others who were of trades which would disgrace (in the estimation of the illiberal) the families of the middling class of people in this kingdom. If we

suppose that Mr. Walter Cromwell, the brewer of Putney, died rich, as there is the highest probability he did not die poor, there can be no reason assigned why his daughter should be thought an improper match for Mr. Morgan Williams, a Welsh gentleman of an estate of three or four hundred a year, when Mr. Morgan Williams's son and grandson, two of the richest knights and private subjects in the kingdom, married, the one the daughter of a skinner, and the other that of a mercer, or at least of those companies. Lady Ann Bolen, or Bullen, and Lady Jane Seymour, two of the many wives of King Henry VIII., were descended from tradesmen of London." On the whole, then, we may conclude Walter Cromwell of Putney to have been no common blacksmith, wielding his hammer and shoeing horses with his own hands, but a master tradesman, probably employing many workmen, and prospering so as to be eventually enabled to set up as what we may call a capitalist, and the head of what was more of the nature of a commercial establishment than a trade. His widow, too, in this case, may have made a good second marriage, and the shearman may have been a merchant, not, as is commonly assumed, a mechanic. Noble supposes that Morgan Williams, whose father was employed by Jasper Tudor, Duke of Bedford, uncle to King Henry VII., and also by King Henry VIII., may have made the acquaintance of Miss Cromwell, living with her mother in London, when he and his father came up to give their attendance at court. This connexion among the three families of Cromwell, Williams, and Tudor—the history of each of which is so remarkable—merits the more attention, that it has not been usually noticed. We shall find that the marriage of his sister was not Cromwell's only alliance with the Williamses.

Young Cromwell does not appear to have received what can be called a learned education; but it is admitted that, besides the more ordinary branches, he was taught a little Latin at school; and this may give additional probability to what has been said about his father not having been a mere common blacksmith. The popular

tradition of the next age, indeed, appears to have represented him as having been a bookish boy, filled and inflamed with many sublime and mysterious studies. There is an old play, called 'The Life and Death of Thomas Lord Cromwell,' first published, as far as is known, in 1602, but perhaps written a good many years before that date, in the opening scene of which one of his father's men is introduced complaining that he can hardly take his afternoon's nap for young Master Thomas, who, says he, "keeps such a coil in his study, with the sun and the moon and the seven stars, that I do verily think he'll read out his wits." And then the youth himself is brought forward soliloquizing, after the fashion of a juvenile Faustus:—

'Good morrow, morn, I do salute thy brightness.
The night seems tedious to my troubled soul;
Whose black obscurity binds in my mind
A thousand sundry cogitations.
And now Aurora with a lively dye
Adds comfort to my spirit, that mounts on high;
Too high, indeed, my state being so mean.
My study, like a mineral of gold,
Makes my heart proud, wherein my hope's enrolled;
My books are all the wealth I do possess,
And unto them I have engaged my heart.
O, learning, how divine thou seem'st to me,
Within whose arms is all felicity," &c.

This play has been attributed to Shakspere; but, although it is not in his manner, nor in any high manner, and has little or no dramatic or even poetical spirit, it is not destitute of a certain kind of talent, that at least by which a story is clearly told in the way of dialogue; and it is at any rate curious as preserving the notions about Cromwell and his history which had floated in the popular mind probably ever since his own day.

Whatever may have been his original advantages or disadvantages, it appears to have been mainly to his own abilities, and his mounting or restless spirit, that he owed his rise from obscurity. The story that is told of his early life is, shortly, that, impatient of confinement

within the bounds of his native country, he set out before he had yet taken to any occupation by which he might earn his bread for the continent; that after rambling over France, Germany, and Italy, and acquiring the languages of all these countries, he was engaged as their chief clerk or secretary by the English factory, or body of resident English merchants, at Antwerp; and that he remained in that situation till about the year 1510, when he embraced an opportunity that offered of accompanying two of his countrymen on a mission to the papal court. The case was this, as related by Fox in his 'Acts and Monuments:'—The town of Boston, desiring to have a renewal from the pope, Julius the Second, of certain privileges, called the great and the lesser pardons, which had been repeatedly confirmed by his holiness's predecessors, despatched two persons for that purpose, who, coming to Antwerp on their way, there fell into company with Cromwell, and, probably struck by his evident capacity, while they had great doubts of the sufficiency of their own qualifications for the important business that had been intrusted to them, proposed that he should become their associate. The sequel is curious, as told by the old martyrologist, who, it may be observed, does not much relish such an introduction of his hero to public life:—"Cromwell, although perceiving the enterprise to be of no small difficulty, to traverse the pope's court, for the unreasonable expenses amongst those greedy cormorants, yet, having some skill of the Italian tongue, and as yet not grounded in judgment of religion in those his youthful days, was at length obtained and content to give the adventure, and so took his journey towards Rome. Cromwell, loth to spend much time, and more loth to spend his money, and again perceiving that the pope's greedy humour must needs be served with some present or other (for without rewards there is no doing at Rome) began to cast with himself what thing best to devise wherein he might best serve the pope's devotion. At length, having knowledge how that the pope's holy tooth greatly delighted in new-fangled strange delicates and dainty dishes, it

came in his mind to prepare certain fine dishes of jelly, after the best fashion, made after our country manner here in England, which to them of Rome was not known nor seen before. This done, Cromwell observing his time accordingly, as the pope was newly come from hunting into his pavilion, he with his companions approached with his English presents, brought in with a three-man's song (as we call it) in the English tongue, and all after the English fashion. The pope suddenly marvelled at the strangeness of the song, and, understanding that they were Englishmen, and that they came not empty-handed, willed them to be called in. Cromwell then showing his obedience, and offering his jolly junkets, such as kings and princes only, said he, in the realm of England use to feed upon, desired the same to be accepted in benevolent part, which he and his companions, as poor suitors unto his holiness, had there brought and presented, as novelties meet for his recreation, &c. Pope Julius, seeing the strangeness of the dishes, commanded by and by his cardinal to take the assay, who in tasting thereof liked it so well, and so likewise the pope after him, that, knowing of them what their suits were, and requiring of them to make known the making of that meat, he incontinent, without any more ado, stamped both their pardons, as well the greater as the lesser." "And thus," adds the venerable but withal facetious historian, "were the jelly pardons of the town of Boston obtained as you have heard, for the maintainance of their decayed port." We need not trouble the reader with the copy or summary of the pardons which follows, filling a whole long closely printed column of the huge old black-letter folio.

All the common accounts here follow one another in overleaping a long interval of time in the strangest and most unaccountable manner. Thus, Fox, after having told us that Cromwell gave a wonderful evidence both of the strength of his memory and of his industry and perseverance in getting by heart the whole of Erasmus's Latin translation of the New Testament "in his journey going and coming from Rome," as if he had returned

from that city after a stay of only a few months, goes on:—"All this while it appeareth that Cromwell had yet no sound taste nor judgment of religion, but was wild and youthful, without sense or regard of God and his word, as he himself was woont oft times to declare unto Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, showing what a ruffian he was in his young days, and how he was in the wars of the Duke of Bourbon at the siege of Rome . . . . and so continued, till at length by learning the text of the New Testament without book, of Erasmus's translation, in his going and coming from Rome (as is aforesaid) he began to be touched and called to better understanding." But the famous sack of Rome by the Duke of Bourbon took place, as is well known, in May, 1527; so here are events which were seventeen years apart jumbled together as if they had happened in the same year. From the rest of Fox's narrative it is evident that he was entirely ignorant or thoughtless of the date of this sack of Rome, at which he states Cromwell to have been present; for he brings him back to England some years before it actually occurred. But the story is told in a way equally unintelligible in an elaborate article in the 'Biographia Britannica,' where, after mention of his journey to Rome in 1510, the narrative proceeds:—"Whilst he remained in Italy, he served for some time as a soldier under the Duke of Bourbon, and was at the sacking of Rome; and at Bologna he assisted John Russell, Esq., afterwards Earl of Bedford, in making his escape when he had like to be betrayed into the hands of the French, being secretly in those parts about our king's affairs." And then comes the anecdote about his getting the translation of the New Testament by heart, "in his journey to and from Rome." Dr. Lingard, who seems to have consulted Roman Catholic authorities, affirms generally that Cromwell "in his early youth served as a trooper in the wars of Italy; from the army he passed to the service of a Venetian merchant; and, after some time, returning to England, exchanged the counter for the study of the law." As

for his assisting the Earl of Bedford to make his escape from Bologna, the mere fact is mentioned by Fox, but without any date. For the particular stratagem which he is said to have employed the reader may be referred to the old play, in which this incident makes a principal figure. Noble, in his 'Memoirs of the Protectoral House," makes it to have happened after the sack of Rome, when Cromwell had been "involved in great distress upon the defeat of that army which had pillaged the holy city," and been "relieved by a generous Italian of the name of Friscobaldo," and when Russell, who was not yet ennobled, was about to be sent a prisoner to France, "because employed in some secret service by King Henry VIII. against the see of Rome."

But, on the whole, it seems in the highest degree improbable that Cromwell remained in Italy to so late a date as he must have done if he was really present at the sack of Rome by the Duke of Bourbon. Dr. Lingard states that after his return to England Wolsey "employed him to dissolve the monasteries which had been granted for the establishment of his colleges, a trust which he discharged to the satisfaction of his patron, at the same time that he enriched himself." Now it was in 1524 and 1525, that Wolsey obtained from Pope Clement VII. the two bulls authorising him to suppress twenty-two small priories and nunneries for the endowment of the college founded by him at Oxford, now called Christ Church. Fox himself, who makes Cromwell to have remained in Italy till after the sack of Rome in 1527, tells us in the next page that he was employed by Wolsey in expediting the suppression of these religious houses—"which," says he, "was about the year of our Lord 1525." At all events, it seems to be admitted on all hands that he was taken into the service or employment of the Cardinal soon after he returned to his native country. Fox asserts that both More, afterwards chancellor, and Gardiner, afterwards bishop of Winchester, were in the Cardinal's household at or about the same time with Cromwell.

This is a strange misstatement as to Sir Thomas More, who never was in Wolsey's household at any time of his life.

But here we meet with another difficulty, which the common accounts of Cromwell do not attempt to clear up, and do not even notice. So far from having remained abroad in Italy even till 1524, he had in all probability returned to his native country at least seven or eight years before that date—for he must have been married, and to an English lady of good connexions, at the latest by the year 1517, seeing that his son Gregory was summoned to the House of Lords in April, 1539, and must therefore have been born in or before 1518. The lady that Cromwell married was Jane (or, according to other accounts, Elizabeth), daughter and heir of Sir John Prior, Knight, and widow of Thomas Williams, Esq., a Welsh gentleman, of the same family with the Morgan Williams who, probably before this, married Cromwell's sister.

From all these facts we should be disposed to conclude that Cromwell returned home from the continent about 1516. And we may now observe, as further illustrative of the dependence to be placed on old Fox even in regard to matters with which it might be thought he ought to be best acquainted, that it was not till this year that Cromwell could possibly have got Erasmus's New Testament by heart, inasmuch as it was only now first published. He was probably still abroad when he met with the book; and the story told by Fox will accord very well with all the ascertained facts, if we suppose the task he is said to have accomplished to have been performed on his way home to England about this time. The anecdote may be taken as a remarkable evidence, not only of Cromwell's powers of memory, but of the enthusiasm inspired by Erasmus's translation when it first appeared.

Some time after he was taken into the employment of Wolsey, who, we are told, made him his solicitor, Cromwell is stated to have obtained a seat in the House of Commons; and it is recorded to his honour that, when the articles charging the Cardinal with high treason

were sent down to that House, he defended his master there with great wit and eloquence; "and upon this honest beginning," says Lord Herbert, in his History of the Reign of Henry VIII., "Cromwell obtained his first reputation." It is stated on good authority that he had at this time made himself very generally odious by the zeal and energy with which he served his unpopular patron: Cardinal Pole asserts from his own knowledge, that, at the time of Wolsey's fall, Cromwell's punishment was also loudly demanded by the public voice: "I was myself then in London," writes Pole, "and heard what was said: there was nothing that the people looked for more eagerly." Dr. Lingard's account is, that "he followed Wolsey to Esher; but, despairing of the fortune of the fallen favourite, hastened to Court, purchased with presents the protection of the ministers, and was confirmed in that office under the king which he had before held under the Cardinal, the stewardship of the lands of the dissolved monasteries."

It must have been almost immediately after this, in the end of the year 1530, or early in 1531, that he secured the royal notice and favour by boldly proposing to Henry, as is affirmed, to rid himself at once of all the difficulties about his divorce from Queen Katharine by throwing off the yoke of the Roman Pontiff, and assuming to himself the ecclesiastical supremacy within his own dominions. He is said to have made this proposal at an audience which he solicited and obtained, and to which he went declaring his intention thereby either to make or mar his fortune. The scheme is believed to have met with Henry's instantaneous approval. If we may depend upon this story, which is told with some variations, but with an agreement in the substance, by both Roman Catholic and Protestant authorities, Cromwell has a better right than any other man to be accounted the author of the Reformation in England.

What is perfectly certain is, that from this time Cromwell was taken into the closest confidence by the king, was loaded with honours and other favours, and was raised with almost unexampled rapidity through a suc-

cession of offices to nearly all of the supreme authority that could be conveyed to a subject. In 1531 he was knighted, admitted of the Privy Council, and made Master of the Jewel-House; in 1532 he was appointed Clerk of the Hanaper, and soon after Chancellor of the Exchequer for life; in 1534 he was raised to the posts of Master of the Rolls, and Principal Secretary of State; in 1535 he was commissioned to superintend the general suppression of the monasteries with the title of Visitor General; in 1536 he exchanged his place of Master of the Rolls for that of Lord Privy Seal, and a few days after was made a peer, with the title of Lord Cromwell of Okeham; the same year he was constituted Vicar General and Vicegerent over all the spirituality, under the King, and in that capacity took his seat in the convocation, as the King's representative, above both archbishops; in 1537 he was made Chief Justice Itinerant beyond Trent, and a Knight of the Garter; in 1538 he was made Constable of Carisbrook Castle, and received a grant of the Castle and Lordship of Okeham in Rutlandshire; in 1539 he was enriched by grants of thirty other manors which had belonged to the dissolved religious houses, and was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Essex (the oldest of the then existing English earldoms), his son being at the same time called to the House of Lords by his father's former title; and shortly after his ambition was still farther gratified by having conferred upon him the office of Lord High Chamberlain of England, which had for a long succession of generations been held by the De Veres, Earls of Oxford, one of the most distinguished families of the ancient peerage.

During nearly all this time, too, he may be considered, as we have said, to have been really the ruler of the kingdom. And the most interesting part of his story is the manner in which he used his supreme power.

He was, in the first place, beyond all question a most zealous, active and efficient promoter of the Reformation in religion. With that cause, indeed, his personal interests were intimately and inseparably involved; but there

is every reason to believe that his honest convictions of right and truth were also strongly enlisted on the same side. The popish writers have attributed to him the most flagitious principles, or rather have denied him the possession of any principles of either religion or morals; but their general denunciations are discountenanced by all that we really know of the man and of his life. He may have been, and probably was, both ambitious and rapacious—fond of power, as strong and ardent minds are apt to be, in all its forms; his daring and enthusiastic temperament may have even made him sometimes unscrupulous enough, and reckless of everything except the object of the moment; but it does not follow that he must have been a bad man, or without good and high qualities. He appears to have been on the whole conscientious, at least in so far as regarded the ends he had in view, although not always very particular as to his means. But the latter characteristic belongs more or less to all the more aspiring spirits of that time. The objects for which men then contended against one another appeared to be of such infinite importance as to justify their attainment in any way. Besides, the regular dominion of law had not yet been established; society was still in a convulsed and semi-chaotic state; even in civil life, to a great extent, the only recognised morality was something little better than that now practised in war and on the field of battle.

Cromwell, placed in the seat of supreme authority, may have used his power despotically; but, although he no doubt committed some questionable acts, his general administration appears to have been far from oppressive or unpopular. On the contrary, even when he somewhat disregarded or overstepped the law, he seems usually to have acted both with a right purpose and in accordance with the public sentiment. Some stories preserved by Fox are illustrative of this, and are also curious as picturing a social state so different from that which now exists in England. One is about the mere report of his approach dispersing a body of ruffians who had barricaded both ends of Paternoster Row with carts,

and were about to have a conflict in the public street. "It happened," says the historian, "that, as this desperate skirmish should begin, the Lord Cromwell, coming from the court through Paul's Churchyard, and entering into Cheap, had intelligence of the great fray toward and because of the carts he could not come at them, but was forced to go about the Little Conduit, and so came upon them through Pannier Alley. Thus, as the conflict began to wax hot, and the people were standing by in great expectation to see them fight, suddenly, at the noise of the Lord Cromwell's coming, the camp brake up, and the ruffians to go; neither could the carts keep in those so courageous campers, but well was he that first could be gone. And so ceased this tumultuous outrage, without any other parting, only through the authority of the Lord Cromwell's name." Then follows another story, which he tells with immense gusto, "concerning a certain serving-man," as he expresses it, "of the like ruffianly order, who, thinking to dissever himself from the common usage of all other men in strange new-fangleness of fashions by himself (as many there be whom nothing doth please which is daily seen and received), used to go with his hair hanging about his ears down unto his shoulders, after a strange monstrous manner, counterfeiting, belike, the wild Irishmen, or else *crinitus Ioppas*, which Virgil speaketh of, as one weary of his own English fashion; or else, as one ashamed to be seen like a man, would rather go like a woman, or like to one of the Gorgon sisters, but most of all like to himself, that is, like to a ruffian, that could not tell how to go." After this eloquent exordium, the narrative proceeds:—"As this ruffian, ruffling thus with his locks, was walking in the streets, as chance was, who should meet him but the Lord Cromwell, who, beholding the deform and unseemly manner of his disguised going, full of much vanity and hurtful example, called the man to question with him whose servant he was; which being declared, then was demanded whether his maister or any of his fellows used so to go with such hair about their shoulders as he did, or no? Which when he denied,

and was not able to yield any reason for refuge of that his monstrous disguising, at length he fell to this excuse, that he had made a vow. To this the Lord Cromwell answered again, that, for so much as he had made himself a votary, he would not force him to break his vow; but, until his vow should be expired, he should lie the mean time in prison; and so sent him immediately to the Marshalsea, where he endured till at length this *intonsus Cato*, being persuaded by his maister to cut his hair, by suit and petition of friends he was brought again to the Lord Cromwell with his head polled according to the accustomed sort of his other fellows, and so was dismissed." We cannot help adding the curious and characteristic comment with which the old martyrologist concludes: the passage is one which should not be overlooked by the investigators of the history of English costume:—"If," says he, "the same Lord Cromwell, which could not abide this serving-man so disfigured in his hair, were now in these our days alive, with the same authority which then he had, and saw these new-fangle fashions of attire used here amongst us both of men and women, I suppose verily that neither these monstrous ruffs, nor these prodigious hose, and prodigal, or rather hyperbolical barbarous breeches (which seem rather like barrels than breeches), would have any place in England. In which unmeasurable excess of vesture, this I have to marvel; first, how these serving-men, which commonly have nothing else but their wages, and that so slender and bare, can maintain such stops,* so huge and so sumptuous, which commonly stand them in more than their three years' wages do come unto. Secondly, I marvel that their maisters and lords (who shall yield to God account of their servants' doings) do not search and try out their servants' walks, how they come by these expences, wherewith to uphold this bravery, seeing their stipendary wages, and all revenues else they have, will not extend thereunto. Thirdly, this most of all is to be marvelled, that magistrates, which have in their hands the

* Stoops, or large wooden wine-cans.

ordering and guiding of good laws, do not provide more severely for the needful reformation of these enormities. But here we may well see, and truly this may say, that England once had a Cromwell."

Another of Fox's stories, entitled "How Cromwell holp a poor woman with child out of great trouble, longing for a piece of meat in time of Lent," is much too long to be given in full. It begins—"In the year of our Lord, 1538, Sir William Forman being mayor of the city of London, three weeks before Easter, the wife of one Thomas Freebairn, dwelling in Paternoster Row, being with child, longed after a morsel of a pig, and told her mind unto a maid dwelling in Abchurch Lane, desiring her, if it were possible, to help her unto a piece. The maid, perceiving her earnest desire, shewed unto her husband what his wife had said unto her, telling him that it might chance to cost her her life, and the child's too which she went withall, if she had it not. Upon this, Thomas Freebairn, her husband, spake to a butter-wife which he knew, that dwelled at Hornsey, named Goodwife Fisher, to help him to a pig for his wife, for she was with child, and longed sore to eat of a pig. Unto whom the said Goodwife Fisher promised that she would bring him one the Friday following; and so she did, being ready dressed and scalded before. But, when she had delivered him the pig, she craftily conveyed one of the pig's feet, and carried it unto Doctor Cockes, at that time being Dean of Canterbury, dwelling in Ivy Lane, who, at that time of his dinner, before certain guests which he had bidden, shewed his pig's foot, declaring who had the body thereof; and, after that they had talked their pleasure and dinner was done, one of his guests, being landlord unto Freebairn aforesaid, called M. Garter, and by his office King of Arms, sent his man unto the said Freebairn, demanding if there were nobody sick in his house. Unto whom he answered that they were all in good health, he gave God thanks. Then said he again, it was told his maister that somebody was sick, or else they would not eat flesh in Lent. Unto whom Freebairn made answer, that his

wife was with child, and longed for a piece of a pig, and if he could get some for her he would. Then departed his landlord's man home again." There are nearly two long columns more about this affair, or about as much as would fill four or five of our pages. Freebairn, having been first brought before the bishop, Stokesley, was, after examination, sent by him along with the pig openly through the streets to the house of Sir Roger Chomley, the recorder, in the Old Bailey ; the recorder not being at home, he was lodged for the night in the Compter ; the next day, which was Saturday, he was brought before the mayor and his brethren in Guildhall, and by them he was sentenced to stand on the following Monday on the pillory in Cheapside, "with the one half of the pig on the one shoulder, and the other half on the other." "Then," continues the account, "spake the wife of the said Freebairn unto the mayor and the bench, desiring that she might stand there, and not he, for it was long of her and not of him. After this they took a satin list, and tied it fast about the pig's neck, and made Freebairn to carry it hanging on his shoulder until he came unto the Compter of the Poultry, from whence he came." Freebairn's wife then applied to Cromwell, taking with her "an honest woman, the wife of one Michael Lobley, which was well acquainted with divers in the Lord Cromwell's house ;" Cromwell sent for the mayor ; and, although what passed between them is not known, the result was that the poor man was set at large upon his own recognisance of twenty pounds, without being exhibited in the pillory surmounted by the pig. 'But," it is added, "shortly after that he was delivered out of this his trouble, Maister Garter, of whom we have spoken before, being his landlord, warned him out of his house ; so that in four years after he could not get another, but was constrained to be within other good folks', to his great hindrance and undoing."

Lord Cromwell's house, to which Mrs. Freebairn repaired on this occasion, stood on the site of the present Hall of the Company of Drapers, on the north side of Throgmorton Street. It was a magnificent structure,

which he erected in the earlier portion of his career of court favour, when he was as yet only Sir Thomas Cromwell, and Master of the Jewel-House. Yet even then some parts of his procedure, at least, were sufficiently energetic and summary, if we may credit an anecdote recorded by Stow. "This house," writes the antiquary in his 'Survey of London,' "being finished, and having some reasonable plot of ground left for a garden, he caused the pales of the gardens adjoining to the north part thereof on a sudden to be taken down, twenty-two foot to be measured forthright into the north of every man's ground, a line there to be drawn, a trench to be cast, a foundation laid, and an high brick wall to be builded. My father had a garden there, and there was a house standing close to his south pale: this house they loosed from the ground, and bare upon rollers into my father's garden twenty-two foot ere my father heard thereof: no warning was given him, nor other answer, when he spake to the surveyors of that work, but that their master, Sir Thomas, commanded them so to do: no man durst go to argue the matter, but each man lost his land; and my father paid his whole rent, which was six shillings eight-pence the year, for that half which was left. Thus much of mine own knowledge have I thought good to note, that the sudden rising of some men causeth them to forget themselves." This way which Cromwell took of clearing a space about him may be regarded as in keeping with his profession of a levelling reformer, and with his practice as the puller down of monastic establishments and the blower up of old supremacies.

But in one important respect, at any rate, Cromwell did not, after his elevation, forget himself. The old accounts bear the strongest testimony to his grateful remembrance and recognition in the height of his greatness of every person that had done him a service or a kindness in his days of obscurity and poverty. The old play makes this a prominent part of his character. Fox has various stories in proof of the same thing. "It is commonly seen," he observes, "that men advanced once

from base degree to ample dignities do rise also with fortune into such insolence and exaltation of mind, that not only they forget themselves what they were, but also cast out of remembrance all their old friends and former acquaintance which have been to them before beneficial. From which sort of men how far the courteous condition of this Christian earl did differ, by divers examples it may appear. As, by a certain poor woman keeping some time a victualling house about Hounslow, to whom the said Lord Cromwell remained in debt for certain old reckonings to the sum of forty shillings. It happened that the Lord Cromwell, with Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury, riding through Cheapside, towards the Court, in turning his eye over the way, and there espying this poor woman brought now in need and misery, eftsoons caused her to be called unto him: who being come, after certain questions asked of her if she were not such a woman, and dwelling in such a place, at last, he demanded if he were not behind for a certain payment of money between him and her. To whom she, with reverent obeisance, confessed that he ought her money for a certain old reckoning which was yet unpaid, whereof she stood now in great necessity, but never durst call upon him, nor could come at him for to require her right. Then the Lord Cromwell, sending the poor woman home to his house, and one of his servants withal that the porter should let her in, after his return from the court not only discharged the debt which he ought but also gave her a yearly pension of four pounds and a livery every year while she lived." It is to be supposed that he had quite forgotten the debt till the circumstance was recalled to his mind by the sight of the woman. As for the fear which kept her from asking for her money, it is probably to be set down not to any special reputation which Cromwell had for disregarding such just claims, but to the insolence and tyranny with which the poorer classes and the bulk of the community were generally treated at this period by the rich and powerful. On another occasion, when Cromwell was sitting at dinner, in the king's palace at

Sheen, now Richmond, along with other lords of the council with whom he had come thither to examine certain monks charged with having denied the royal supremacy, "it chanced him," Fox tells us, "to spy afar off a certain poor man, which there served to sweep their cells and cloister, and to ring the bells. Whom, when the Lord Cromwell had well advised,* he sent for the poor man to come unto him, and, before all the table, most lovingly and friendly calling him by his name, took him by the hand and asked how he did, with many other good words; and turning therewith to the lords, 'My lords,' quoth he, 'see you this poor man? This man's father hath been a great friend to me in my necessity, and hath given me many a meal's meat.' Then said he unto the poor man, 'Come unto me, and I will provide for thee, and thou shalt not lack so long as I live.' Such as there were present, and saw and heard the same, report it to be true." The existence of such stories is at all events an evidence of the popular impression of what manner of man Cromwell was; nor is their probability contradicted by any thing that we really know of his conduct and character; with all his thorough-going and high-handed mode of proceeding when he had an object to compass upon which he had set his heart, there is every reason to believe that he was a high-spirited and kind-hearted as well as a resolute and very able man.

But the most famous of all the stories told of his remembrance of his old friends in his new estate, is that of the Florentine merchant Francesco Frescobaldo. It makes a principal figure in the old play, where the Italian, there called Friskyball, is one of the leading *dramatis personæ*, and his connexion with Cromwell a main part of the plot. It was probably first told by the Italian novelist Bandello, from whose book, which he refers to by the grave title of *Historia Italica*, Fox has translated it. The substance of it is, that Frescobaldo, who had frequently visited and resided in England, was one day in Florence applied to for alms by a young

* Considered.

Englishman, whom, partly for the sake of his country, partly from being taken by his engaging appearance and manners, he relieved with great liberality; that the generous Italian afterwards met with misfortunes and lost nearly all he had in the world; that he then came over to London in the hope of recovering some old debts due to him in this country; and that he was accidentally seen in the street by Cromwell, now the greatest man in England, who instantly alighted from his horse, took the stranger in his arms to the man's infinite amazement, declared that he was the poor young Englishman to whom Frescobaldo, who could hardly be brought to remember the incident, had shown so bountiful a heart and hand many long years ago; and, taking him to his house, there installed him as his chief friend, and by his influence and authority soon compelled all his debtors to pay him to the uttermost farthing. "And during all this time," concludes the story, "Frescobald continually lodged in the house of the Lord Cromwell, who ever gave him such entertainment as he had right well deserved, and oftentimes moved him to abide in England, offering him the loan of 60,000 ducats for the space of four years, if he would continue and make his bank in London. But Frescobald, who desired to return into his country, and there quietly to continue the rest of his life, with the great favour of the Lord Cromwell, after many thanks for his high and noble entertainment, departed towards his desired home: where, richly arriving he gave himself quietly to live. But this wealth he small time enjoyed; for in the first year of his return he died."

Cromwell's last elevation, to the earldom of Essex and the office of Lord High Chamberlain of England, seemed designed only to make the precipice from which he was to be thrown down the higher. On the last day of the same year, 1539, in which these honours were conferred upon him, Anne of Cleves landed at Dover, having been selected on his recommendation by Henry to be his new queen, in the room of Jane Seymour, whom he had lost more than two years before. The success, so

far, of the policy by which he had thus made a protégée of his own the wife of his sovereign, proved his ruin. Other minor causes concurred in strengthening the fury of the storm that overtook him; but it was the disgust on Henry's part by which this marriage was immediately followed that lost him the royal favour, and left him to destruction. So sagacious a man had not been unvisited by occasional apprehensions that the airy fabric of his fortunes might some time or other be blown down still more suddenly than it had arisen; but the catastrophe came at last with an instantaneousness for which he probably had not been prepared. On the morning of the 10th of June, 1540, he appeared in his place in the House of Lords as usual; at three o'clock in the afternoon he was arrested by the Duke of Norfolk, as he sat at the council table, on a charge of high treason. The particular acts of which he was accused were acts of excess in the exercise of his various high powers, of many of which he was no doubt guilty; he was besides charged with having protected heretics and heretical opinions, which there is no question that he had also done to a considerable extent; but when it was affirmed that on one occasion he had declared his readiness to strike a dagger into the heart of any man who should oppose the Reformation, were it the king himself, it is probable that words were imputed to him which he had never used. The means, or pretences, however, were of little consequence; his destruction, in whatever way it might be brought about, was resolved upon. The worst stain upon Cromwell's memory is his having about a year before his fall induced parliament to pass a bill of attainder for high treason against Margaret Countess of Salisbury (the mother of Cardinal Pole), upon which she was eventually executed without ever having been brought to trial. This iniquitous precedent was now applied in his own case: the bill of attainder was quickly and without difficulty carried through the two houses—no member of either, so far as is known, venturing to speak in vindication of the accused, except only his chief friend Cranmer, who uttered a few timid

words in his behalf on the first reading of the bill, but voted for it on the second and the third readings. He lay for about six weeks in the Tower, during which he in vain repeatedly importuned the capricious and hard-hearted tyrant whom he had so long and zealously served. "Consider," he concludes one of his letters preserved by Burnet, "that I [am] a most woeful prisoner, ready to take the death when it shall please God and your majesty; and yet the frail flesh inciteth me continually to call to your Grace for mercy and grace for mine offences. And thus Christ save, preserve, and keep you. Written at the Tower, this Wednesday the last of June, with the heavy heart and trembling hand of your Highness's most heavy and most miserable prisoner, and poor slave, THOMAS CROMWELL. Most gracious prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy!" Another, which he appears to have written when he was first committed to the Tower, is in a strain still more imploring. "Most gracious king and most merciful sovereign," it begins, "Your most humble, most obeysand, and most bounden subject, and most lamentable servant and prisoner, prostrate at the feet of your most excellent majesty, have heard your pleasure by the mouth of your comptroller, that I should write to your most excellent Highness such things as I thought meet to be written, considering my most miserable state and condition. For the which your most abundant goodness, benignity, and licence, the immortal God, three and one, reward your majesty." He then goes on to protest his innocence of the charge of high treason with extraordinary vehemence. "As I ever," he says, "have had love to your majesty's person, life, prosperity, health, wealth, joy, and comfort, ... God so help me in this mine adversity, and confound me if ever I thought the contrary. . . . . If it were in my power, as it is in God's, to make your majesty to live ever young and prosperous, God knoweth I would. . . . Should any faction, or any affection to any point, make me a traitor to your majesty, then all the devils in hell confound me, and the vengeance of God light upon me if I should once have thought it . . . . I would to Christ I had obeyed

your often most gracious, grave counsels and advertisements, then it had not been with me as now it is. Yet our Lord, if it be his will, can do with me as he did with Susan, who was falsely accused. . . . If I would not. . . . willingly die for your comfort, I would I were in hell, and I would I should receive a thousand deaths." All this may not be thought very dignified; but it seems to betray strength of conviction if not strength of character, and rather an excessive ardour of temperament than that cold Machiavelism and absence of all principle which is imputed to Cromwell by the Romish writers. He went to his death in that perplexing manner of which we have several other examples in this reign, leaving the true character and meaning of his whole life and conduct uncertain and disputable if we were to attempt to make it out only from his dying words. He was beheaded on Tower Hill on the 28th of July, and in a speech which he made on the scaffold, after thanking God for having appointed him such a death for his offences, and remarking that he had been a great traveller in the world, and, being but of a base degree, had been called to great estate, and since coming thereunto had offended his prince, for which he heartily asked him forgiveness, he added, "And now I pray you that be here to bear me record, I die in the Catholic faith, not doubting in any article of my faith, no, nor doubting in any sacrament of the Church. Many hath slandered me, and reported that I have been a bearer of such as have maintained evil opinions, which is untrue; but I confess, that, like as God by his holy spirit doth instruct us in the truth, so the devil is ready to seduce us, and I have been seduced; but bear me witness that I die in the Catholic faith of the Holy Church." It seems hardly possible to interpret these expressions as meaning any thing else than that he had at one time held certain heretical opinions which he now renounced; if not this, what did he mean by saying that he had been seduced, *but* that he now died in the Catholic faith? Nevertheless Burnet, although he confesses that, "by what he spoke at his death, he left it much doubted of what religion he died."

insists that it is certain he was a Lutheran. "The term Catholic faith," Burnet goes on, "used by him in his last speech, seemed to make it doubtful; but that was then used in England in its true sense, in opposition to the novelties of the see of Rome . . . So that his profession of the Catholic faith was strangely perverted, when some from thence concluded that he died in the communion of the Church of Rome. But his praying in English, and that only to God through Christ, without any of those tricks that were used when those of that church died, showed he was none of theirs."

John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, perished at Bosworth Field in the year 1485, bravely fighting for Richard III. Being attainted by the first parliament of Henry VII., all his great estates and property of every kind were forfeited to the crown. His son Thomas, who had been created Earl of Surrey during his father's life-time (in the year 1483, and by Richard III.), was also in the battle of Bosworth Field; and, after fighting valiantly, and being severely wounded, he was taken prisoner. The earl was also attainted; he was thrown into the Tower, and was for some time thought to be in imminent danger of losing his head. He lay in close prison more than three years, but was liberated and restored to the earldom of Surrey in 1489. He had conciliated Henry VII. by his prudent and cautious behaviour. When re-admitted at court, he rapidly rose in the good graces of the politic sovereign. His son, Lord Thomas Howard, was allowed to marry, about the year 1495, the

Lady Anne Plantagenet, youngest daughter to Edward IV., to whom, when only a child, he had been affianced at the beginning of the reign of Richard III. By this marriage the Lord Thomas Howard had four children, who are said to have all died young. His wife, the Lady Anne, died in 1512 or 1513,* the date being uncertain, and a very short time after her decease the Lord Thomas married the Lady Elizabeth, daughter to Edward Stafford duke of Buckingham, the son and successor of the unfortunate duke of that name who was beheaded for insurrection and treason in the time of Richard III. When he so hurriedly contracted this second marriage, the Lord Thomas was forty years old, the bride scarcely fifteen. But there was another circumstance which cast a gloom over this hurried marriage: the Lady Elizabeth was tenderly attached to the young Earl of Westmoreland, and was on the point of being married to him when the richer and far more powerful Howard demanded her hand, and induced her weak father to break off the previous match. From this marriage proceeded Henry, the eldest son (the poet, and the subject of the present memoir), Thomas, who afterwards became Viscount Bindon, and Mary, who married Henry Fitzroy duke of Richmond.

Thomas the restored Earl of Surrey continued to

* There is an evident want of accuracy in all this part of the history of the Howard family. It is not known with any precision in what year the Lady Anne Plantagenet died, nor can any details be found respecting her life. It is said that the four children she bore her husband were all sons, and that they all died very young; but the dates of their deaths are not known, nor does there appear to be any authentic record about them. Neither the date of the second marriage, nor the date of Surrey's birth is anywhere given in registers or family documents. These facts have been acknowledged by a member of the family who has devoted much care to the inspection of documents. *See Indications of memorials, monuments, paintings, &c., of persons of the Howard family, by Henry Howard, of Corby Castle.* A.D. 1834.

prosper under Henry VII., and was repeatedly employed in cases of emergency by that king, to whose despotic and rapacious system of government he was exceedingly submissive. On the accession of Henry VIII. he continued in favour at court; and in February 1514, as a reward for his great victory obtained over the Scots at Flodden Field, in September, 1513, he was created Duke of Norfolk, his son Thomas, the father of the poet, being at the same time created Earl of Surrey. This duke had the good fortune to die in his bed in 1524, before Henry VIII. plunged into blood. He had been lord high treasurer as well as earl marshal. On his decease the father of the poet succeeded to the dukedom and to the high offices which his father had held. When the tyranny began, he, as much as any great man living, flattered the tyrant and aided him in his deeds. The date of the poet's birth is not known. It is said to have been in 1515 or 1516, or two or three years after the battle of Flodden Field. But others assign a still more recent and less probable date; and this difference, which exists even among professed heralds and genealogists, is a pretty convincing proof that the date is very doubtful and uncertain. Doubts are also entertained as to the place of his birth; but the probability is, that he was born at Framlingham Castle, in Suffolk. Nearly at the same time (or, as we are disposed to believe, somewhat later), that he came into the world, which he afterwards described as a place which

> "But serves us for a stage to play
> Our tragedies upon,"

was born that Henry Fitzroy and natural son of Henry VIII. who subsequently became the poet's brother-in law. According to several concurrent traditions, the two boys were educated and brought up together, and thus contracted a friendship which lasted till death. A minute search into documents seems to prove that they could not have lived much together until Surrey was

fourteen or fifteen years old;* but there is nothing to disprove the belief that they might have met frequently before that time, and have played together as thoughtless happy boys at Windsor. Nay, if we are to believe Surrey's own words in one of his poems (and the passage is as much entitled to be taken in an autobiographical sense as other verses which have been so interpreted, and which they do not in reality contradict), he certainly spent some of his boyish or childish years with Henry Fitzroy in the place which had so long been the residence of the poetical James I. of Scotland. The passage is this :—

——"Proud Windsor, where I, in lust and joy,
With a king's son, my childish years did pass
In greater feast than Priam's son of Troy."

This is a distinct statement from that contained in another passage in the same poem, which has been cited as a proof that they were young men before they met at Windsor Castle, in

"Those large green courts, where we were wont to rove,
With eyes cast up unto the Maiden Tower,
With easy sighs, such as men draw in love."

But there is no inconsistency or contradiction in the two passages: they may have passed some time together, and have studied together at Windsor as boys, and have met there and lived there afterwards as youths. We know that the king's natural son was sent to Sheriff Hutton, in Yorkshire, when he was about six years old; but we do not know how long or how short a time he stayed there; and although Surrey went to live with his father at Kenninghall, in Norfolk, when he was about eight years old, we have nothing to show that he constantly resided there during the rest of his boyhood. Dr. Nott, his laborious but somewhat dull and pedantic biographer, who loves to weave dark cobwebs over tradition, treats the subject as if there were no travelling in

* Dr. Nott. 'Memoirs of Surrey,' prefixed to his edition of the works of Surrey and Sir Thomas Wyatt.

those days for a noble, or even for a princely boy. The king being exceedingly fond of his son was likely to have him frequently in the neighbourhood of the court, and to look out for a companion and playmate for him of his own age; and where could he suit himself better than in the young, noble, and promising Howard? Wherever the poet alludes to Henry Fitzroy, it is as the dear friend and playmate of early life. In 1525, when he is said to have been only in his tenth or eleventh year, Henry Fitzroy was created Earl of Nottingham and Duke of Richmond and Somerset, and ample revenues were allotted to him to maintain a household or little court.* Great care was taken of his education; his father, the king, prided himself on his own learning, and Cardinal Wolsey, who had an ardent and sincere love of literature, was his god-father. As he grew up, he became master of several languages, and attained to an excellent taste in polite literature. Similar pains were taken in the education of the young Surrey, who counted among his kinsmen Bouchier Lord Berners, the translator of Froissart's Chronicles; Thomas Lord Stafford, who wrote in verse, and was the cause of the publication of the 'Mirror for Magistrates;' Edward Vere, Earl of Oxford, who was a poet; Lord Morley, who was conversant with Italian literature, and published some translations from Petrarca; George Boleyn (afterwards Lord Rochford), brother to Anne Boleyn, who wrote songs and sonnets, and to one or two other noblemen who were distinguished by their literary acquirements. As a boy, Surrey was noted for the quickness of his natural parts, and for the progress he had made in his studies. Anthony à Wood, a pleasant gossip, but a bad historical authority where his assertions are not supported by other evidence, says that Surrey was sent to complete his education at Oxford, and that it was *probable* the Duke of Richmond (Henry Fitzroy) accompanied him thither.

* The age of Henry Fitzroy may, very probably, be misstated. We cannot discover that the date of his birth is anywhere given with any pretension to accuracy.

There is not the shadow of a proof that either of these young men ever studied either at Oxford or at Cambridge, either singly or together. From the evidence of Surrey's poems, we are inclined to believe that they completed their studies together at Windsor (to which fair place Surrey so frequently alludes), leading a happy life among

> "The stately seats, the ladies bright of hue,
> The dances short, long tales of sweet delights."

On the 13th of February, 1532, when Surrey, according to the date usually (but, as we fancy, incorrectly) given to his birth, was only sixteen or seventeen years old, he was contracted to the Lady Frances Vere, daughter of John earl of Oxford. The marriage was to take place on or before the feast of the Pentecost next ensuing; and it is believed to have been solemnized at the time agreed upon. Only a few months after this marriage Surrey visited France in company with the Duke of Richmond, and was present at the interview which took place at Boulogne between Francis I. and Henry VIII., the latter sovereign being accompanied by Anne Boleyn, who was not yet his wife. Anne Boleyn was niece to Surrey's father, the Duke of Norfolk, who laboured without conscience or delicacy to bring about her aggrandizement, and who, in furtherance of her elevation to the throne, behaved both basely and barbarously to Cardinal Wolsey and to Sir Thomas More. After the interview between his father and the French king, the Duke of Richmond went to Paris, whither his friend Surrey appears to have accompanied him. Surrey, however, could not have stayed long in that capital, for at Anne Boleyn's coronation, on Whitsuntide, 1533, he bore one of the state swords in the procession. In the month of August of the same year the Duke of Richmond was recalled by the king from Paris to London; and a few months after this he was married to the Lady Mary Howard, Surrey's only sister, through the intervention, it is said, of Anne Boleyn, who had received such important services from her uncle the Duke

of Norfolk. On account of their own youth, and the still tenderer age of their respective brides, neither Surrey nor Richmond lived with their wives until 1535. The intervening year was spent wholly or in part by the two young men at Windsor, riding and hunting, rendering themselves perfect in military exercises, and making half Platonic and half troubadour love to ladies that were not their brides, but more accessible than they. There was a good deal of this nonsense at the time, and it may possibly have been innocent enough, or at least free from any direct guilt; but Doctor Nott commits a great error in challenging continence and morality as characteristics of this age. Years after this happy residence at Windsor, and when Richmond was in his grave, and Surrey no longer a happy man, he wrote the following lines, which give a lively picture of the kind of life he had led at that royal seat, and which are at the same time a good specimen of his poetical powers. The amusements were many.

"The palm-play, where, despoiled for the game,
With dazed eyes oft we by gleams of love,
Have miss'd the ball, and got sight of our dame,
To bait her eyes, which kept the leads above.

The gravel'd ground, with sleeves tied on the helm,
On foaming horse, with swords and friendly hearts·
With cheer, as though one should another whelm,
Where we have fought and chased oft with darts.

With silver drops the meads yet spread for ruth;
In active games of nimbleness and strength,
Where we did strain, trained with swarms of youth,
Our tender limbs, that yet shot up in length.

The secret groves, which oft we made resound
Of pleasant plaint, and of our ladies' praise;
Recording soft what grace each one had found,
What hope of speed, what dread of long delays.

The wild forest, the clothed holts with green;
With reins availed, and swift y-breathed horse,
With cry of hounds, and merry blasts between,
Where we did chase the fearful hart of force.

The void walls eke that harbour'd us each night:
Wherewith, alas! revive within my breast
The sweet accord, such sleeps as yet delight;
The pleasant dreams, the quiet bed of rest,
The secret thoughts, imparted with such trust;
The wanton talk, the divers change of play;
The friendship sworn, each promise kept so just,
Wherewith we past the winter nights away.
And with this thought the blood forsakes the face;
The tears berain my cheeks of deadly hue:
The which, as soon as sobbing sighs, alas!
Up-supped have, thus I my plaint renew:
'O place of bliss! renewer of my woes!
Give me account, where is my noble fere?
Whom in thy walls thou did'st each night enclose:
To other lief; but unto me most dear.'
Echo, alas! that doth my sorrow rue,
Returns thereto a hollow sound of plaint.
Thus I alone, where all my freedom grew,
In prison pine, with bondage and restraint;
And with remembrance of the greater grief,
To banish the less, I find my chief relief."

In 1535 Surrey and his young wife kept house together; he apparently having left his friend the Duke of Richmond still at Windsor. In March, 1536, Surrey's eldest son, Thomas, was born. With a superstition common to the time, he called in an astrologer to cast the child's nativity. According to a calculation which has been preserved, the stars foreboded that the infant would suffer sorrow and misfortunes, and that his father would come to an untimely end. But we suspect this bit of astrology to have been written on what Gibbon calls the safe side of prophecy, that is to say, after the event; for the paid star-gazers always predicted greatness and happiness to such as could pay them well, and no man of that craft would show such a nativity to such a personage as Surrey. Troubles, however, awaited the earl on his first entrance into public life. Sir Thomas More was proved a true prophet in regard to the speedy downfal of Anne Boleyn. On May-day, 1536, the king pub-

licly showed his displeasure and rage against her at Greenwich, and the next day she was met upon the river by her uncle the Duke of Norfolk, Audley the Chancellor, and Thomas Cromwell, who informed her that she was accused of adultery, and who conveyed her to the Tower. From the moment that Norfolk perceived that his niece, whom he had helped to make queen, was falling from her high estate, he strove to do away the evil impressions which might be made on the king's mind by his near relationship to Anne, and by the aid he had given her, with a great display of zeal for the king's honour, and of forwardness in taking part in all proceedings against his unhappy and at least imprudent niece.* In his quality of earl marshal he could scarcely avoid presiding at her trial; but he did more than this, and much that he did was gratuitous labour, or was undertaken under base personal fears of the king's anger or suspicion. These great men, who had helped to build up a despotism, now felt that none of their heads could be safe under it, unless they were subservient in all things to the tyrant. On the 15th of May Anne Boleyn was brought to trial in Westminster Hall, before seven and twenty right noble peers, who had been selected by the king as men sure to give the death sentence he wanted, in order that he might marry Jane Seymour—which he did the very day after the execution of Anne. Not only did her uncle the Duke of Norfolk sit upon this trial, but Anne's own father was one of her judges! Norfolk presided as lord high steward; and his son the poetical Surrey sate under him as his representative as earl marshal. Norfolk, as president of the court, pronounced the iniquitous and brutal sentence, by which she was either to be burned alive on the green in the Tower, or beheaded, as the king in his pleasure should think fit. Biographers, assuming from his poetry

* These facts rest upon the indisputable testimony of the State Papers relating to the reign of Henry VIII., edited by the Record Commission, and published by Government. These papers contain many letters written by Norfolk himself, some to the king, some to the lords of the council, &c.

that Surrey was a person of lively sensibility, and of a highly generous nature, sympathise with the grief he must have felt on this occasion. But they can produce nothing to show the existence of any such grief; and the poet, like his father, continued to be the assiduous and devoted courtier of Henry VIII., and he certainly took part in many transactions which ill accord with the gentle spirit of poetry; not bearing in mind the sentiment he expresses in verse—

> "Such craft returns to thine own harm, and doth thyself defile."

About a month after the execution of Anne Boleyn Surrey's uncle the Lord Thomas Howard was attainted of high treason and committed to the Tower, for having married the Lady Margaret Douglas without the king's permission. Although this lady was niece to the king, there was then no act of parliament which made the marriage criminal; but Henry had set himself above all law, and Lords and Commons were now ready to take his will for law. The Lord Thomas was not brought to the scaffold; he languished in the Tower for nearly two years, and then and there died, of a broken heart, say some, but according to others of poison, administered to him as the easiest means of dissolving his marriage with the king's niece. That lady, who had been shut up in prison, was liberated as soon as her husband was dead. She was afterwards married to the Earl of Lennox, and by him was mother to the ill-starred Lord Darnley, husband to Mary Queen of Scots, and father to our James I. These tyrannous proceedings were enough to make all great men tremble, and to engender in them subserviency, trickery, and cunning; and they lasted until scarcely any honour or spirit was left in the English aristocracy.

The gentle and accomplished Duke of Richmond was one of the few persons who attended the execution of Anne Boleyn on the green within the tower. He did not survive that event more than two months and three days, dying on the 22nd of July, 1536, leaving Surrey's

sister a very handsome, young, and childless widow. On this occasion the poet's grief appears to have been certain, and sincere, and deep. He frequently recalls the memory of his departed friend in his poems. According to the old and well-known story, it was some time after losing his dear friend that Surrey, leaving his young wife and child at home, went upon an extensive tour to the continent, and signalized himself in Italy by maintaining in tilts and tournaments against all comers the superiority of the charms of the fair Geraldine over those of all womankind. There is more than one point in this old story which must ever remain endeared to the poet and the painter; but the historian and biographer must, we fear, discard the whole narrative as fabulous. It is proved almost beyond the reach of a doubt that Surrey could not have been absent from England, except perhaps for a month or two during the period assigned to his extensive tour and long residence at Venice, Florence, Milan, &c.; and indeed that he never was in Italy at all. Although he names the city of Florence in one of his poems (which is the only one in which he names Geraldine) as the birth-place of the ancestors of his enigmatical mistress, the Lady Geraldine, he merely names it; and in all his writings there is not one descriptive passage which can be referred to Italy, or to any part of it—there is no allusion either to the touching remains of ancient, or the glorious productions of modern art, with which that beautiful peninsula was then crowded. Leonardo da Vinci and Raphael had been dead only a few years; Michael Angelo was alive and at the height of his glory, and Correggio, and Parmegiano, and Titian were flourishing, and the subject of every cultivated Italian's discourse and praise. It was utterly impossible for any one to make even a hurried journey through Italy without seeing the works of these immortal masters, and if they had been seen by a poet like Surrey they must have found some mention in his writings. Nor could Surrey have visited the native country of Petrarca, his favourite poet, without noticing the fact anywhere, and without devoting a line to the place of his birth, or to

Arquà (near Venice), where he died, and where his remains were lying in a remarkable tomb. No poet could have seen the mountains and valleys, the lakes and ruins, and the other grand and beautiful features of Italian scenery without leaving some allusion to them—something to denote that he had seen them, and had been impressed by them. Nor could a man like Surrey, illustrious by birth and still more by genius and personal accomplishments, have lived in the great cities of Italy without attracting the notice of the Italians of that most literary and poetical age. Yet there is not to be found so much as the name or title of Surrey mentioned by any contemporary Italian writer. As for the love-challenges and tournaments, they had never been much in vogue in that peninsula, and they had entirely gone out of fashion long before the time of our noble poet. If he had ever issued such challenges the Italians would have laughed at him, and his eccentricities would have been recorded both in prose and in mock heroic verse. As Doctor Nott has shown, the simple truth appears to be, that the gossiping Anthony à Wood, who was the first to relate this marvellous tour as an authentic piece of biography, took the whole story from the romance of 'Jack Wilton,' written by Nash, and published in 1594, many years after Surrey's death, altering the romance where it suited his purpose, and suppressing some incidents and adventures (such as Surrey's being engaged in a dishonourable intrigue and thrown into prison at Venice) which would not have suited the romantic texture he was weaving, or have raised the character of the noble poet whom Anthony was eulogizing. Nash's romance, which is full of the most palpable anachronisms, contains the tilts and tournaments and challenges in Italy, the visit at Florence to the very chamber in which Geraldine was born, and the scene at the emperor's court in Germany, where that mighty magician Cornelius Agrippa gratified the poet with a sight of his fair Geraldine in a magic mirror, as she lay on a couch, mourning for his absence: all these things are to be found in 'Jack Wilton,' and are not to be traced to any other source. Walter Scott

has turned the striking story of the mirror to good account. But Nash has another incident which is not so well known. At an earlier stage of Surrey's travels, he makes Surrey acquainted with Erasmus, and makes Cornelius Agrippa conjure up the ghost of Cicero, in order that the earl and Erasmus may hear him recite his oration for Roscius, which the said ghost does "with such fervent exaltation of spirits, and such soul-stirring gestures," as fill the auditors with amazement.

Who the fair Geraldine was, or whether she was anything more than an ideal mistress, invented in imitation of the Laura of Petrarca, or the Beatrice of Dante, for the mere purposes of poetry (a wife being considered too real and homely for such an end), has never yet been ascertained satisfactorily, although it has been usual to give that character a real existence in the person of a beautiful Irish lady—the Lady Elizabeth Fitzgerald, more commonly called the Lady Elizabeth Garrat. This lady's family were sometimes called the Fitzgeralds, and sometimes the Geraldines. She was daughter to Gerald Fitzgerald, ninth earl of Kildare, whose ancestors were said (without any evidence to support the assertion, and a good deal to contradict it) to have descended from the Geraldi of Florence. This lady was about eight years old when Nash brings her out in the magic mirror languishing for love of Surrey, and when he makes Surrey challenge the chivalry of Italy in support of her claim to unrivalled beauty. About the year 1542, when this lady was about fourteen years old, she became one of the ladies of the chamber to the Princess Mary, afterwards Queen Mary. In the following year, when she could not have been much more than fifteen years old, she was married to Sir Anthony Brown, who was sixty. On Sir Anthony's death, in 1549, she became the third wife of Henry Clinton earl of Lincoln, whom she survived.* Surrey,

* The worthy bearer of the name of Howard, from whom we have already quoted, believes that Geraldine was purely an imaginary person, a Phillis or Chloe; that the poet was fondly attached to his wife; that at the date assigned to

who was married to the Lady Frances Vere in 1535, may have become acquainted at court with this fair young Irishwoman in 1542 or 1543, and may have conceived for her a Platonic or romantic affection, but the facts are not mentioned by any contemporary, nor are they borne out by Surrey's own writings; and although the famous sonnet may be made applicable to this lady, it is exceedingly doubtful whether any of the other passages in Surrey's poems can be at all considered as referring to her. It seems even probable that some of his amorous verses were really addressed to his own fair young wife, or intended as descriptions of her charms. But that which has been generally taken for passion may, in almost every case, be referred to an imitation of the matter as well as the manner of Petrarca. Surrey appears to have been busy in England during the period fixed for his fabulous travels. In May, 1536, he was present at the trial of Anne Boleyn, and in the month of October of the same year he was knighted by the king at St. James's. He held some offices at court, and when in the country he appears to have been occupied in building a celebrated mansion called Mount Surrey, near the city of Norwich. In the month of October, 1537, when the queen, Jane Seymour, escaped a worse fate at the hands of her capricious and tyrannical husband, by dying after an accouchement, the Earl of Surrey was appointed one of the chief mourners. He is to be traced as resident in England from this date down to the end of the year 1540; and during the interval a young family was growing up around him, and he lived, as far as evidence or probability goes, very affectionately with his wife. At the beginning of the year 1540, when Henry married the Lady Anne of Cleves, Surrey greatly distinguished himself in the jousts and tournaments which were held on that occasion; and towards the close of that year he was

the famous sonnet wherein Surrey mentions her name, the Irish Geraldine was only *ten* years old; that at Surrey's execution this young lady was only eighteen, having been sixty when she died in the month of March, 1589.

sent over to Calais with Lord Russel and the Earl of Southampton, to see that everything within the English pale was in a proper state of defence, as an attack was apprehended from the French king. But Surrey's stay was very short, for he was back at court before Christmas. In the autumn of 1541 he was appointed, conjointly with his father the Duke of Norfolk, Steward of the University of Cambridge.

In the course of this year the whole of the Howard family must have been thrown into more or less consternation by an uxorious revolution at court. Having put away the Lady Anne of Cleves as an unlovable and insupportable wife, the king, in the month of August, 1540, had married the pretty Lady Catherine Howard, who was niece to Surrey's father the duke of Norfolk. The king declared that he had never wived well until now: but in less than a year the dear Catherine was in the Tower, charged with incontinence before marriage and adultery after it. There was a driving and scrambling for evidence among all the members of the Howard family, and among all their servants and dependants: menials and gentlemen were put to the rack in order to extort confession, and the dowager duchess of Norfolk, the widow of the hero of Flodden field (in whose household the young Catherine had been brought up), was imprisoned, plundered, and tormented in an execrable manner, as were also her son the Lord William Howard, her daughter the Lady Bridgwater, and Lord William's wife. The old duchess-dowager behaved with honour and courage, but not so did other members of her family. The duke of Norfolk steered much the same course as he had previously done in the affairs of that other unhappy niece Anne Boleyn; and in servile letters to the king he deplored his calamity in being uncle to two such bad women. The right noble duke, in a letter which is still preserved, calls the old duchess "his ungracious mother-in-law," his sister Lady Bridgwater his "lewd sister," and speaks of his brother Lord William and of all the rest of the family that were in the Tower as flagrantly guilty, and altogether undeserving of mercy:

nay, he takes credit to himself for having been a principal informer against his hapless niece the Lady Catherine Howard, whose youthful indiscretions—if she had been really guilty of them, which is doubtful—were not punishable by any civil law, and whose guilt after her union with the king was only sustained by evidence extorted from some at the rack, and from others through dread of it. "Prostrate at your feet," says the duke to the tyrant, "I most humbly beseech your majesty to call to your remembrance that a great part of this matter is come to light by my declaration to your majesty."* As the Lady Catherine was not brought to a trial like the Lady Anne, his grace of Norfolk had not to pronounce sentence of death upon this niece, who was attainted by act of parliament without any examination, and in virtue of that attainder consigned to the block. Yet it should appear that the duke voted on that bill. Other members of the family were condemned to perpetual imprisonment, forfeiture of goods, and sequestration of estates during their lives; but the duke and his poetical son came off unscathed. Yet Norfolk's conduct only went to increase the fury and the strength of the merciless despot, and to pave the way to the scaffold for himself and his son whenever Henry might conceive suspicions, or take offence against anything they did or said. In April, 1542, two months after the execution of his fair kinswoman, Catherine Howard, the poet was made knight of the Garter.

But in the month of July of the same year he fell into disgrace, and incurred a painful imprisonment for having challenged John à Leigh, a gentleman of good family, lord of the manor of Stockwell in Middlesex, and a relation of his own, in consequence of some private quarrel, the real ground of which has never been discovered. He was committed to the Fleet Prison—a foul and pestiferous place at that time—and was there to remain during the king's pleasure, having two of his servants to attend upon him, but no friends suffered to resort to ban-

* State Papers collected and edited by the Record Commission.

quet with him. He did not bear his punishment with much equanimity. When he had been only a few days in prison he wrote a piteous letter to the Lords of the Council, pleading his youth and inexperience, "the fury of reckless youth," professing great penitence and submission, and imploring the lords to be a means with the king of obtaining his liberation from "this noisome prison, whose pestilent airs are not unlike to bring some alteration of health." He made several applications before his prayer was attended to. At last he was removed to Windsor on the 1st of August; and on the 5th of that month he was liberated, having entered into a recognizance of 10,000 marks not to offer any bodily displeasure, either by word or deed, or by himself, his servants, or any other at his procurement, to John à Leigh, esquire, or any of his. Immediately after his liberation he was sent to join his father, the Duke of Norfolk, who was invading Scotland with 20,000 men. This proved to be a very inglorious campaign, for Norfolk could scarcely penetrate a good day's march beyond the borders, nor stay on Scottish ground longer than eight days, at the end of which he savagely burned twenty villages and the town of Kelso (as many years before he had burned the town and beautiful old abbey of Jedburgh*), and then hastily retreated to Berwick. Surrey commemorated in one of his poems the fact of his seeing "Kelsal blaze." In every way it was an inglorious raid, for Henry VIII. and the duke of Norfolk were in close correspondence with a set of traitorous Scots lords, who had undertaken to betray their king, and who did betray him, and break his heart not long afterwards.

A few months after his return from Scotland Surrey was again in disgrace, being summoned, on the 1st of April, 1543, before the Privy Council, to answer for two

* In his first Scottish campaign, the poet's father or the army under his command was unusually destructive and ferocious. According to the Scottish historian, Buchanan, they destroyed whatever they could reach, sparing neither the turreted castle nor the straw-covered hut.

offences with which he had been charged—the one for having eaten meat in Lent-time contrary to the king's prohibition, the other for having "in a lewd and unseemly manner of walking," strolled about the streets of London by night, breaking the citizens' windows with stones discharged from a cross-bow. "Touching the eating of flesh," says the minute in the Privy Council book, "he alleged a licence; although he had not so secretly used the same as appertained; and touching the stone-bows, he could not deny that he had had very evil-doings therein, submitting himself therefore to such punishment as should be thought good: whereupon he was committed to the Fleet." The elaborate Dr. Nott takes a deep concern in this wild escapade, and justifies his hero in a manner unprecedented even among biographers. In introducing the subject, he calls it "a singular occurrence," which, he adds, "marks the *romantic* turn of Surrey's mind; and enables us to form some opinion as to the nature of his sentiments *on the subject of religion.*" The doctor then gives the two charges, with Surrey's answer to them; but not thinking that answer, as recorded in the Privy Council book, enough for his purpose (and there is no other answer or pleading in existence), he turns over Surrey's poems, and takes a passage out of a bitter satire against the citizens of London, which the poet wrote in his spite at their having accused him, and condensing this passage, and turning it into prose, the doctor gives it as part of a defensive speech, delivered by the night-wandering and window-breaking earl to "my lords" of the privy council, not hesitating to introduce an abuse of "papal Rome," which does not exist in the satire, and which can hardly be wrung from it by any implication or forced meaning. In the satire, which is the worst thing Surrey ever wrote, being in fact not a half jocose poem, but a savage and utterly tasteless declamation, he says nothing about his "lewd and unseemly manner of walking" in the night, but declares that he was excited to the breaking of the citizens' windows by the dissolute life, the pride, envy, malice, sloth, gluttony, drunkenness, greed of lucre, and other

loathsome vices of the citizens: and that he thought, as sinful men are alarmed at "the fearful thunder-clap," so the citizens, startled out of their sluggard sleep by his cross-bow, might be moved to fear and repentance by the sudden rapping of his pebble-stones. But Doctor Nott, who does not appear to know or to suspect that Henry VIII. was no Protestant, that there were no declared Protestants, properly so called, at that time in England, that Protestants were burning at the stake, and that the noble Howards, one and all (with the exception of the widowed Duchess of Richmond), were strongly attached to the old religion, although the Duke of Norfolk and his son Surrey conformed with the will of the king, who was still the champion of all the great and distinctive dogmas of the Roman church, and aided him in despoiling the monastic orders and in persecuting such as (like Sir Thomas More) would not acknowledge the king's spiritual supremacy,—Dr. Nott will have it that the earl broke the windows of the citizens because they were unconverted Roman Catholics! If modes of faith had anything to do with the exploit, it is much more likely that Surrey became a window-breaker out of his hatred of the sacramentaries.* On the same day that he was brought before the Privy Council, there appeared in the same presence Thomas Wyatt the younger and young Pickering, who were charged with the same offences. They confessed to the charge about eating meat in Lent-time, pleading, as Surrey had done, that they had a licence—and licences or indulgences of this sort continued to be granted by the crown, as they had been granted before by the pope, long

* Mr. Henry Howard, of Corby Castle, is astonished—as well he may be—at Dr. Nott's making Surrey a Protestant in the teeth of the evidence that lay before him. This careful examiner of family documents says decidedly that Surrey was a Catholic—that his wife was a Catholic, and because she was so, her children, after her husband's execution, were taken from her by the Protestant Seymours, and sent to be brought up by the Duchess of Richmond, who made profession of the Reformed faith.

after the Reformation, which was now in reality only beginning, had been carried out and completed*—but they stiffly denied the window-breaking with stones and cross-bows. Wyatt was sent to the Compter, and Pickering to the Porter's Lodge. The next day they were again called before the Council, and then, after some resistance, they confessed that they had been window-breakers; and thereupon they were both committed, not to the Fleet but to the Tower. Wyatt, who was son of Sir Thomas Wyatt, the poet and friend of Surrey, lost his head through an insane insurrection he made at the beginning of the reign of Queen Mary; but so far from being a champion of the Protestant cause, as Doctor Nott calls him, he was even at that distance of time a Papist. The best excuse to plead for all the three night-strollers and window-breakers, would be to say that it was some frolic of intoxication; and notwithstanding Surrey's solemn and savage satire, we are more than half disposed to believe that he and his friends Wyatt and Pickering had acted upon no other impulse than that which has animated some lordlings in our own day to break windows and wrench knockers from doors. Wyatt and Pickering were liberated on the 3rd of May, upon their entering into a recognizance of 200*l.* each for their good behaviour in time to come. How long Surrey remained a prisoner in the Fleet does not seem to be clearly ascertained; but it could not have been very long, for in the month of October of this same year, 1543, he was campaigning in France with Sir John Wallop. He gained great applause by his conduct at the siege of Landrecy, although that siege ended in a downright failure, and although the whole campaign was rather disgraceful than otherwise to the English, who were well-nigh losing all their artillery on their retreat to Calais. Surrey returned to England some time in November. Shortly after his return he took into his family, in the quality of a physi-

* Several of these licences or indulgences granted under Edward VI., and even under Queen Elizabeth, are to be found in Rymer's Fœdera.

cian, the learned and celebrated Hadrian Junius, who appears to have been introduced to him by the notorious bishop Bonner. He gave this scholar comfortable apartments in his mansion of Kenninghall, and allowed him a yearly pension of fifty angels. Junius appears to have acted as tutor to Surrey's sons, as well as physician to the whole family. In the month of July, 1544, when Henry took the field in France "like a very god of war," the vanguard of the army was commanded by the Duke of Norfolk, and Surrey held the office of Marshal of the Army. Boulogne was reduced after a two months' siege and the consumption of an incredible quantity of gunpowder; but there the glory of the campaign ended; and upon the king's departure for England jealousies and fierce quarrels broke out between Norfolk and the Earl of Hertford, who had risen rapidly in favours and power, as brother to Jane Seymour and uncle to Prince Edward, the heir apparent. Surrey behaved bravely, and was seriously wounded in one affair; but the campaign, like all the expeditions of Henry VIII. on the continent, was but a pompous parade, ending in downright failure. Both Surrey and his father, after leaving a weak garrison in Boulogne, were obliged to make a run of it from that place to the strong walls of Calais, being pursued by the Dauphin. Both father and son came over to England. Late in the summer of the following year Surrey again crossed over to Calais with 5000 men, and was there joined by 3000 more. To equip himself for this expedition he had been obliged to mortgage some property. His force was not sufficient to undertake any great enterprise, and there appears to have been no very good understanding between him and the officers serving under him or with him. The French were now attempting to recapture Boulogne. Surrey solicited for the command of that place with an earnestness which displeased the king. After much importunity he obtained that command in the month of September. He found Boulogne in a weak and almost helpless condition, and he soon made it strong and drove away most of the French that were beleaguering it. Even du Bellay and other French

writers of the time speak with admiration of his energy and activity, and great personal courage. Early in the spring of the following year, having sallied out of Boulogne, Surrey sustained a defeat near St. Etienne, a portion of his infantry being seized with a sudden panic, and flying off the field in shameful disorder. He remained at Boulogne some three months after this reverse, and he so little expected being recalled from the command that he requested the king to allow his wife to go over and join him. But towards the end of March Surrey learned from a friend at court that the Earl of Hertford, the enemy of his house, had been appointed to the supreme command of all the English territories in France. The friend at court, who was Secretary Paget, advised Surrey to conciliate Hertford by submissive behaviour, knowing well that the earl was now all-powerful. The Duke of Norfolk appears to have been submissive enough, for, sinking his family pride, he proposed to marry his daughter, the Duchess of Richmond, widow to the king's natural son, and Surrey's bosom friend, Henry Fitzroy, to Hertford's brother, Sir Thomas Seymour, who afterwards married Catherine Parr, the widow of Henry VIII., and who, during that marriage, is more than suspected of having aspired to the hand of the Princess Elizabeth, and to a seat upon, or by, the English throne. Hertford, who, as Duke of Somerset and Lord Protector under Edward VI., conceived such a dread of his brother's ambition and rivalry that he brought him to the scaffold, was very probably alarmed at the proposed match with the Duchess of Richmond, which, by giving his brother the support of the great House of Norfolk, might have made Lord Thomas Seymour more powerful than the Earl of Hertford. Yet, on the other hand, it has been surmised that Sir Thomas already entertained much higher matrimonial views, and was averse to match with the widow of the king's natural son. It appears that the Duchess of Richmond herself had no inclination whatever to the match proposed by her father, and, as she afterwards said very distinctly, recommended and urged upon her by her

brother Surrey, who "urged her to marry Sir Thomas Seymour, wishing her to endear herself so into the king's favour that she might the better bear rule, as others had done."*

There is nothing to show whether Surrey did or did not make other efforts to conciliate Hertford, or whether he did or did not solicit to hold an inferior command in the army in France. Hertford arrived at Calais in the month of April, and at the same time Surrey received the King's orders to return to England, being told that his Majesty wished to confer with him on the subject of some new fortifications which he had proposed making at Boulogne. But he had no sooner quitted that place, than the command was given to Lord Gray, his personal enemy, and the friend or creature of Hertford. Upon this usage Surrey appears to have broken out furiously against the whole house of Seymour, calling them perfidious men, mushrooms in nobility, and traitors to king and country. He is even said to have threatened them with the sure vengeance of the Howards as soon as the king should be no more; and as Surrey's temper appears to have been at all times rather violent and incautious, and as his provocation was exceedingly great, we may easily credit this assertion. The court and all the high places in England swarmed with spies and eavesdroppers; and there were everywhere men ready to promote their own interests by betraying even the closest confidence of friendship. Surrey was denounced to the king, and was soon lodged as a prisoner in Windsor Castle. His father the Duke of Norfolk, feeling that the wrath of Henry was to be disarmed only by abject submission, wrote a letter to the Lords of the Council, humbly entreating them to give the king thanks for having pleased so to advertise him of his foolish son's demeanour; expressing gladness that his son had behaved humbly and repentantly, and requesting that he might be severely treated, or "earnestly handled,"

* Lord Herbert of Cherbury. Life and Reign of Henry VIII.

in order to prevent his giving his Majesty any cause of discontent hereafter. This imprisonment in Windsor Castle must have been of short duration, for Surrey, who was not committed until the 11th or 12th of July, was at liberty in the month of August, and was then selected by the king, together with his father the Duke of Norfolk and Archbishop Cranmer, to receive at Hampton Court the French ambassador, who had been sent over to ratify the recently concluded peace. Shortly after this grand scene at Hampton Court, Surrey withdrew either to Framlingham Castle or to Kenninghall; and it appears to have been at this doubtful and perilous crisis that a violent quarrel broke out between him and his father the duke. These noble Howards were never a loving or united family. It is supposed that both father and son continued to express in their retirement and among their own household their hatred and contempt of the Seymours, and that these expressions were treacherously reported to the king, who was now languishing in sickness and in great pain, and in constant fear of death. Henry knowing well that Hertford, who would be in a manner the natural guardian of his young son, Prince Edward, was without influence among the high nobility, trembled at the consequences which might result from this declared and rancorous enmity of the Howards; and Hertford, who was constantly with the dying king, certainly believed that he must either strike in time, and by one great blow destroy the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Surrey, while Henry yet lived, or prepare to be destroyed by them as soon as he should be dead. Nor, if we consider the temper of the men and the state of parties at the time, can we for a moment doubt, that if the Seymours had not destroyed the Howards, they would themselves have been brought to the Tower and the scaffold. There were also men in the king's council, besides Cranmer and Lord Russel, who were thorough Protestants in their hearts, though forced by their interests and their fears to declare that the Reformation ought not to go farther than the king had been pleased to carry it; and these men were convinced that the

Howards and most of the old nobility were not only opposed to any further extension of Church Reform, but also averse to much which had been done already in that respect. The Duke of Norfolk was indisputably a zealous Papist, and at the head of that religious party: Lord Hertford was the head of the extreme Protestant party, and perhaps by conviction, and certainly through interest, was disposed to convert the more than half Romish church of England into an essentially Protestant church. The first blow aimed by these Protestant Councillors was at the head of Bishop Gardiner, who was a near friend of the Duke of Norfolk, and one of the most determined Papists in England. Gardiner adroitly warded the blow, but he was driven from the council-board, and excluded by the King from the number of those appointed to be executors of his will and councillors to his infant son. At court Hertford concealed his ulterior views about religion, but in city and country he was regarded as the only man that could and would complete the Reformation. But for this religious feeling he would scarcely have had a party at all. There is no doubt that it was he that convinced the distempered Henry, that to remove Norfolk and his far more able and dangerous son, was a duty he owed, both to his successor Prince Edward, and to his people. The tyrant is less answerable for these last savage acts of his reign, than for any of the state crimes that had been previously committed; for his mind was distempered and weak as well as his body, and in the last stages of the proceedings against the Howards it may be doubted whether he really knew what Hertford and his council were doing.

On the 2nd of December Surrey was summoned from Kenninghall to appear again before the Privy Council, one Sir Richard Southwell, who had formerly professed himself his friend, having deposed "that he knew certain things of the Earl, that touched his fidelity to the King." Surrey's evil genius the Earl of Hertford presided at this meeting of the council, and with the exception of Wriothesly the Chancellor, who was friendly to the old religion, all the ministers and council present

appear to have been implacable enemies of the house of Howard. Surrey "vehemently affirmed himself a true man, desiring to be tried by justice, or else offering himself to fight in his shirt with Southwell. But the Lords for the present only committed them both."* We are not told to what prison Surrey and his accuser were sent in the first instance. When this startling news reached the Duke of Norfolk in the country, he wrote to his friend Bishop Gardiner at London to inquire into the extent of the danger. The Duke's letter was intercepted, and carried to the Privy Council, who thereupon summoned the Duke to appear immediately at court. Norfolk arrived in town on Sunday the 12th of December, when he was seized and sent straight to the Tower. And on the same day Surrey, having been again before the Privy Council, was committed as a traitor to the same dismal prison. Father and son were conveyed, the one by water, the other by land; and neither was aware of the fate of the other. From his dungeon Norfolk wrote to the King, "Undoubtedly I know not that I have offended any man, unless it be such as be angry with me for being quick against such as have been accused for Sacramentaries." [The thorough Protestants of the time, who had seen their friends and teachers burned for denying the real presence in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, were called Sacramentaries.] On Sunday night, immediately after the Duke's arrest, Southwell with Gates and Carew, two men practised in the art of seizure and confiscation, were sent into Norfolk and Suffolk to make sure of the furniture, money, and other moveable property of the Duke and Earl, and to terrify the females of their families, and their domestic servants, into confessions and disclosures that might be turned against the prisoners. Ever since the fall of Cardinal Wolsey this had been the usual and indeed unvaried manner of proceeding. The Duchess of Richmond at once declared that her brother Surrey was noted to be a rash man, and that notwithstanding her natural affection for her father, she would not hide or conceal anything she knew from his

* Lord Herbert.

Majesty's knowledge.* Surrey's wife, having several young children in her nursery, and being near her confinement, was left at Kenninghall; but the Duchess of Richmond and other ladies, together with the servants, were brought up to London, to be "travailed with by the Council," and then to make their depositions. The Duke's wife was to seek in another direction, for she was not living either at Framlingham or Kenninghall, but was residing by herself, and in a very humble way, at Redburne in Hertfordshire. It is said that she had never borne much love to her husband, and that she was not much concerned for her son. The Duchess, it will be remembered, was Lady Elizabeth Stafford, who had been forced by her father the Duke of Buckingham, to break her engagement with the young lord she loved, and to marry Norfolk, who was so much older than herself. In the year 1521, seven or eight years after her marriage with Norfolk, when her father the Duke was sacrificed to the suspicion and tyranny of Henry VIII., it was her husband that pronounced the death-sentence. In doing this Norfolk is said to have wept like a child. Yet previously to Buckingham's attainder and execution his son-in-law Norfolk is reported to have joined his enemies and to have intrigued against him. It is assumed that these things weighed heavily upon the mind of the Duchess of Norfolk, who, however, continued to live with her husband many years after they had occurred. She is described as a woman of violent passions, proud, jealous, suspicious, and revengeful; and the Duke is set down as an inconstant and ungenerous husband, who openly entertained as his favourite or mistress, a young gentlewoman of the name of Holland. After many scandalous quarrels the Duke and Duchess had separated a few years before this great storm, and she had gone to live in Hertfordshire upon a paltry allowance of three hundred marks a year. She had repeatedly complained by letter to the council of the ill-treatment she had received from her husband, declaring that even her insuf-

* State Papers.

ficient allowance was irregularly paid. She had personally presented formal articles of complaint against the Duke to the King himself; and now that the crisis had come, she charged Norfolk with being as disloyal to his king as he was untrue to his wife. There is reason to believe that the Duchess did not wait for the arrest of her son and husband to display the full extent of her vengeance, but that she accused Norfolk of treasonable words some time before that event, or as soon as she saw that Hertford was bent upon his destruction, and pointed out the means by which evidence might be obtained to convict him. She was brought up to London, but in the subsequent proceedings she was delicately placed in the background of the abominable picture. Yet affection and nature were sufficiently violated without her prominent appearance. The first witness examined by the council was that fair Mistress Holland who had captivated the old Duke, and who had been by him enriched and covered with jewels and introduced at court. She deposed that the Duke had told her, that none of the King's council loved him, because they were new men, and not noblemen born, as also because he believed in the sacraments according to the Church of Rome; that the King loved him not because he was too much loved in his country, but that he would follow his father's lesson, which was, that the less value others set by him, the more he would set by himself; that he had complained of being excluded from his Majesty's secret council, and had spoken of the King's unwieldy and unhealthy state of body, saying that he could not live long, and that after his death the realm was likely to fall into an ill case through diversity of opinions. In extenuation of the Duke, but in aggravation of a charge against his son, she said that Norfolk had strongly disapproved of an addition Surrey had made to the family arms. She confessed that the Earl of Surrey loved her not, that the Duchess of Richmond had no love for her brother (a fact proved upon other evidence) and that she (Mistress Holland) had always addicted herself much to the said Duchess of Richmond.

The next person to gratify the ears of the lords of the council was the Duchess of Richmond herself. She began her deposition by telling the story of the marriage which her father and brother had attempted to bring about between her and Sir Thomas Seymour, adding the astounding assertion, that her father would have had her brother Surrey, whose wife was then living and well, to have matched with the Earl of Hertford's daughter. She stated that she had often seen her brother incensed against Hertford, and had often heard him say, that those new men loved none of the old nobility, and that, if God should call away the king, they should smart for it. She declared that her brother had hated them all since his being in custody in Windsor Castle, but that her father seemed not to care for their ill-will, saying, his truth should bear him out; that her brother had said the king was displeased with him for the defeat he had sustained in France, and that the royal displeasure, as he conceived, had been increased by those who hated him for having set up an altar in the church at Boulogne; that he had said, "God long save my father's life, for if he were dead they would shortly have my head;" that he had reviled some of the members of the present council; that he had used many passionate words; and also that he had dissuaded her from going too far in reading the Scriptures. But the capital point of her deposition against the life of her own brother was this,—she said, that Surrey had borne on his arms, instead of a duke's coronet, a cap of maintenance and a crown, "to her judgment much like a close crown, and underneath the arms was a cipher, which she took to be the king's cipher, H. R." These her two surmises were set down as proofs of high treason in Surrey.*

After this unloving sister had said her worst, Sir Edmund Knevett was called in. He said he knew of no untruth directly by the Earl of Surrey, but *suspected* him of—*dissimulation* and *vanity!* He added, that a servant of Surrey's had been in Italy with Cardinal Pole, and

* Lord Herbert.

had returned thence into his service; that Surrey kept one Pasquale, an Italian, as a jester, but more likely a spy, and so reputed; that there was also one Pelegrino, an Italian, entertained by the said earl, who loved to converse with foreigners, and to conform his behaviour to them; wherein he, the deponent, thought that Surrey had some great ill device: and this was all that Sir Edmund Knevett had to say. Then, one Thomas Pope informed the council, that one John Freeman had told him that the Duke of Norfolk, some time ago, during the commotions about religion in the North, had condemned a certain act of parliament, which did violence to men's consciences, as the worst act that had ever been made. Lord Herbert says, that it *seemed* there were other depositions; but we know of none other except that of an officer in the Heralds' College,* which relates solely to the quartering of the royal arms, the offence which was made prominent on Surrey's trial, and for which in fact he was condemned. Other suspicions, we know, had been infused into the mind of the dying king; but it appears to have been thought proper to suppress all mention of them in public. Surrey was suspected of a design upon the king's eldest daughter, the Princess Mary! The king's irregular divorce from his wife Catherine seems to have shaken his own and other people's faith in the sanctity and stability of the marriage contract; and thus it may have been thought that the earl, when tempted by ambition, would easily rid himself of his living wife and the mother of his children. Among the State Papers of this reign there is a remarkable document, without title or date, in the handwriting of Wriothesly the Chancellor, with various interlineations and corrections written by the king himself, in a tremulous hand, like that of one sick and suffering. The paper consists of a set of queries, evidently preparatory to the prosecution of the Howards. After the questions, What a man deserves, being of the collateral line to the heir of the crown, for quartering the royal arms of England?

* MS. in the Heralds' College, as cited by Dr. Nott.

&c.,—there is this startling query, which should seem to have some connection with the project entertained by Norfolk and Surrey to marry the Duchess of Richmond to Sir Thomas Seymour, and so establish her in favour at court:—"*If a man compasses with himself to govern the realm, do actually go about to rule the king, and should for that purpose advise his daughter or sister to become his harlot, thinking thereby to bring it to pass, and so would rule both father and son, what this importeth?*" These words are all in King Henry's own trembling hand-writing. We give them as indicative of his suspicions, not as proofs against the parties accused. The hatred which she bore to her brother, and the terror she was in, cast a strong shade of doubt even on every part of the evidence of the Duchess of Richmond herself. The remaining queries in the remarkable State Paper document apply exclusively to Surrey, who was far more dreaded by Hertford and the whole Seymour party than his father the duke, who was now an old man, and who had never had a tithe of his son's genius; and they ask, What a man deserves who has said, "If the king should die, who should have the rule of the prince but my father or I? who has endeavoured to deprave the king's council; who has threatened to shut up another man as soon as the king were dead; who was continually threatening to kill or hurt a person that in his duty of allegiance had revealed such matter as he had heard from him touching the king; and who, without the royal licence, had given arms to strangers?"

Such depositions as were taken before the Privy Council were sent down to the king's judges, then at Norwich; and on the 7th of January the judges informed the lords of the council that they found the charges to be true, both against the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Surrey, that they amounted to high treason, and that they the judges desired to know whether Sir Edmund Knevett (who had been one of the witnesses for the prosecution), Sir Thomas Paston, Sir John Peer, and others, should be named for the jury.*

* Lord Herbert.

The father and son, however, were not included in one indictment and tried together, nor did the indictment drawn up against Surrey include any other special charge than the amplified one of his having falsely, maliciously, and traitorously, set up and borne the arms of Edward the Confessor, then used by the Prince of Wales, mixed and joined with his own proper arms. A special commission was immediately formed to try the earl: and on the 13th of January, "the king," says Lord Herbert, "being now dangerously sick," Surrey was arraigned in Guildhall, before Wriothesly the Chancellor, Hoverthorn the Lord Mayor, and the other commissioners who had been appointed by the King, or rather by Hertford. Surrey boldly pleaded not guilty. A jury of Norfolk men was then chosen, and the trial proceeded. The original trial is not to be found; and in the accounts extant there is a provoking silence as to the evidence produced by the court, and the witnesses who spoke for the defender. We are told generally that the defendant, being a man of deep understanding, sharp wit, and high courage, defended himself many ways; sometimes denying the accusations as false, and weakening the credit of his adversaries; and sometimes interpreting the words he had spoken in a far other sense than that in which they were represented. With respect to the main point, the quartering of the arms of the Confessor, he alleged that he had taken the opinion of heralds therein; that his ancestors had long quartered those arms, and worn them, as well within the kingdom as without; that he had borne those arms himself in King Henry's presence without giving any offence; and that his ancestors had borne them in the presence of several of King Henry's predecessors.

When a witness was brought against him, *vivâ voce*, who pretended to repeat some high words which Surrey had used, and his own braving answer thereto, the prisoner gave no other reply to the jury than that he left it to them to judge, whether it were probable that this man should speak thus insolently to the Earl of Surrey, and he not strike him.

It appears that the Norfolk family had really a right to quarter the royal arms, and that this right was afterwards admitted by Queen Mary. But if there be any doubt upon this heraldic question, there can surely be none that the charge was too frivolous to affect life. Nevertheless the jury, doing that which they were called together to do, and apparently without any hesitation, brought in a verdict of guilty; and thereupon the chancellor sentenced him to the death of a traitor. Two men of the wealthy and trading Norfolk family of Gresham sat upon this base jury, which, however, was neither better nor worse than the generality of juries at this time; they were Sir Richard the father, and Sir John the uncle, of the Sir Thomas Gresham who built the Royal Exchange. From Guildhall Surrey was sent back to the Tower; "and so the flower of the English nobility was, on the 19th of January, beheaded, the king being then in extremity and breathing his last in blood."* But it appears, from a memorandum in the Burghley State Papers, written in Secretary Cecil's own hand, as also from other authorities, that Surrey was executed, not on the 19th, but on the 21st of January. At neither of these dates was the king in a state to sign the death warrant, or even to apply the stamp which he had been for some time in the habit of using whenever his signature was required. Holinshed says, that even on the 13th, the day of Surrey's trial, the king was "lying in the extremities of death." Hertford and his party surrounded the death-bed, to the exclusion of all others: they may have applied the royal stamp, and the memory of the tyrant may perhaps be relieved of this the last blood shed in his sanguinary reign.

Surrey was executed on Tower Hill. No record is preserved of his behaviour in his last moments. No doubt, like Sir Thomas More, he was forbidden to address the people; and it is probable that the execution took place at some early or unusual hour. His body was buried in the church of All Hallows, Barking, in

* Bishop Godwin.

Tower Street. A monument was afterwards erected to him by his second son, the Earl of Northampton, in the fine old church of Framlingham in Suffolk. It is said that the Earl of Northampton also removed his body to Framlingham; but the fact is doubted, as there is no mention made of it in the register of Framlingham Church, which appears to have been carefully kept. That well-preserved church, which stands almost within the shadow of the ruins of Framlingham Castle—that ancient seat of the Dukes of Norfolk, where the Bigods, the Mowbrays, and the Howards, had successively displayed their power, magnificence, and baronial hospitality, is a place that calls for a pilgrimage from every one that can feel an interest in the old annals of his country. It contains within itself a compendious history of the illustrious House of Howard. There, besides the tomb of the poet and the graves of other members of a family that was for a long time as unfortunate as it was illustrious, are the monuments of the Duke John, who perished at Bosworth Field, and the monument of Duke Thomas, the son of Surrey, who was beheaded and attainted by Queen Elizabeth, in 1572, for his correspondence with Mary Queen of Scots. Books and homilies cannot convey so deep an impression of the vicissitudes of fortune, nor can an elaborate chapter of history so completely pourtray the convulsive and unhappy condition of greatness in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Surrey's father, the Duke of Norfolk, from his cell in the Tower, repeatedly requested to be confronted with his accusers, either in presence of the king or in that of the council. He protested that he had never called in question the king's supremacy over the church, and that if he had had twenty lives he would rather have spent them all against the Bishop of Rome than ever have seen him have any more power in this realm. Being thoroughly convinced that it was the enmity he had shown to the Protestant party which pressed most heavily upon him, he did violence to his conscience, making other protestations to show that he believed according to act of parliament, and requesting the council to per-

mit him to purchase a copy of Sabellicus, "who," he says, "doth declare most of any book that I have read how the Bishop of Rome from time to time hath usurped his power against all princes by their unwise sufferance." Much is to be allowed to a man helpless in the hands of implacable enemies, pleading for his own life and estates, and much more for a father pleading for the life of a son; but the name of Surrey does not occur in these applications, and it should appear that the duke continued his mean and prevaricating conduct after he knew that his son had perished. It was resolved by the Seymours that no more justice or lenity should be shown to the duke than *he*, in the time of his favour and might, had meted out to others. It is not probable that any of his mean-spirited applications were shown to the dying king. After several private examinations in the Tower, the duke, upon some promises tendered to him in the name of the king, consented to write or sign a submission and confession. In this document he confessed that during his long and difficult services he had occasionally communicated to others some of the secrets of the Privy Council, contrary to his oath; that he had concealed high treason, in keeping secret the false and traitorous act, most presumptuously committed by his son Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, in quartering the arms of Edward the Confessor (when this was written his son was yet alive*), that

* The right-minded bearer of the noble name of Howard says nobly—"It is humiliating to see such a failure in a man for the sake of the very few years of life he might have to linger through, lowering himself, in the letters he wrote to the king and council, and in the admission he made that by using the arms, which he had at all times been sanctioned to bear, he had been guilty of a treasonable act. By such an admission, he, as far as in him lay, gave sanction to the pending iniquitous proceedings against his son, and assisted in sealing his doom, for when he admitted such to be treasonable acts, how could it be expected that the jury would have courage to find that they were not so?—*Henry Howard, Indications of Memorials, Monuments, &c., of the Howard family.*

he had himself treasonably borne on his shield the said arms of England, with the difference of labels of silver, which of right belonged only to Prince Edward; and finally that for these heinous offences he had deserved by the laws of the realm to be attainted of high treason, and to suffer the punishment, losses, and forfeitures that appertain thereunto; although he most humbly, and with a most sorrowful and repentant heart, did beseech his highness the king to have mercy, pity, and compassion on him. To complete the old man's degradation, one of the witnesses to the signing of this paper in the Tower was Lord Hertford.

The Seymours had no time to lose, for the life of the king was hanging by a thread. Instead of arraigning Norfolk before his peers, they proceeded according to the iniquitous system which Thomas Cromwell had introduced, and by which, in retributive justice, he had been himself hurled to the block. A bill of attainder, founded on the confession, was brought into the House of Lords, and read three times on three successive days, Archbishop Cranmer being present at every reading. The Commons did their work with equal despatch, returning the bill, passed, in three days more. This was done by the 25th of January, and on the 27th Wriothesly the Chancellor informed the two houses that his majesty, being not sufficiently well to attend himself, had been pleased to appoint certain lords to signify his assent to the bill. And therefore the commission, which was said to be under the sign manual, but to which Henry's stamp no doubt had been put without his knowledge, was read; the pretended royal assent was given by the lords who had appointed themselves, or who had been appointed by Hertford; and, without losing precious moments, an order was despatched to the lieutenant of the Tower to execute the Duke of Norfolk at an early hour on the following morning. During these last precipitate and most illegal measures, Archbishop Cranmer was again in the House of Lords.* The thing was done

* *Journals of the Lords.* Upon this unquestionable autho-

in such hurry and confusion that the bill was never enrolled, and consequently was not to be considered as an act. But during that very night of the 27th of January, or at a very early hour on the morning of the 28th, the king died. It has been said that the Lieutenant of the Tower, believing the warrant to be informal, as it could not have received the king's signature, or knowing by secret information that the king was actually dead, refused to proceed to the execution. We think it rather more probable that the order was countermanded by the Lords of the Council as soon as Henry had breathed his last. Most of our annalists have set it down, somewhat vaguely, that the Seymour party, which succeeded to almost absolute power, did not think it advisable to begin a new reign by shedding the blood of the first nobleman of England; but, from the character of the majority of those men, we may be justified in believing that they were deterred merely by the dread of odium and of after-consequences to themselves, in case of a failure of the schemes and forgeries which they were committing in order to secure their, as yet, unstable power. They concealed the death of the king from Friday the 28th till Monday the 31st; but they must have known it to be impossible to disguise for any length of time that Henry had expired *before* the hour which had been fixed for Norfolk's execution. If the king had lived two or three hours longer, no doubt, the head of Norfolk would have been upon the block; but, *then*, it might have been made to pass as the deed of a living king, and not as the unauthorized vengeance of personal enemies. The interval between Henry's death on the night of the 27th or morning of the 28th, and the disclosure of the fact on the 31st, is said to have been spent in debating upon what was to be done with the Duke of Norfolk. This subject may have occupied a part, and that a very

rity Bishop Burnet is convicted of error or misrepresentation in stating that Cranmer, to avoid concurring in the guilt of this act of attainder withdrew to Croydon before the bill was introduced.

serious part of their attention; but they had many other things to think about; and much of that time must have been spent in forging the clauses of the king's will upon which they rested all their claim to all the powers and offices of the state, and their claim to the partition among them of the estates and property of the Howards and of other victims to bills of attainder. But whatever were the lucky accidents, or the motives in the hearts of his enemies, that stayed the execution, Norfolk was certainly reprieved, being left in the Tower with the iniquitous sentence hanging over him; the Seymours neither annulling that sentence, nor taking any pains to give it a greater appearance of regularity and justice. On the 20th of February, when the child Edward VI. had been crowned in Westminster Abbey, and when Lord Hertford had taken into his own hands the high state offices which had been held by Norfolk, and had made himself Duke of Somerset, Governor of the person of the king's majesty, and Protector of all his realms, a general pardon for state offences was proclaimed, but in this the Duke of Norfolk, as well as Cardinal Pole, and a few others, were excepted. The old duke lay a close prisoner in the Tower, from December, 1546, till the 3rd of August, 1553, when the accession of Queen Mary restored him to liberty and to his honours and estates. Before Mary's first parliament was dissolved the attainders were legally reversed, it being declared that no special matter had been proved either against the Duke of Norfolk, or his son the Earl of Surrey, except the wearing of part of the royal coat of arms. The old duke died in the following year, 1554.

Biographers have been accustomed to represent the Earl of Surrey as a man whose character was almost without spot or blemish, and to give him credit for qualities and virtues which have no recognizable existence in the period in which he lived. The facts which we have stated upon the best existing evidence will enable the reader to form a correcter notion of him. But the defects of the man, whatever they may have been, cannot be pleaded in extenuation of the lawless way in which

he was cut off by his enemies, nor can they obscure his fame as a poet, scholar, and refiner of the language or rhythm of English verse. The delicacy which we vainly look for in his portrait is to be found in much of his poetry. Except in some passages in his version of the second and fourth books of the Æneid, which seem to us remarkable for their power, he is seldom very powerful; but he is almost everywhere neat and delicate, and is not unfrequently tender. But at times his delicacy becomes absolute weakness. He is entitled to high praise as being the first to introduce the use of blank verse. This he borrowed from the Italian writers, with whom it was a novel experiment in his day. From the same rich school of verse he introduced the sonnet. He was also the first Englishman who used the elegiac quatrain, which was admired and used by Dryden, and brought to perfection by Gray in his Elegy. His best sonnet, and perhaps the best piece he ever produced in any form, measure, or style, is his address to Spring. We subjoin it as a gentle and soothing conclusion to the harsh and tragical story of his life. We have slightly modernized the orthography, but have not otherwise altered the sonnet.

The sweet season that bud and bloom forth brings,
With green hath clad the hill, and eke the vale,
The nightingale with feathers new she sings;
The turtle to her mate hath told her tale:
Summer is come, for every spray now springs.
The hart hath hung his old head on the pale,
The buck in brake his winter coat he flings,
The fishes fleet with new repaired scale,
The adder all her slough away she flings,
The swift swallow pursueth the flies small,
The busy bee her honey how she mings;
Winter is worn that was the flower's bale:
And thus I see among these pleasant things
Each care decays, and yet my sorrow springs.

Our memoir of the Earl of Surrey shows in what manner the old family of the Howards was sacrificed to secure the political ascendancy of the new family of the Seymours. Hertford, the mortal foe of the poet, had scarcely attained to his high eminence as Duke of Somerset, Protector of the Kingdom, Governor of the person of the King's Majesty, Lieutenant-General of all his Majesty's Forces by land and by sea, Lord High Treasurer, and Earl Marshal of England, ere he became jealous of the ambition, and alarmed at the daring intrigues of his own brother Sir Thomas Seymour, who, since the death of Henry VIII., had been raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Seymour, of Sudley, and had been appointed Lord High Admiral. This Thomas Seymour, it will be remembered, was the man to whom the Duke of Norfolk had wished to marry his daughter, the Duchess of Richmond—a match which Surrey himself is said to have strongly recommended to his sister.

But, in June 1547, scarcely five months after the death of Henry VIII., the Lord High Admiral espoused that king's widow, Catherine Parr, who was too desperately enamoured to wait any longer. By this marriage the lord admiral hoped to acquire the wealth which Catherine Parr had accumulated while she was queen, to share in the dower to which she was now entitled, and to obtain through her means an easy access to the boy-king Edward VI., over whom Catherine was supposed to have great influence. By a royal grant, dated in August 1548, the lord admiral, in his own right, was put in possession of an immense deal of landed property, part of it being taken from the spoils of the Howard family. Violent and inconstant, he soon quarrelled with his wife. To the princess (afterwards queen) Elizabeth, who was living with Catherine Parr, his behaviour was so extraordinary and so free as to provoke, almost inevitably, the suspicion that he aspired to a union with her. Evidence was also produced to prove that the princess, then only in her fifteenth year, was rather warmly attached to the lord admiral; and it is stated by several old writers, that she, in effect, never forgot this her first love. Catherine Parr did not conceal her jealousy and wrath either from Elizabeth or from the lord admiral her husband. After a scene disgraceful to all concerned in it, Elizabeth was removed to a wiser and safer keeping, being apparently sent to the then royal house at Hatfield.*

While Elizabeth resided with Catherine Parr and the lord admiral, there lived under the same roof, Elizabeth's near relative—the Lady Jane Grey, upon whom, also, the licentious and unscrupulous lord admiral had his designs.

The Lady Jane Grey is supposed to have been born at Bradgate in Leicestershire, about the year 1537, or four years after the birth of the Princess Elizabeth. As usual, there is a want of precision as to place or date.

* These strange facts, with others yet more startling, are contained in the Burghley 'State Papers.'

She was the eldest of the three daughters of Henry Grey, Marquess of Dorset, by the Lady Frances, daughter of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, by the Lady Mary Tudor, *youngest* sister of Henry VIII. Thus she was, through her mother, grand-niece of Henry VIII. and first cousin once removed to Edward VI.*

There is no authentic account of the Lady Jane's earliest years. She is first mentioned in connexion with Catherine Parr, at the time when she was sent to reside with her at Chelsea, very soon after the death of Henry VIII. If the date usually given to her birth be correct (of which there is some doubt), she could not have been much more than ten years old at that time. She resided in the house at Chelsea both before Catherine's imprudent marriage with the lord admiral and after that event, which followed so closely upon the death of the old king. Young as she was, she could not have learned much good in that house. Thus early, projects of marriage were agitated for her; and the lord admiral, bearing in mind her near relationship to the Royal Family, upon which, hereafter, some right or claim might be raised, became exceedingly urgent with her parents to intrust to him the disposal of her hand. Her father, the Marquess of Dorset, was poor in purse and quite as poor in spirit; and it is an unquestionable fact that, upon mercenary calculations and considerations, he conceded to this powerful and remorseless Seymour the disposal of her in marriage. The lord admiral's projects in regard to the Lady Jane varied according to times and circumstances; but it is quite clear that he always calculated upon making her an instrument or a means of promoting his own interests or his insane schemes of ambition. In September 1548, the family having removed from Chelsea to Hanworth, Catherine Parr, after giving birth

* Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas, Memoir prefixed to the 'Literary Remains of Lady Jane Grey,' 1825.

When Mary Tudor married Charles Brandon, she was the dowager queen of France, being the young widow of Louis XII.

to a daughter, died, complaining, with her last breath, of the wrongs she had received from her husband the lord admiral. According to the common practice of those dishonourable and iniquitous times, he was charged with having poisoned Catherine, in order to clear the path to a *greater* marriage. The Lady Jane was in the house when Catherine died; and there the admiral wanted to keep her. The Princess Elizabeth had been for some time removed; and it was evidently upon this very account that he was the more eager to retain Lady Jane Grey, whose right to the crown was in reality afterwards set forth as superior to that of Elizabeth. The publication of a curious correspondence between his lordship and Jane's father, the Marquess of Dorset, shows the admiral's excessive eagerness to keep the young lady in his power.* Notwithstanding this earnestness, the young lady was, however, sent back to her father and mother, the Marquess of Dorset still promising that the admiral should have "the bestowing of her." Yet the admiral soon got her back into his actual keeping by bribing her right noble father. This has been proved beyond controversy by a recent writer, who gives a letter written by the Marquess of Dorset himself, after the lord admiral's trial, wherein he (the marquess) states that it was his determination not to have permitted his daughter to return to Seymour (then, be it said, not only a widower, but one whose looseness and profligacy were open and notorious), but that the lord admiral went himself to Dorset House—"and was so earnest in persuasion that he could not resist him, amongst the which persuasions was that he would marry her to the king's majesty;"—and lest an opposition might be offered by the mother, Sir William Skevington was employed by Seymour to win over the marchioness and to overcome her natural reluctance.† But other persuasions were used by the wealthy and impatient lord admiral. So soon as the

* See 'Lady Jane Grey and her Times,' by George Howard, Esq. 8vo. London, 1822.

† Id.

Lady Jane had returned to him at Hanworth, he sent her needy father 500*l.* "as it were for an earnest-penny of the favour that he would show unto him, and which sum formed part of 2000*l.* that he had promised to lend him, and for which he refused any bond, saying that the Lady Jane should be his pledge."*

Thus the young lady was again in the lord admiral's actual keeping, and so she remained until his brother the Protector—a more decorous, but scarcely a more honourable man than himself—threw him into the Tower and made the parliament attaint him of treason. As the lord admiral was plotting against his brother Somerset, and endeavouring to ruin him by attaining a complete ascendency over the young king, and as Edward VI. though delicate, did not as yet show symptoms of the disease which carried him to the grave, he may really at one time have contemplated marrying the Lady Jane to that prince. He might have hoped from such an union many advantages. Yet it is by no means clear that he did not at one time contemplate marrying the young girl himself; for the revolutionary scheme for changing the order of succession which was carried out after the death of Edward VI. may have floated in his sanguine and ambitious mind, even while that prince was living and likely to live. At a very early period it was a common notion among the most zealous of the Protestant party, that, either by marriage with her cousin Edward or by virtue of her own right and zealous protestantism, the Lady Jane would be seated on the throne of England.

After several secret examinations in the Tower, but without any trial whatever, the lord admiral was brought to the block, on Tower-hill, on the 20th of March, 1549, or two months and a day after his first committal. The first signature to the warrant for his execution was that of his own brother, the Protector Somerset, and Archbishop Cranmer signed it with the rest of the members of council. He had made no confessions, having to all threats

* George Howard, Esq. 'Lady Jane Grey and her Times.'

and persuasions constantly replied that he ought to be put upon an open trial by his peers, and brought face to face with his accusers; and he died protesting that he had never committed or intended any treason against the king or the realm. Somerset's conduct to his brother was pitiless and atrocious; but his own evil hour soon came: in the month of September, 1549, scarcely six months after the execution of his brother, the lords of the council declared against him: on the 14th of October he was himself charged with high treason and committed to the Tower; his enemy Dudley, Earl of Warwick, succeeding to his offices and more than kingly power. Before this sudden downfall of Protector Somerset, Lady Jane Grey's father thought of matching her with Lord Hertford, Somerset's son, and corresponded cautiously with the protector on that subject, professing great devotion and friendship to the duke. But when Somerset was stricken down by men bolder but not better than himself, this right noble marquess, like all the rest of his great friends, arrayed himself under the banners of my Lord Protector Warwick. It has been most truly said by one thoroughly acquainted with contemporary documents and the whole history of these reigns, that at no other period was the detestable disposition to render every connexion subservient to political purposes so much the prevailing feeling as in the reigns of the Tudors; when the ties of friendship or even of kindred were seldom suffered to interfere with the prospects or projects of advancement.* In no time could there well have been less public honesty and more private treachery.

The Duke of Somerset, unlike his brother the lord admiral, had not even the virtue of courage; by confessions signed on his knees, and by the most humiliating submissions to the Earl of Warwick, he saved his life, and even got out of the Tower on the 6th of February, 1550. Warwick thought that he had rendered himself too contemptible to be any longer dangerous as a political rival;

* Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas, in Memoir of Lady Jane Grey, already cited.

but this confidence of the *de facto* protector was abated by several occurrences; and then Somerset was again seized and sent to the Tower. It is his own royal nephew Edward who coolly notes that, on Friday the 22nd of January, 1552, "the Duke of Somerset had his head cut off on Tower-hill, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning."* According to the same authority, the Lord Strange, upon being examined before the council touching the duke's delinquencies, had confessed that Somerset had "willed him to stir" the young king to marry his third daughter, the Lady Jane Seymour, and had wished him (the said Lord Strange) to act as his spy at court, and to report to him whatever the king did or said, and whenever any of his council spoke secretly with his majesty. "This," adds the royal journalist, "he (Lord Strange) confessed of himself."† Thus had the Duke of Somerset shed his own brother's blood and soiled his soul with other guilt to perish on a scaffold so soon after that brother. Before his execution his successful rival Dudley, Earl of Warwick, had made himself Duke of Northumberland, and had elevated Lady Jane Grey's father to be Duke of Suffolk. The Marquess of Dorset's patent is dated the 10th of October, 1551, and that of the Earl of Warwick on the next day. This is sufficient evidence—if not of the contemplated matrimonial alliance between the two families of the Greys and Dudleys, which subsequently took place—at the least of the close friendship subsisting between Lady Jane Grey's father and the present protector, or (not to prostitute the name of friendship) of the subservience of the lady's father to the despotic and aspiring Protector Northumberland. No party appears to have had any commendations to bestow upon this Marquess of Dorset. Dugdale says that he was a man of "a harmless simplicity," that he was "neither much misliked nor much regarded," and so was created Duke of Suffolk—which dignity had that year become extinct through the death of his wife's half-brother, Henry Brandon, without issue. Since

* King Edward's Journal. † Id.

Dugdale's time evidence has been produced which throws a doubt on this harmlessness and simplicity, and which exhibits the marquess-duke as a selfish intriguer and cowardly plotter.

In the meantime—or ever since the arrest of the lord admiral—the Lady Jane Grey had been residing with her father and mother, and chiefly, as it appears, at Broadgate or Bradgate in Leicestershire. Here she had for her instructor Dr. John Aylmer, a Protestant clergyman, who was domestic chaplain to her father, and who, under Queen Elizabeth, obtained the mitre, being named Bishop of London (in 1577). Aylmer is described as being a man of learning, and admirably qualified by temper and patience to be an instructor to the young. The celebrated Roger Ascham, who had been for nearly two years employed in instructing the Princess Elizabeth in the learned languages, must have been well acquainted with Lady Jane at the time that both she and Elizabeth were living with Catherine Parr and the lord admiral, for he was appointed tutor to the princess in 1548, after Catherine's marriage with Seymour. Although he does not state the fact, it is more than probable that the Lady Jane partook of the instruction which Ascham gave to Elizabeth. In 1551, or about two years after her removal from the house of the lord admiral, Ascham, returning from a visit to his native place in Yorkshire, and being on the point of going to Germany as secretary to Sir Richard Morysine, ambassador to the Emperor Charles V., he saw Lady Jane Grey in her paternal mansion in Leicester; and the following is his own naïve and interesting account of the interview.

"Before I went into Germany, I came to Brodegate in Leicestershire to take my leave of that noble Lady Jane Grey, to whom I was exceeding much beholden. Her parents, the duke and duchess, with all the household, gentlemen and gentlewomen, were hunting in the park. I found her in her chamber reading Phædo Platonis in Greek, and that with as much delight as some gentlemen would read a merry tale in Boccace. After salutation and duty done, with some other talk, I asked

her why she would lose such pastime in the park? Smiling, she answered me: 'I wis, all their sport in the park is but a shadow to that pleasure that I find in Plato. Alas! good folk, they never felt what true pleasure meant.' 'And how came you, Madame,' quoth I, 'to this deep knowledge of pleasure? And what did chiefly allure you to it, seeing not many women, but very few men have attained thereunto?' 'I will tell you,' quoth she, 'and tell you a truth which perchance ye will marvel at. One of the greatest benefits that ever God gave me, is that he sent me so sharp and severe parents, and so gentle a schoolmaster. For, when I am in presence either of father or mother, whether I speak, keep silence, sit, stand, or go, eat, drink, be merry or sad, be sewing, playing, dancing, or doing anything else, I must do it, as it were, in such weight, measure, and number, even so perfectly as God made the world; or else I am so sharply taunted, so cruelly threatened, yea, presently, sometimes with pinches, nips, and bobs, and other ways (which I will not name for the honour I bear them) so without measure misordered, that I think myself in hell, till time come that I must go to Mr. Elmer [Aylmer], who teacheth me so gently, so pleasantly, with such fair allurements to learning, that I think all the time nothing while I am with him. And when I am called from him, I fall on weeping, because whatsoever I do else, but learning, is full of grief, trouble, fear, and whole misliking unto me: and thus my book hath been so much my pleasure, and bringeth daily to me more pleasure, and more, that in respect of it all other pleasures, in very deed, be but trifles and troubles unto me.' I remember this talk gladly, both because it is so worthy of memory, and because also it was the last talk that ever I had, and the last time that ever I saw that noble and worthy lady."*

Assuming the date assigned to her birth as correct, the Lady Jane was even at this time no more than fourteen years old. But we must again remind the reader that

* Roger Ascham, the "Schoolmaster."

the date of her birth is conjectural. Some time after this visit at Bradgate, Ascham wrote a long letter in Latin to the Lady Jane, in which he warmly declares his admiration of her understanding as well as of her learning, and requests of her not only to answer him in Greek, but also to write a letter in the same language to his friend Sturmius, a celebrated scholar, whose choice Latinity had procured for him the title of the 'Cicero of Germany.' Ascham tells her that he is anxious to have an indifferent witness to the truth of the report which he was making in Germany of her rare acquirements.* He speaks of her in other letters with perfect enthusiasm, insisting that Aristotle's praise of women is justified or perfected in her. He further says—"She possesses good manners, prudence, and a love of labour. She has every talent, without the least weakness of her sex. She speaks French and Italian as well as she does English. She writes elegantly, and with propriety. She has more than once spoken Greek with me, and she writes in Latin with great strength and sentiment." †

Sir Thomas Chaloner the elder, another contemporary, who must at one time have been personally acquainted with Lady Jane, as he was closely connected with the Protector Somerset, not only confirms Ascham's assertions, but adds to her erudition and accomplishments, making her know three Oriental languages, as well as Greek and Latin. Chaloner says that she was well versed in Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic; that she also excelled in all feminine accomplishments, playing well, singing exquisitely, surpassing the rest of women in curious needlework, and writing an elegant hand; and that, with all these rare endowments, she was of a mild, humble, and modest disposition. As usual, some deductions must be made from the exaggeration and extravagance of panegyric. The Protestant party, who made an idol of her, and who doubly expected her to be their queen, made more wonderful that which was wonderful enough without, and her melancholy and touching fate

* Familiarum Epistolarum Libri Tres. † Id.

naturally indisposed men to the making of any rigid inquisitions into the extraordinary reports. She was not likely to know the three Oriental languages, because there appears to have been nobody at that time in England capable of teaching them, and because there were no books to supply the place of a master. If she had known Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic, Ascham would assuredly have mentioned it in plain prose at the time, and not have left it to be recorded by Chaloner in eulogistic Latin verse a good many years after her death. Still, however, it will remain indisputable that her intellect was wonderfully precocious, and that her attainments were very great. Nor is there any good reason for doubting that she was the modest, amiable, gentle creature she is represented to have been. She had been the victim of ambition and selfish intrigue from her childhood; and it was her own selfish father that made a sacrifice of her.

In the beginning of the year 1553 Edward VI. was seized with a violent cough, which no medicines could relieve; and the cough was soon followed or accompanied by other sure symptoms of consumption. In the month of May it was evident that he was sinking rapidly. Towards the end of May, when it was quite clear that the young king was dying, the Lady Jane Grey was hastily married to Lord Guildford Dudley, son of the Duke of Northumberland. The protector had three other sons, who were all older than this bridegroom; but as they were all married already, the Lord Guildford was chosen to have the crown matrimonial. Northumberland having without difficulty induced the Duchess of Suffolk to transfer her right to her eldest daughter the fair bride, he proceeded to develop his plan to the king.* He terrified the dying boy by representing the

* It is scarcely necessary to say a word about a right so very defective in law.

By the laws of descent the next heir to the throne after the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, was not Lady Jane Grey, but the celebrated Mary Queen of Scots, daughter and heiress of James V. King of Scots, son and heir of James

langers and calamities which he said must arise from the succession of either of his sisters. The princess Mary, the elder, was known to be a bigoted papist, who, if allowed to ascend the throne, would undo all that had been done during Edward's time, in the settlement of the Protestant religion; yet Mary could not be set aside without urging a plea—that of her illegitimacy—which would equally exclude Elizabeth, for both those princesses had been bastardized by acts of parliament—Mary after the divorce of her mother, Catherine of Arragon, and Elizabeth after the trial and execution of her mother Anne Boleyn. According to the Duke of Northumberland, and those who acted with him, the only safe course was to pass by both his sisters, and appoint his cousin, the thoroughly Protestant Lady Jane Grey, to be his successor. It had often and long since been laid down in law that the mere will and testament of a sovereign could not alter or dispose of the succession—that the crown of England was not to be bequeathed like a house or a piece of land; but law and the constitution had sunk into insignificance under the Tudor despotism, and it was urged that Edward might follow the example of his father Henry, and execute a new entail of the crown. Northumberland, with his own daring hand, laid pens and paper before the dying king, who was certainly sincere and thoroughly conscientious in his love to the Reformed Church, and detestation and dread of the old one; and Edward with his own pen sketched a draft of the instrument entailing the crown on Lady Jane; and as soon as a fair copy of the deed could be written out, he signed it with his own name, above and below, and on each margin. The chief justice of the Common Pleas, one of the puisne judges of the same court, the attorney and solicitor general, and one other of the crown lawyers, being called upon to draw up the instrument in a more legal or technical form, refused to do the work, alleging that it would subject them to the pains of high treason.

IV., by Margaret. eldest sister of Henry VIII. Lady Jane descended from the youngest sister of Henry.

But Northumberland came rushing into the room in a fury, calling the chief justice a traitor, threatening them all, so that they thought he would have beaten them, and telling them that in so just a cause he was ready to fight with any man in his shirt; and so, on the very next day, these timid lawyers consented to draw the will, the young king declaring that he would have it ratified by parliament, which was to meet in the month of September. The instrument, being engrossed on parchment, was carried to the chancery. On the 21st of June it received the signatures of all the lords of the Council, of most of the judges, and of the attorney and solicitor general. Previously to this Northumberland had induced twenty-four members of the Council to sign another and more private paper, pledging themselves by their oaths and honour to observe every article contained in his majesty's own device respecting the succession; to defend it to the uttermost; and if any man should ever attempt to alter it, to repute him an enemy to the kingdom, and punish him as he deserved. The first signature to this paper was that of Archbishop Cranmer. The death that was so confidently expected happened in a few days. On the evening of the 6th of July, Edward VI. breathed his last at Greenwich, having lived fifteen years, eight months, and twenty-two days.

The ability and decision of the Duke of Northumberland bore no proportion to his ambition, and were altogether unequal to the daring scheme he had undertaken. Although that event had been expected for months, the death of Edward found him in a very unprepared state. He had neglected the important measure of getting possession of the persons of the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, who were both at large in the country. Nay, it is generally reported and believed that he had not even obtained the assent of Lady Jane Grey to enact the part which he and her father had chosen for her. The motives which induced the Lady Jane to accept the crown, with her eyes open to the danger and illegality of the measure, were strong and various: she was beset not only by her own family and that of her husband, but also

by a great number of Protestants, who had a clear foresight of the Marian persecutions; her own devotion to the Reformed Church was enthusiastic; and she was told that that church must perish unless she seated herself on the throne and surrounded herself with Protestant counsellors; her young and handsome husband was brought in to beg and entreat, and exercise all his influence over her affectionate heart; but that which perhaps was the most potent inducement of all was the conviction that her family and friends had already gone too far to retract, and that so she must go on with them or see them perish. In order to gain time, and to make those preparations which ought to have been made long before, the Duke of Northumberland, the lords of the Council, and all the people about the court at Greenwich agreed to conceal King Edward's death: and it was concealed from the evening of the 6th till the afternoon of the 8th of July, when the Lord Mayor of London, six aldermen, and twelve other citizens "of chiefest account" were called down to Greenwich, where they were secretly told that the king was dead, and were shown his last will and the letters patent by which he had appointed the Lady Jane to be his successor.

Before the mayor and his company were allowed to return to London, they swore allegiance to Lady Jane, and were bound under a great penalty not to divulge these "secret passages," until they should receive orders from the Council. On the following day Lady Jane was conveyed to the Tower of London, and there publicly received as queen; and in the course of that evening the death of Edward was publicly divulged for the first time, and Jane was proclaimed in the city with somewhat less than the usual formality. The people of London were very cold, many of them whispering the name of Queen Mary, and comparatively very few of them entering into the spirit of this revolution in the order of succession. It appears that the amiable victim did not entertain any sanguine hope. "So far was she," says Bishop Godwin, "from any desire of this advancement, that she began to act her part of royalty with many tears, thus plainly

showing to those who had access to her that she was forced by her relations and friends to this high, but dangerous post." But before these open proceedings, both the princesses were fully acquainted with all the "secret passages," and with all the intentions of Northumberland, who was betrayed by some of the Lords of the Council who pretended to act with him; and Mary, safe in Framlingham Castle, that stronghold of the Catholic Howards, was calling an army to her standard. In the course of that decisive day, the 9th of July, the Council received a letter from Mary, claiming the crown as her indisputable inheritance. The lords of the Council, writing from the Tower of London, replied on the same day, affirming that "our sovereign lady, Queen Jane," was invested and possessed with the just and right title to the crown, "not only by good order of old antient good laws of this realm, but also by our late sovereign lord's letters patent, signed with his own hand, and sealed with the great seal of England," &c.—that they must obey her said grace Queen Jane and none other—that "forasmuch as the divorce made between the king of famous memory, King Henry VIII., and the Lady Catherine (Mary's mother), was necessary to be had both by the everlasting laws of God, and also by the most part of the noble and learned universities of Christendom, and confirmed also by the sundry acts of parliament remaining yet in their force," she (Mary) was "thereby justly made illegitimate and uninheritable to the crown imperial of this realm," &c. They concluded by telling her that if she would be quiet and obedient, as she ought, she would find them ready to do her any service not inconsistent with their duty to Queen Jane; but that if she acted otherwise, she would be grievous to them, to herself, and to the kingdom. This letter of the Council was signed in the first place by Archbishop Cranmer, and then by the Marquess of Winchester, the Earl of Bedford, the Earl of Northampton, the Bishop of Ely Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Northumberland, the Duke of Suffolk, the Earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, and Pembroke; Lord Cobham, Lord Rich (the lawyer

who had behaved so badly to Sir Thomas More), William Cecil (afterwards secretary to Queen Elizabeth, and Lord Burghley), and nine other members of the Council. But a good many of these men were already determined to save their own heads by abandoning the revolution at the first opportunity, and several of them besides Cecil were corresponding secretly either with Mary or with Elizabeth.

Forces raised to serve the Lady Jane, or rather Northumberland, went over in a mass to Queen Mary; and even a small fleet which was sent round the coast of Suffolk and Norfolk hoisted her flag. On the 12th of July Mary was proclaimed in the important city of Norwich, which forthwith sent her men and ammunition. Quitting Framlingham Castle near the Suffolk coast, she came to that other great seat of the Howards, Kenninghall in Norfolk, where she was joined by the Earls of Bath and Sussex, Sir Thomas Wharton, Sir John Mordaunt, Sir William Drury, and many other gentlemen of rank and influence.

Northumberland, being aware that some of the lords of the Council were not to be trusted, dreaded the cabals they might raise against him, if he took the field and left them in London; and he knew not whom to trust with the command of the Queen Jane's army if he did not go himself with it. At last he thought of placing the Duke of Suffolk, Lady Jane's father, at the head of the forces, which were to fall upon Mary before she should gain more strength, and, if possible, to bring her out of Norfolk a prisoner to the Tower. But Suffolk had no military reputation, and Northumberland was evidently afraid of trusting him alone, while the Council, for their own safety, were bent upon making the chief plotter go himself. Their manœuvre was aided by the filial tenderness of Lady Jane, whose feelings were always worked upon, and who, with sighs and tears, requested that her dear father might tarry in her company. Then the lords of the Council flattered the pride or military conceit of Northumberland, by telling him that he was so great a soldier that none would dare lift up their weapons against him. In the end Northumberland said—"Since

ye think it good, I and mine will go, not doubting of your fidelity to the queen's majesty, whom I leave in your custody." He also reminded them of their oaths of allegiance to the virtuous Lady Jane, "who," said he, "by *your* and *our* enticement, is rather of force placed on the throne, than by her own seeking and request;" and he bade them consider that the cause of God, the promotion of the Gospel, and the fear of the Papists, the original grounds upon which they had given their consent to the proclaiming of Queen Jane, bound them to the cause for which he was going to fight.* Nearly every man whom Northumberland thus addressed had made up his mind to declare for Queen Mary as soon as his back should be turned, but they one and all promised and vowed to support the good cause; and so Northumberland departed. On the Sunday after his departure, Ridley bishop of London, whose whole soul was in the revolution, as offering the only chance of preventing the return of papistry, with the fiery persecution of the Protestants, and who was afterwards burned by Queen Mary at Oxford, preached at St. Paul's Cross most eloquently and passionately, telling the people that the right and title of the Lady Jane were indisputable, and inveighing not only against the Lady Mary, but also against the Lady Elizabeth, of whose religion great doubts were then and long afterwards entertained. But on the same Sunday—the 16th of July—while Ridley was preaching at Paul's Cross, one of the lords of the Council stole out of the Tower to his house in the city to make arrangements for the Council going over in a body to Queen Mary; and two days after this, Cranmer, Cecil, and the rest of the councillors, persuaded Lady Jane's imbecile father that more forces must be levied, and that they must levy them; and that to be of full use to his daughter, they, her trusty and loyal Council, must be permitted to quit the Tower, and sit in the city, in Baynard's Castle, then the residence of the Earl of Pembroke, one of the sa[illegible] Council, who had signed the answer to Mary,

* Stow, Annals.

and who was married to a sister of Catherine Parr. No sooner were these lords of the Council safe within Baynard's Castle than they declared with one voice for Queen Mary, and instantly despatched two of the members of their own body—the Earl of Arundel and Cecil—with Sir William Paget, to Norfolk, to notify their submission and exceeding great loyalty: and in the course of the same day they caused Mary to be proclaimed in Cheapside, and went in procession to St. Paul's, singing Te Deum. This being done, the lords of the Council detached some forces to besiege the Tower. The timid Duke of Suffolk threw open the Tower gates to them as soon as they appeared, and entering his daughter's chamber, told her that she must be content to be unqueened, and return to a private station. As for Suffolk himself, he was allowed to post off to Baynard's Castle, where, as a member of the Council, he subscribed the decrees they were issuing in the name of Queen Mary; but his daughter the Lady Jane and her husband Lord Guildford Dudley were kept fast in the Tower. The following little anecdote shows the sudden, stage-like progress of this drama.

A Mr. Edward Underhill, who had been admitted into the band of gentlemen-pensioners by Edward VI., had been placed about the person of the Lady Jane, for he was a most zealous Protestant, being commonly designated "the hot-gospeller." He was a favourite with the new court, and was on duty at the Tower, when his wife, who was living in the city, was delivered of a son. The Duke of Suffolk and the Earl of Pembroke had consented to stand as sponsors by proxy, and the Lady Jane had not only signified her intention of being god-mother, but had also desired that the child should be called Guildford, after her husband. The baptism, as appointed, took place on the 19th of July (in the course of which day the lords of the Council proclaimed Mary, and made Jane a state-prisoner), Lady Throckmorton being deputed by Jane to act as the royal proxy. On leaving the Tower, Lady Throckmorton received the usual commands from Lady Jane herself, according to established etiquette—she left Jane surrounded by the pomps and

circumstances of royalty, but when, after a short absence, she returned from the christening to the Tower, she was overwhelmed with astonishment at finding that the canopy of state, together with all other ensigns of royalty, had been knocked down and removed from Jane's apartment. Lady Throckmorton, however, was soon informed of the change which had taken place during her short absence; being further told that her lady was a prisoner for high treason, and that she must attend her, but under the weight of a similar capital charge.*

Finding that his troops were deserting him, and that the cause was betrayed and abandoned on all sides, the Duke of Northumberland, on the 20th of July, the day after Mary's proclamation in London, being in the town of Cambridge, went to the market-cross and proclaimed Queen Mary there, and was himself the first man to throw up his cap, and cry "God save her!" This did not save him from the Tower and the scaffold. On the 3rd of August, Queen Mary entered London in triumph, having previously disbanded her army, which had never had occasion to draw a sword. On the 18th of August, the Duke of Northumberland, his eldest son John earl of Warwick, and William Parr, marquess of Northampton, were arraigned at Westminster Hall, where Cranmer, Cecil, Lady Jane's father, the Duke of Suffolk, and other members of the Council, sate in judgment,—Thomas duke of Norfolk, the recently-liberated captive, the survivor of his accomplished son the Earl of Surrey, presiding as Lord High Steward. They were brought in guilty of treason by the very men who had acted with them. The Earl of Warwick, who had not been a member of the Council, was reprieved; but Northumberland, with two other members of the Council, who had been tried by another court, was beheaded on Tower-hill, on the 22nd of August. On the scaffold he declared that he died in the Catholic faith!

On the 13th of November, the Lady Jane Grey, her

* Biographia Britannica.

youthful husband Lord Guildford, his brother Lord Ambrose Dudley, and Archbishop Cranmer, were all condemned to suffer death as traitors; but Queen Mary sent them back to the Tower, and apparently without any intention of ever bringing them to the block. It was not until this the day of the trial that Jane was allowed to see her husband. On returning to the dismal state prison the young couple were again separated. They were otherwise treated with much leniency, and both were allowed considerable liberty within the precincts of the Tower, and were indulging in the fond hope of a pardon, when, early in the following year, 1554, Wyatt's mad rebellion broke out. This Sir Thomas Wyatt was a Catholic gentleman of Kent, and son of the poet of that name who has been associated in glory with the Earl of Surrey. Although connected by blood with the Dudleys, he had refused to co-operate with Northumberland in setting up Lady Jane, and had even been forward to proclaim Queen Mary at Maidstone, before knowing that she had been proclaimed any where else. But, Catholic as he was, Wyatt abhorred the cruel bigotry and grasping ambition of the Spanish court, and consequently the marriage which Mary had contracted with Philip II.; and being an honest but an exceedingly rash man—so rash as to appear almost half insane—he entered into a plot with a set of faithless scoundrels, or cowards, who engaged to raise the standard of revolt in different parts of the kingdom at one and the same time. Lady Jane's father, who had received the queen's free pardon, not only entered into this plot, but ran away into Warwickshire, and there with his two brothers, the Lord John and the Lord Leonard Grey, made proclamation against the queen's marriage, and called the people to arms. Wyatt, after a feeble and ridiculous attempt to get possession of the city of London, was beaten and made prisoner on the 7th of February.

This insurrection cost the lives of 400 persons, who were executed in the course of February and March, besides many who were put to death afterwards. The Duke of Suffolk was defeated and made prisoner in the

midland counties, and Sir Peter Carew, another of the conspirators, was defeated in the west. Carew had the good fortune to escape to France, but the father of Lady Jane was captured. During the insurrection Mary and her court were agitated by suspicions, and after the insurrection by revenge. The princess Elizabeth, who was accused of corresponding with Wyatt, was placed under arrest the very day after Wyatt's first rising in Kent, and was subsequently committed to the Tower. Other victims were sent to the same state prison; and Mary being induced to believe that the life of the Lady Jane was incompatible with her own safety and the tranquillity of the country, in three or four days after Wyatt's discomfiture, signed the death-warrant both for Jane and her husband. On the morning of the 12th February, the Lord Guildford Dudley was taken out to Tower-hill, where, after saying his prayers and shedding a few tears, he laid his head on the block and died quietly. The fate of this young and handsome man excited commiseration among the spectators, and as it was calculated that that of his wife would make a still deeper impression, it had been resolved to execute her more privately within the walls of the Tower. Queen Mary showed what she and all Catholics considered a laudable anxiety for the soul of this youthful and gentle sacrifice: during her imprisonment various efforts were made to shake her Protestant faith, and Feecknam or Feckenham, one of Queen Mary's chaplains, and a very Catholic Dean of St. Paul's, assailed her in her last hours with arguments and disputations; but it appears she was steadfast in the doctrines which she had studied under learned teachers. On the dreadful morning she declined a meeting with her husband, saying, that it would rather foment their grief than be a comfort in death, and that they should soon meet in a better place and happier estate. She even saw him conducted towards Tower-hill, and, with the same settled spirit, she beheld his headless trunk when it was returned to be buried in the Tower chapel. The sight was worse than death, but it failed to deprive her of her strength of mind, or of the glorious hope of a

happy immortality. By this time her own scaffold upon the green within the Tower was ready; and almost as soon as her husband's body passed towards the chapel the lieutenant led her forth to die. She uttered no moan and shed not a tear, although her two gentlewomen Elizabeth Tilney and Mistress Helen "wonderfully wept." She had a book in her hand, wherein she read and prayed until she reached the scaffold. From that platform she addressed a few modest words to the very few spectators who had been admitted to witness her end, stating that she had justly merited her fate for suffering herself to be made the instrument, however unwillingly, of the ambition of others. She then implored God's mercy, caused herself to be disrobed by her gentlewomen, veiled her own eyes with her handkerchief, and stretched her neck across the billet. The executioner was moved, and lingered with his upheld axe. She exhorted him to do his office. At last the axe fell, and her fair head rolled away from the body, drawing tears from the eyes of all present, not excepting those who were most devoted to Queen Mary and to the faith she professed.*

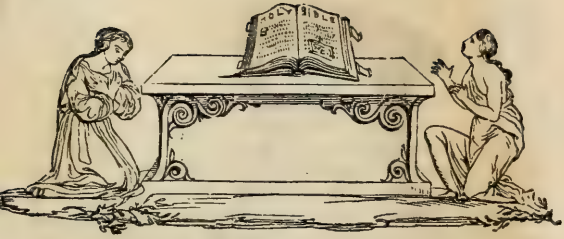
The Duke of Suffolk, who had never been worthy of the child whom his ambition and imbecility had sacrificed, was publicly beheaded on Tower-hill, on the 23rd of February, eleven days after the execution of his daughter and son-in-law. Sir Thomas Wyatt perished at the same place on the 11th of April; Lord Thomas Grey, one of Suffolk's brothers, was executed about a fortnight after, and other executions followed. But the only victim that excited any lasting interest, or that deserved to excite it, was the fair Lady Jane. Honest old Fuller, with his usual point, and apparently with little inaccuracy, unless it be in relation to her age, of which some doubts must be entertained, says of her—"She had the innocency of childhood, the beauty of youth, the solidity of middle, the gravity of old age, and all at eighteen; the birth of a princess, the learning of a

* De Thou. Bishop Godwin.

clerk, the life of a saint, and the death of a malefactor for her parent's offences."

The literary remains of Lady Jane, all of a religious, and most of them of a controversial character, are these—I. Three letters in Latin to Henry Bullinger, written before her marriage, between the years 1550 and 1553.—II. A letter to a friend newly fallen from the Faith.—III. A conference with Feckenham written a few days before her execution.—IV. A prayer for her own use whilst a prisoner in the Tower.—V. A letter to her father from the Tower.—VI. A letter to her sister Catherine, written on Sunday the 11th of February, 1554, the night before her execution, on the blank leaf of a Greek New Testament.—VII. Notes in a Manuscript Manual of prayers.—These are believed by her latest and best editor* to be unquestionably hers. Some of her numerous biographers, with singular bad taste, and with a total disregard of the fact that she was led out to execution immediately after Lord Guildford's body passed her dungeon window, have attributed to her three epigrams on her husband's headless body, one in Greek, one in Latin, and the third in English. We should wish to deduct from her acknowledged compositions the controversial letter written to the relapsed friend—Dr. Harding, who, after professing the reformed faith, had returned to the old church—for it is intolerant and most violent in spirit, and coarse and altogether unfeminine in expression; and although Sir N. H. Nicolas appears to entertain no doubt upon the subject, we still hesitate to believe that it was written by her, and that it has reached us unaltered. Nor can we renounce this saving doubt without shaking our faith in the thoroughly amiable and gentle character which has been drawn for the youthful controversialist.

* Sir N. H. Nicolas.



Thomas Cranmer was the son of a gentleman of Nottinghamshire, who traced his descent from one of the followers of the Conqueror. He was born at Aslacton, in that county, on the second day of July, 1489: and it is stated that so recently as the year 1790, traces might be seen of the walks and pleasure-grounds which belonged to the mansion of his fathers. Tradition also long pointed out a small rising ground or mount in the immediate neighbourhood of the house, from whose summit the future primate of England was accustomed to survey the beauty of the surrounding scenery, and to hearken to the music of the village bells. These memorials have disappeared: and although such traditions are of little biographical value, they are interesting as indicating the sort of circumstances by which plain but not unpoetical minds imagine that the early footsteps of an illustrious man should be traced.

Young Cranmer received his rudiments of instruction from "a rude parish clerk," under whom he learnt little; while the harsh disposition of his schoolmaster subjected him to much painful discipline. Although his father intended that he should have the advantages of a

learned education, he was not willing that he should be ignorant of the exercises in which a gentleman was, in that age, expected to be proficient. He permitted him to shoot, to hunt, to hawk, and to ride unbroken horses; so that even when he became archbishop, he was able to mount without hesitation, and to ride becomingly the roughest horses that came into his stables. It is added by Strype, that notwithstanding very defective sight, he could "shoot in the long-bow, and many times kill the deer with his cross-bow."

Cranmer lost his father early: but his excellent mother carried out the intentions which her husband had formed, in pursuance of which, when her son had reached the age of fourteen years, which was in 1503, she sent him to Jesus College, Cambridge. Of this society he was elected Fellow in 1510 or 1511. Much of the intervening period had been consumed upon the scholastic divinity which in that age formed the predominant study at Cambridge. After his election to the fellowship, his studies took a wider and more liberal range. The writings of Erasmus began by this time to be received with favour in England, especially by the younger scholars, and to open up the minds which had been more or less absorbed in the subtle vagaries of the schoolmen, whose influence had for some ages darkened all the realms of thought. After Cranmer had devoted four or five years to Erasmus, Faber, and other good authors, Luther began to write; and perceiving the great controversies which were there arising in the lesser as well as weightier matters of religion, he was led next to apply himself to the study of the Scriptures, which engaged his almost exclusive attention for three years, and thus laid a good foundation of Scriptural knowledge, which availed him much in later days. After this he allowed himself to expatiate freely among good authors, both new and old: but was still careful to digest well whatever he deemed worthy his perusal. Reading was a slow operation to him, as he always accompanied it with the use of the pen, wherewith he filled his *adversaria* with whatever struck him as worthy of especial

note, by the actual transcription of shorter passages, and by references to and abstracts of such as were too long to be conveniently transcribed. Yet he was careful that this should not supersede the exercise of his memory and judgment; but the collections formed by this pains-taking mode of study were of great value to him in the controversies in which he was afterwards engaged.

This course he followed till he took his degree of Doctor in Divinity in 1523, when he was in the thirty-fourth year of his age.

About ten years before this, that is, when he was in the twenty-third year of his age, being then Master of Arts, he vacated his fellowship by marriage with a lady who is described by Strype as "a gentleman's daughter." She was, however, related by affinity to the wife of the person who kept the Dolphin Inn, at Cambridge; and for this reason Cranmer, instead of procuring apartments for her elsewhere, allowed her to reside in that house with her kinswoman, and there openly resorted to her society. This arrangement, however convenient or unobjectionable it might have seemed to a studious man then little conversant with the world, ill suits the ideas of refinement and delicacy which society has now formed, and which it somewhat unreasonably exacts from men of a past and less cultivated age. Even in that age, however, Cranmer's proceedings did not escape animadversion, and it became the foundation of the idle story that he, for some time, acted as hostler of the Dolphin Inn.

Although Cranmer's marriage lost him his fellowship, it did not disqualify him from the office of college reader or lecturer, and to that office he was actually appointed in Magdalen College, then called Buckingham College, and previously Monks' College, because monks resorted to it. Here he lectured with distinction and success, but in what faculty is not known, though there can be little doubt that it was in divinity.

The loss of his wife a year after his marriage, enabled Cranmer's own college of Jesus to testify its appreciation of his great merits, by the rare and very remarkable

course of re-electing the widower to the fellowship he had forfeited by his marriage. He was thus enabled to resume and carry on without interruption the studies which have already been described. In gratitude for this mark of esteem, he some years after declined to desert his college, when tempted to do so by the offer of a better preferment in Wolsey's new college of Christ Church at Oxford. The invitation is, however, a fair sign of the estimation in which his attainments and abilities were already held.

Soon after taking his doctor's degree, Cranmer was appointed to the divinity lectureship in his own college; and in the university to that of public examiner in theology. In this capacity he did much good, at the cost of some immediate dissatisfaction, by turning back all those candidates for divinity degrees who appeared notoriously ignorant of the sacred Scriptures; for at this time it was not unusual for men deeply read in school theology, and aspiring to the degrees of bachelor and doctor in divinity, to be without any direct acquaintance with the Book upon which the whole system of Christian faith and doctrine is built.

While he was thus employed, about the year 1529, an epidemical disorder, with many symptoms like the plague, broke out at Cambridge, and caused a dispersion of the members of the University. Cranmer retired into Essex, to the house of Mr. Cressy, a gentleman of fortune residing at Waltham, whose sons had been his pupils at Cambridge, and whose education he still continued to superintend. This visit was destined to produce circumstances which effected an entire change in his course of life, and in which lay the foundation of all his future fortune.

King Henry the Eighth happened to be at that time in a progress through some of the southern counties of England; and Fox, provost of King's College, with Gardiner, then secretary of state, were invited as part of his suite to the house of Mr. Cressy, where they passed the evening with Cranmer. Aware of his high reputation as a divinity lecturer at Cambridge, they were

anxious to obtain his opinion on the question which then agitated the court and country, respecting the validity of the king's marriage with his brother's widow, Catherine of Aragon—or rather whether the Pope had the power of rendering such a marriage valid by the dispensation which he had given. His opinion on this point was not known; for he had been absent from Cambridge when the question had been sent to the university, which it had answered in favour of the validity of the marriage under the Pope's dispensation.

Cranmer declared that the subject was one to which he had not felt it necessary to give any close attention. But he indirectly made light of any validity which the marriage, if in itself unlawful, could derive from the dispensing power of the Pope. He said that it seemed to him the validity or invalidity of the marriage must be determined by Scripture; and the sense of Scripture in the matter might be most satisfactorily collected by taking the opinions of the divines in the universities of Europe upon this simple question, "Whether it was lawful to marry a brother's wife?" The protracted and costly processes which were otherwise necessary might thus be spared; and if the judgment of the Universities were in accordance with the king's wishes—that is, against the marriage—he might then with a satisfied conscience act upon that decision without any further reference to Rome. This is obviously the purport of his advice, which may be collected from the different reports of it. The counsel given by Cranmer was not absolutely new; but it had not before been produced with the same degree of distinctness and weight of authority.

As this opinion was entirely in accordance with that of Gardiner, if not of Fox, the king was made acquainted with it two days after at Greenwich. He was at once struck by the prospect which it offered of bringing to a satisfactory conclusion the difficulty which vexed his life; and exclaimed "Where is this Doctor Cranmer? I perceive he hath the right sow by the ear!" A messenger was immediately dispatched for him; but he was so far from anticipating any results personal to himself

from the suggestion he had thrown out in an evening's talk, that he had actually departed from Waltham when the messenger arrived. He was found, however, and brought to London—not very willingly, it is said; and on his arrival was introduced to the king. Henry received him graciously, and was very favourably impressed by the learning and ability, and by the grave and modest demeanour, with which he stated his views in regard to the marriage. He commanded him to lay aside from that hour all other business, and devote his whole attention to this great matter. He was directed to digest his views carefully in writing; and that he might do so undisturbed, he was consigned to the care of the Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, who was ordered to afford him suitable entertainment at Durham Place. As this nobleman was the father of the Lady Anne Boleyn—who was already known to be the intended queen in case the marriage with Catherine should be declared invalid—the choice of a host for Cranmer was unfortunate, as it subjected him to the suspicion of being placed under an undue and partial influence. But in other respects the choice was suitable, the Earl of Wiltshire being the friend of Erasmus, a patron of learning and learned men, and generally regarded as one of the most learned and pious noblemen in the country. A strong intimacy soon grew up between the Doctor and his entertainers; and Strype thinks it a happy circumstance that he was placed with them, seeing that through the intercourse with him, this noble family, and the Lady Anne in particular, became more confirmed in the principles of the Reformation, which, in the high station to which she eventually attained, she favoured and promoted so far as her means and opportunities allowed.

In the treatise which Cranmer was soon enabled to lay before the king, he maintained that the marriage of Henry with the widow of his brother was condemned by the authority of the Scriptures, the Councils, and the Fathers; and he denied that the dispensing power of the Pope could give validity to a union expressly prohibited by the word of God. The king asked him the

startling question, whether he was prepared to maintain these positions before the Bishop of Rome himself; and when Cranmer answered that he was quite ready to do so, Henry declared that it was his intention to send him thither.

From this time the intercourse between the king and Cranmer was frequent; and the readiness with which, through the ample resources of his learning, he had been enabled to execute the task entrusted to him, fully established him in the royal favour and confidence. It is probably not long after this that he was appointed to the archdeaconry of Taunton, and was presented to a parochial benefice, the name of which has eluded the research of his biographers.

Wide circulation was given throughout Europe to the treatise of Cranmer, by way of preparing the minds of university divines for the consideration of the questions about to be proposed to them, and the next year, 1530, a royal commission was sent abroad to collect their suffrages. This commission was composed of the Earl of Wiltshire, Cranmer, Lee, archbishop elect of York; Stokesley, bishop elect of London; Tregonel, Karn, and Benet, doctors of laws. The commission first directed their course to France, and from thence passed on to Italy, and afterwards to Germany, leaving Cranmer alone at Rome, to dispute the matter at the Papal court. Here he remained some months, and was treated with courtesy and respect, but strove in vain to bring to an issue a question which brought the pope's dispensing power into dispute, and which could not be determined satisfactorily to Henry without offence to the Emperor, who took much interest in the matter, seeing that Catherine of Aragon was his aunt.

The decisions of the French and Italian universities were in accordance with the opinions which Cranmer had promulgated; but those of the German universities were less favourable, being more under the influence of the Emperor. The Lutheran universities, indeed, were ready enough to deny the dispensing power of the pope as to a matter clearly prohibited by Scripture, but they

hesitated to say that such a marriage was in itself contrary to the divine laws.

At the end of the year 1530 Cranmer returned from Rome, it being quite clear that his longer stay availed nothing for the object he had in view. He found the king in high spirits from the success which had attended the measure recommended by him; for it had put him in possession of the judgments of the most learned bodies in Christendom in favour of the object he desired to accomplish. After a very short stay in England, during which he found time to answer Reginald Pole's book against the divorce, he was again sent abroad on an embassy to the Emperor himself, doubtless for the purpose of advancing at the imperial court the matter the king had most at heart. In this he does not appear to have had much success, even among the great Reforming divines whom he made it his business to consult. Their general feeling seems to have been that, however questionable or inexpedient the contraction of this unhappy marriage may have been in the first instance, it was harsh and unjust to call it in question after the lapse of so many years: and Luther, for one, in his usual blunt way, declared, on this ground apparently, that the divorce would be a greater enormity than the marriage.

It is deeply to be lamented that the cause of the Reformation in this country, and the elevation of Cranmer, should be so closely connected with this painful matter. The character of neither has escaped without spot from this connection. But they take narrow views indeed, who regard this matter as *the cause* of the Reformation The causes lay far deeper; and, from the influences at work, the Reformation was inevitable had Catherine of Aragon never lived, nor Henry VIII. ever reigned.

During his residence in Germany, Cranmer took a step which in him was of very great importance. In the course of an intimacy with the celebrated Osiander, then pastor at Nuremberg, he formed an attachment to his niece, and early in 1532 was married to her. By this step he declared himself almost, if not altogether, a Protestant, as it amounted to a denial that any pope or

council had the right to impose the obligation of celibacy upon the clergy, whose liberty in this respect had not been abridged by the law of God, or by the practice of the primitive church.

But Cranmer's time, while on the Continent, was by no means engrossed by the divorce question. He was entrusted with many private dispatches from the king; he discharged with ability and success the general duties of an ambassador; he had matters of trade to negotiate for the merchants of England trading to the Low Countries. Once he was obliged to furnish himself with camp equipage and attend the Emperor, who had taken the field against the Turks. He thus had various opportunities of showing himself to be a man whose knowledge was by no means confined to his profession, but was of a more general cast than the simplicity of his character and his quiet disposition had led men to suppose.

There is no reason to doubt that this residence in Germany, and intercourse with many chief men of the Protestant party, tended much to strengthen that favourable opinion of the Reformation which his previous studies at Cambridge had led him to entertain.

While his attention was engaged in the matters connected with his embassy, he received a message that the king intended to reward his various and eminent services by bestowing on him the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, which had become vacant on the 23rd of August, 1532, by the death of Dr. Warham.

Cranmer had doubtless formed expectations of advancement from the king's favour; but this so greatly surpassed his expectations or wishes, that he was less gratified than surprised and perplexed at this intelligence. To one whose ecclesiastical honours were so recent and unimportant, the advancement to the primacy of all England seemed somewhat too abrupt; he also felt that some difficulty might arise from the marriage which he had so recently contracted; and he seriously hesitated respecting the oath to the pope which he would be required to take.

None of these obstacles, however, proved insuperable;

for he soon returned to England, and was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, March 30th, 1533. The oath of fidelity to the pope he took under protest, "that he took it in no sense but such as was wholly consistent with the laws of God, the king's prerogative, and the statutes of the realm; that he did not thereby bind himself from speaking his mind freely in matters of religion, the government of the church, and the rights of the crown; and that he meant on all occasions to oppose the illegal authority of the pope, and to condemn his errors."

Soon after his advancement, Cranmer was called upon to act as judge in the painful matter of the divorce; for the king, fortified by the opinions collected from the universities, determined to bring the matter to a close without any further reference to Rome. Accordingly, he presided officially in a Consistory held at Dunstable, in which Queen Catherine, in default of her appearance, in answer to the summons sent to her, was pronounced contumacious, and a final sentence of divorce was passed. The matter was, in fact, urgent, for the king had before this privately married the Lady Anne Boleyn, and a prospect had arisen of her giving birth to a child, whose rights might be seriously affected by further delay. A few months after, on the 7th of September, 1533, a female child was born; and at her baptism, which soon followed, the archbishop, by the king's desire, became her godfather, and gave her the name of ELIZABETH.

Cranmer was no doubt very glad to be rid of this unhappy affair of the divorce, and of the questions and responsibilities connected with it. We also rejoice; and shall now be able to mark more closely the real character of the man, as manifested in the high station to which he had attained. Of the public matters in which he took part we shall say little, for that would be to enter into every important matter of the reigns in which he lived. We shall choose rather to dwell upon the circumstances which illustrate the history and character of the individual.

It is well to point out that at, and for some time after, his elevation, Cranmer was not otherwise opposed to

Romanism than as regarded the subject of the ecclesiastical power of the pope in this country. His dogmatic theology was ever on the great point of transubstantiation in accordance with that of Rome; and he regarded those who disputed it—the Sacramentarians, as they were called—as heretics; and no one at that time doubted that heretics ought to be punished even unto death, to deter others from their soul-destroying errors. Even those who suffered, admitted this doctrine, and denied only that their own opinions were to be treated as heretical. It is scarcely to be regarded as a charge against Cranmer, that he had not realized those views of toleration which were the growth of a later age, and which no man in his time entertained. From constitutional mildness of disposition and aversion to blood-shedding, he would not be forward in originating proceedings against those whom he regarded as heretics; but he shrunk not from any duty in this matter which his office seemed to impose, and he beheld without disapprobation the severities which some of the bishops of his province exercised. There is the memorable case of John Frith, who was examined before Cranmer and the Bishops of London and Winchester, for those very opinions regarding the sacrament which Cranmer himself eventually entertained, and which were common to all the reformers of the succeeding reign. Frith's views now seemed so "notably erroneous," that after Cranmer had in vain sought to turn him from them in three or four interviews, he was consigned to the tender mercies of his ordinary, Stokesley, Bishop of London; "and now," says Cranmer in one of his letters, "he is at a final end with all his examination; for my lord of London hath given sentence and delivered him to the secular power; where he looketh every day to go unto the fire." He adds quietly, "And there is also condemned with him one Andrew, a tailor of London, for the self-same opinion."

But although, from his treatment of the Sacramentarians, and from the general turn of his conduct and writings, it is very evident that Cranmer did not clear at a single bound the wide difference which was afterwards

established between the Protestantism of the Anglican Church and the prescribed orthodoxy of the Roman communion; it is equally manifest from other parts of his conduct and writings, and especially from his famous Protest, that at the time of his elevation his views were in a state of progress, and that he stood prepared for any further change, whether in doctrine or discipline, which his reading, reflection, or experience might suggest. The reader who has well considered the character of Henry the Eighth, knows that this was just the character and temper of mind suited for carrying on the work of the Reformation under a monarch like this, who remained, doctrinally, a rigid Romanist to the last day of his existence. It is therefore so far from being a disparagement to the master-builder of this cause in England that he was not a Luther, a Calvin, or a Knox—that it is safe to say that their qualities would not have suited the time, the country, and the king; and that their labours, instead of being conducted, like those of Cranmer, with great judgment and discretion to a successful issue, would speedily have been interrupted by death upon the scaffold or at the stake.

The divorce of Queen Catherine, and the marriage with and coronation of Anne Boleyn, brought matters to an issue with the see of Rome. The pope threatened, and afterwards executed a sentence of excommunication against Henry, who on his part was not slow to retaliate by measures for casting off the authority of the papacy, in which Cranmer took an active and important part, but which are too much matters of national history to claim consideration in this brief memoir.

These matters having been settled, and the ferment which they produced having in some degree subsided, the archbishop applied himself with diligence to the charge of his province, and to the advancement of religion. Among other things he undertook a visitation of his whole province, which, however necessary under the circumstances of the time, was an unusual measure, no such visitation having taken place for more than a century. It was particularly unpalatable to the bishops

not favourable to the recent measures; and Gardiner of Winchester, and Stokesley of London, openly declared their dissatisfaction. The former was probably not well pleased at the high advancement of one whom he had been instrumental in introducing to the notice of the king; and although he had vigorously promoted the divorce, he was not prepared for the innovations which seemed impending, and which Cranmer manifested much disposition to promote. The same was the case with Stokesley, who on many occasions conducted himself most discourteously to the primate. One example of this is remarkable. Cranmer from the moment of his advancement was most anxious to place the Scriptures before the people in their own tongue, and the consent of the king having been obtained, the archbishop proceeded in this manner: he began with the New Testament, and taking Tyndale's translation of it, he divided it into nine or ten parts, which he caused to be written out large and fair in as many paper-books. These books he sent to the most learned among the bishops and other ecclesiastics, with a request that they would give a careful revision of the parts allotted to them, and return the corrected books to him by a given day. When that day arrived, all the books had been returned except Stokesley's. On this the primate sent a letter to Fulham, requesting that the book might be sent by the bearer, his secretary. On receiving this, Stokesley said, "I marvel what my lord of Canterbury meaneth, that he thus abuseth the people in giving them liberty to read the Scriptures, which doth nothing else but infect them with heresy. I have bestowed never one hour on my portion, nor never will. And therefore my lord shall have his book back again, for I will never be guilty of bringing the simple people into error." And he accordingly sent it back in the state in which he received it. Cranmer was somewhat disturbed at this, as Stokesley had made no objection when he received the book, and the whole manner of the thing was grossly insulting to him.

There existed, in fact, on the episcopal bench, and in the higher offices of the church, a formidable amount of

hostility to any further changes and improvements. Aware of the opposition he had to expect from this quarter, he was glad when opportunities occurred of promoting the advancement of men more favourable to "the new learning," as it was called, and more willing to accept its consequences. In 1535 he had the satisfaction of consecrating Latimer and Shaxton, one to the see of Worcester, and the other to that of Salisbury; and several other promotions were effected through his influence, tending to weaken the influence of Rome in this country.

The same year was signalized by the advancement of Thomas Cromwell to the office of vicar-general to the king, as head of the church, in all ecclesiastical affairs. The powers given to him were very great; and in his official capacity precedence even over the archbishop was assigned to him. He was, however, on good terms with Cranmer, was himself well inclined to "the new learning," and was fully disposed to employ his authority in carrying on the great ecclesiastical revolution in which so much progress had been already made. This vast power was first applied to the visitation and suppression of the monasteries, and to the confiscation of their revenues. As Cranmer had no hand in this measure, and as the course which he approved was not taken, this is not the place to dwell upon it further than to state that, although both he and Latimer were favourable to the suppression of these strong-holds of Papal influence, it was their wish that three or four religious houses should have been preserved in every county, which under proper regulation might have offered shelter to contemplative piety, and might have opened a quiet harbour for many a troubled spirit that sighed for rest. It was also Cranmer's wish, which on proper occasions he never ceased to urge, that the revenues of these establishments, instead of being confiscated to enrich rapacious courtiers, should be reserved as a fund for the establishment and maintenance of schools and colleges throughout the country.

It was the misfortune of the archbishop to be not long

after implicated, by the obligations of his office, in the tyrannical and heartless proceedings of the king against Anne Boleyn. The question of her guilt or innocence can perhaps never be satisfactorily determined, unless documents not known to be now in existence should hereafter be brought to light. There is every reason to believe that much of what was laid to her charge could not be true; but the best friends of her memory must admit that much of her demeanour, although very probably no more than the result of mere thoughtlessness and natural buoyancy of temper, very ill became the high station to which she had been raised. On her degradation, all her old friends and adherents forsook her, lest they should be involved in her ruin. There was but one exception—Cranmer alone ventured, as far as the impetuosity of the royal savage permitted, to endeavour to moderate the violent prejudices entertained against her. The delicate management with which, in his letter to the king, he strove to produce a re-action in her behalf, and to convey his own testimony in favour of her character, will be best understood and appreciated by those who have the most carefully studied the position in which he stood, and the character of the man whom he sought to influence. This well-meant endeavour was unavailing; sentence of death was pronounced against her; and the dread of death having extorted from her a pretended confession of some lawful impediments to her marriage with the king, the archbishop was constrained to pronounce the marriage null and invalid on that plea. That he performed this duty of his office with an aching heart, we may readily believe; but he could not have evaded it without laying down his bishoprick; and he appears to have thought that her life might by this measure be preserved; for it did not appear how the penalties of high treason could be enforced against one whose marriage with the king was thus declared to have been invalid. But Henry, whose character was not then so well known as it afterwards became, did not stand upon such nice distinctions, and all the grace he would allow was that she should not perish at the

stake, but that the fair head which he had once thought worthy of a diadem should roll in blood upon the scaffold. The best vindication of Anne Boleyn's memory is that which the king himself offered *the next day*, when, in violation of the commonest decencies of life, he led her successor, the Lady Jane Seymour, to the altar.

The influence of Cranmer lay on deeper foundations than many had hitherto supposed; for it was soon seen that the death of Anne Boleyn, which was hailed as a triumph by the papal party, did not in any degree affect the power of the archbishop, or impede the cause to which he was devoted. Of that cause, the whole weight may be said to have rested at this time upon him, for neither Latimer, Shaxton, nor Barlow (of St. David's), were well suited to be active coadjutors therein. Of Latimer we shall presently have occasion to speak. No one valued the fine qualities of this good man more than did the archbishop, but it is easy to perceive that he dreaded more damage in those critical times from his indiscretion, than he hoped advantage from his counsel. As the single leader, he managed the great interests confided to him with a degree of judgment and address which can only be fairly estimated by those who consider that in the objects to which his views tended every day with increased distinctness, he had to cope not only with the determined opposition of the papal party—who were supported in all doctrinal matters by the king himself—but with the conflicting opinions of the different parties into which the Protestants themselves were divided. He therefore avoided provoking too strong an opposition by premature innovations, and considered well each step before it was taken. He began with redressing the abuses in his own courts,—retrenching his own fees and those of his officers. He abolished needless holidays. He then applied himself to regulate the preaching of the clergy, with the view of rendering their discourses vehicles of public instruction. His steps in reforming the doctrines of the Church were more guarded and cautious. The Roman ceremonies were not abolished, but were so explained as to remove superstí-

tion from the observance of them. In the doctrine of the real presence he was still a firm believer; and he personally assisted at the disputation which the king personally maintained in favour of it against the unfortunate John Lambert, who suffered a cruel death for the freedom with which he declared his opinions.

In the year 1538 Cranmer was cheered by the completion of an impression of the whole Bible in English, partly under his patronage, in one large folio volume, known by the name of Matthew's Bible. This name was fictitious. The translation was partly by Tyndale and partly by Coverdale; but as the former had suffered martyrdom in Flanders—the primate judged it expedient to set it forth under a name untainted with heresy. This great work the public owed to the enterprise of the printers, Grafton and Whitchurch; and a letter from the former to Cromwell is extant, in which he states that the impression amounted to 1500 copies, and that he had sunk no less than 500*l.*—no small sum for that time—in the enterprise. Cranmer exerted himself greatly in bringing the work into notice, and enforcing the use of it. In a letter to Cromwell he declares that the gift of a thousand pounds would have gladdened him far less than this happy event. Through the vicar-general's influence it was licensed by the king; and a copy was ordered to be affixed to a desk in every parish church. It was received with incredible ardour by the people. Those who had the means purchased it for themselves, while others flocked to the churches to read it or hear it read.

Some time after this the archbishop fell under some displeasure from the opposition which he offered to the spoliation of the revenues of the religious houses. The anti-Protestant party were also successful in urging upon the king the necessity of taking some decided proceeding to show the world that his measures had been taken not against the church, but against the supremacy of the pope. This resulted in the famous act of the Six Articles, to which Cranmer gave a decided and powerful opposition, which alone is quite sufficient to rescue

his memory from the charge of subserviency to the king, which has sometimes been alleged against him. Indeed, the king, who took so much interest in the measure that he went down to the House of Lords in person, and spoke in favour of it, pointedly requested him to absent himself from the debate; but he refused, alleging that the cause was not his own, but God's. There was only one point in the six articles—that in favour of the real presence—which was not contrary to his views; and as they thus furnish an index to the state of his opinions, their contents may be briefly stated:—1. That the real body of Christ is present in the Eucharist. 2. That the Sacrament should not be administered in both kinds to the laity. 3. That vows of chastity made by men or women are binding by the law of God. 4. That the law of God warrants the celebration of private masses. 5. That it does not allow the marriage of priests. 6. That it makes auricular confession necessary.

This act gave great affliction to the archbishop, not only as casting a cloud over the cause for which he laboured, but as affecting his own domestic comfort; for the fifth article constrained him to send his wife—with whom he had hitherto lived in a private way—together with their children, home to her friends in Germany. His adversaries also exulted in the supposed destruction of his influence; for those who knew best the character of Henry, and how ill he could tolerate the least opposition to his wishes, made sure that the primate's recent conduct had quite ruined him with the king. They were very much mistaken. To the honour of Henry be it said, that this display of sturdy integrity made no apparent diminution in his regard for Cranmer, if it did not rather increase his esteem for him. He even felt and expressed some concern for the trouble into which the primate must be plunged, and avowedly with the view of diverting his anxiety, he ordered the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and all the peers of parliament, to go and dine with him the next day at Lambeth, "to comfort him in his grief." They obeyed; some of them with no great satisfaction; and Norfolk, in the hearing of the rest, sig-

nified to "the archbishop his majesty's pleasure, that he should take comfort from the assurance that his good will towards him was still unimpaired; that the king was much impressed by the industry and learning displayed by him in the recent debates; and that he trusted he would not be too much cast down at the unsuccessful result of his exertions." This brought upon Cranmer a flood of compliments from all his guests. Among the rest, Cromwell declared his belief that the archbishop had been born in a most happy hour. It was, he said, the lot of all the other counsellors of the king frequently to incur his displeasure and to feel the weight of his rebuke: but no one could ever gain a hearing who attempted to insinuate anything to the disadvantage of his grace of Canterbury.

Among the consequences of the Six Articles was the resignation of their sees by Latimer and Shaxton, which, with the not long subsequent downfall of Cromwell, again left the primate almost alone in the work he had undertaken.

In the same [illegible] 1540, a new edition of the Scriptures appeared, in the shape of a large folio, enriched with a noble Preface by the archbishop, and hence known by the name of 'Cranmer's Bible.' Notwithstanding the former ordinance, many parishes in England still remained without the sacred volume: and now that the means of supply had been secured, a proclamation was issued, enforcing the previous ordinance under the penalty of 40*s.* a month so long as the omission should continue. This proclamation was greatly disliked by the anti-Protestant party, and although they could do nothing against it at the time, they were enabled about two years after to prevail upon the king to recall his sanction from the free and public perusal of the Scriptures, and to suppress the practice for the remainder of his reign. This was a matter of infinite concern to Cranmer.

In the course of 1541, a most painful and delicate task was imposed upon Cranmer, which it seemed equally dangerous to perform or to decline. One Lascelles, just previously to the king's return from the north, made

known to him the criminal conduct of the then queen, Catherine Howard. This he imparted to the Lord Chancellor Audley and to the Earl of Hertford, both of whom shrunk from having anything to do in the matter, and left to the archbishop the responsibility of communicating to the king or of suppressing the information he had received. By consulting them, he had put the latter course out of his power. He committed to writing the particulars revealed to him, and delivered the paper to the king on the very day after that in which the monarch had solemnly, in the chapel at Hampton Court, returned thanks to God for the connubial felicity which he enjoyed with his excellent and virtuous queen. The sequel is well known—more victims for the block—more blood upon the page which records the domestic history of Henry VIII.

In the year 1542, a strong effort to ruin the archbishop was made by the Roman party under Gardiner. Various meetings were held, and a variety of charges, amounting together to what was then considered heresy, were digested into a voluminous body of articles against the archbishop. This was sent into the privy council ostensibly from the prebendaries of the archbishop's own cathedral. These documents were soon in the hands of the king, who by a little reflection detected the *animus* of the proceeding as a confederacy for Cranmer's destruction, and felt convinced that Gardiner was at the bottom of it. Upon this conviction he acted, with his usual promptitude. He one evening ordered his barge, and proceeded forthwith to Lambeth, taking the papers in his sleeve. When Cranmer appeared on the steps by the water-side, Henry called to him, "O my chaplain, now I know who is the greatest heretic in Kent." He then gave him the articles, and desired him to inspect them. The primate was thunderstruck to find among the names of his accusers many members of his own church who were under great obligations to him, and of many magistrates whom he had treated with kindness and respect. He instantly fell on his knees, and implored that a commission should be appointed to sift the matter

to the bottom. "A commission there shall be," said the king; "but the archbishop of Canterbury shall be at the head of it, with such colleagues as he may please to appoint." Cranmer remonstrated against this; but the king was inflexible; and the investigation was entered upon without delay. Such a commission could not work well, however; and, seeing this, the king added two other commissioners, who proceeded with vigour and despatch, and brought to light all the dark intricacies of the plot against the primate. Gardiner, by a timely and somewhat abject apology, succeeded in preventing the letters which revealed his share in the confederacy from being laid before the House of Lords; and the prebendaries abased themselves to the very dust before the man they had striven to destroy. Cranmer, with his customary lenity, dismissed them with a mild admonition and his full forgiveness, reminding us of the saying which was current concerning him:—"Do my lord of Canterbury an ill turn, and he is your friend for ever." This was not long after again illustrated when Sir John Gostwick complained in his place in parliament, that the archbishop in his sermons at Canterbury and Sandwich had spoken heretically of the sacrament of the altar. This person did not belong to Kent, and had never heard a syllable from the lips of the person he accused. When the circumstance came to the ears of the king, he flew into a passion, and with small regard for the privilege of parliament, exclaimed, "Tell that varlet Gostwick that he hath played a villainous part to abuse in open parliament the primate of the realm. If he does not instantly acknowledge his fault to my lord of Canterbury, I will make him the poorest Gostwick that ever bore the name. What! does he pretend that, being in Bedfordshire, he could hear my lord of Canterbury preaching in Kent?" On hearing this the poor knight was heartily scared; he flew to Lambeth, and not only secured the pardon of the archbishop, but his intercession on his behalf with the king, who was not without difficulty pacified. In fact, Henry seems at this time to have had a very distinct perception of the dangers which beset the primate

from the sleepless enmity with which all his movements were watched, and to have felt how much his safety depended upon his support and confidence. He seems indeed to have had a presentiment of the fate that awaited him; for he was more than once heard to say, "What would they do with him, if I were gone!" The death of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, the king's brother-in-law, in 1545, deprived Cranmer of the most sincere and powerful friend that he now possessed at court; and his enemies availed themselves of this weakening of his interest for renewing their attacks. Representing to the king that the archbishop and his learned men had so infected the realm with their unsavoury doctrines, that three parts out of four in the land had become abominable heretics, and that the truth could not be known or spoken so long as he continued at liberty and a member of the council, they prevailed upon the king to give a seeming consent to his committal to the Tower. Late the same night Henry sent to call the archbishop out of his bed to attend him at Whitehall. On his arrival the king informed him of all that had taken place; and when the primate professed that he was ready to go to the Tower, provided that he might not be deprived of the liberty of defending himself against his accusers—the king burst out with—"O Lord God, what simplicity is yours! Know you not this—that no sooner shall you be in the Tower than the knaves will come forward to arraign you—who, while you are at liberty, will not dare to show their face? No, no; not so, my lord of Canterbury. Go you to the council to-morrow, and when you appear before them demand to be confronted with your accusers. Should there be a moment's hesitation, produce this ring, the sight of which will instantly bring the matter before me." The archbishop followed these directions to the letter. By eight o'clock the next morning he was in attendance upon the council. They were not then prepared to call him in; and he was left waiting in the ante-room, among the serving men in attendance. A hint of this fact was given to the king by his physician, Dr. Butts; and he impatiently curbed his wrath with—

"It is very well—I shall talk with them by and by." At length Cranmer was admitted to the council chamber and when he heard the complaint against him, he required that his accusers should be produced. This met with no attention, and finding that they were bent on his immediate commitment to the Tower, he exhibited the ring which the king had given to him the night before. This unwelcome object threw the whole assembly into confusion, and, as in duty bound, they at once repaired to the royal presence. Henry rated them soundly for their conduct. "Ha, my lords!" he said, "I thought that I had a wise and discreet council; but now I find that I am deceived. How have you handled here my lord of Canterbury? What make ye of him? Is he a slave, that ye shut him of the council chamber among serving men? Would ye be so handled yourselves?" After more taunts to the same effect, he proceeded with much solemnity;—"I would have you well understand, that I account my lord of Canterbury a faithful man towards me as ever was prelate in this realm, and one to whom I am in many ways beholden, by the faith I owe unto God;" here he laid his hand upon his breast, and added, "And therefore whoso loveth me will on that account regard him." On this nothing but the language of deprecation and apology was heard from the bewildered courtiers, who protested that they had never meant any harm to my lord of Canterbury, and had only moved for his committal to the Tower in the conviction that he would after trial come forth with augmented reputation and glory. "Well," said the king, "I pray you use not my friends so. I perceive now well enough how the world goeth among you. There remaineth malice among you one to another; let it be avoided out of hand, I would advise you." He then withdrew, and the lords crowded round the archbishop to shake hands with him, and assure him of their regard. The king's favourite recipe for promoting a good understanding among people, was by making them dine together; and he often used it in behalf of Cranmer, by sending the lords of the council to Lambeth to dine at his hospitable

table; and this he did not neglect on the present occasion.

After the signal defeat which has been described, the enemies of the archbishop no longer durst, during the life-time of Henry, practise against him as a traitor or a heretic; and they were obliged to be content with low detraction, and with attempting to excite a feeling against him as a mean and avaricious prelate. Sir John Seymour (brother of the future Protector) was among those who ventured to insinuate to the king that the revenues of the primacy were not now employed in maintaining that dignified hospitality which became so eminent a station. The king seemed to take little notice of this at the time; but some weeks after he found an occasion of sending Sir John over to Lambeth at the hour of dinner. He arrived just in time to witness the becoming splendour and liberality of the archbishop's establishment, and was himself pressed to take a seat among the guests. Penetrating the design of the king in sending him to Lambeth, Seymour, on his return, acknowledged his error, and confessed that next to the king's there was no table in the realm more nobly kept than that of the primate. "Aye," said the king, "I well perceive what you would be at. With your good will the revenues of the bishopricks should follow the same fate with those of the monasteries, but while I live that shall never be." The calumny was, however, not suffered to drop; and five years after, in the time of Edward the Sixth, the reports of his parsimony and great wealth extorted a vigorous reply from him, in which, among other things, he says: "That he took not half so much care for his living when he was a scholar at Cambridge as he did at present: for although he had now much more revenue, he had also much more to do with it. That he had more care now to live as an archbishop than he had then to live as a scholar. That he now paid double for every thing he bought; and that any auditor who examined his accounts would find it no easy matter to discover any surplus on which he could grow rich."

Now that we are got into the palace, it may be well to introduce a few particulars which Strype and others have preserved respecting Cranmer's personal habits and manner of life.

The regular and laborious habits of study which he followed at Cambridge were still maintained by him, so far as altered circumstances allowed; and when no urgent business lay before him, it was still his delight to spend three-fourths of the day in study, as had been his wont at college. His ordinary distribution of time was this:—His usual hour of rising was five. The four next hours were commonly given to reading and devotion. The interval between nine o'clock and the hour of dinner (probably twelve, at the latest) was dedicated to public business, the reception of suitors, and to the despatch of matters connected with his ecclesiastical office. After dinner, if any petitioners or suitors remained to be heard, his time was at their disposal, and the least successful seldom departed without reason to extol the patience and lenity of their judge. If no such matters remained, an hour or more was employed by him either in chess, or in looking at those who played that game. He then returned to his study till five; and it was his custom there to pursue his literary labours, not sitting in a chair, but standing at a desk. This practice, which is certainly most conducive to bodily health, and answers some of the purposes of exercise, he had, perhaps, acquired in Germany, where it was and is very common. From five o'clock till supper the interval was occupied, partly in hearing the Common Prayer, and partly in walking or other recreation. At the supper-table the archbishop was often merely a spectator, as his appetite did not always require that meal; and he then sat with his gloves on, conversing with the guests whom his hospitality had assembled. An hour of gentle exercise or cheerful pastime followed; and at nine he went back to his study and there remained till he had retired to rest.

This orderly distribution of his time and habit of constant study enabled Cranmer to make such incessant and

large accumulations of knowledge, that nothing could be more absurd than the charge of ignorance or imperfect learning which was among those which his adversaries sometimes urged against him. He was not a bright or ready man, not inventive, utterly without imagination; but his judgment was strong, his powers of analysis great, and his resources were not only boundless, but effectively produced when allowed to produce them in his own way. This was so well understood by Henry the Eighth, that when he was desirous of having any doubt or question solved, "he would," says Morice, Cranmer's secretary, "but send word to my lord over night, and the next day the king would have in writing brief notes of the doctors' minds, as well divines as lawyers, both old and new, with a conclusion of his own mind; which he could never get in such readiness of any, no, not of all his clergy and chaplains about him, in so short a time. For being thoroughly seen in all kinds of expositors, he could incontinently lay open thirty, forty, sixty, or more some whiles, of authors. And so, reducing the notes of them altogether, would advertise the king more in one day than all his learned men could do in a month . . . And therefore it was that the king said on a time to the bishop of Winchester (Gardiner), the king and my lord of Winchester defending together that the Canons of the Apostles were of as good authority as the four Evangelists, contrary to my lord Cranmer's assertion, 'My lord of Canterbury,' said the king, 'is too old a truant for us twain.'"

No doubt his adversaria, or note-books, and collections from the fathers and church writers, greatly assisted him on such occasions. These books had accumulated in the course of years, under Cranmer's habits of study, to a vast monument of learned labour, of which Peter Martyr, who saw them when sheltered by the archbishop at Lambeth, speaks with much admiration, affirming that there was no book either of the ancient or modern writers, especially on the subject of the Eucharist, which he had not noted with his own hand in the most remarkable places; no councils, various decrees of popes, which he had not

read and well considered. The result of all this, as regards the particular question of the Eucharist, and of an argument on the subject which he held with Ridley, was, that shortly before the death of King Henry he had abandoned the Romish doctrine of the real presence for the view still entertained by the Anglican church. It is indeed stated that he rested intermediately on the consubstantiation of the Lutherans; but of this no satisfactory proof has been produced.

Strype, who was a great lover of books, gloats over the memories of Cranmer's library, which he says was the storehouse of the ecclesiastical writers of all ages, and was freely open to the use of learned men. Here old Latimer, who lived with the archbishop at Lambeth after giving up his bishoprick, spent many an hour, and found some books so remarkable, that he once spoke of the matter in a sermon to the king (Edward VI.). So when Roger Ascham wanted the works of Gregory Nyssen in the original Greek, and could not find the book at Cambridge, he obtained the loan of it for several months from the primate's library. "For in those times," adds Strype, "it was rare to meet with the Greek fathers in their own language, and not spoiled in some ill Latin translation."

Cranmer is almost the only person, perhaps the only one, whom Henry VIII. had at all times upheld, to whom he had been at all times faithful through good and evil report. This is one of the redeeming points of his character. He died in 1547, and when in his last agonies, sent for Cranmer. By the time the prelate arrived he was speechless; and when asked to give some sign of his hope in God's mercy through Jesus Christ, he could only wring his hand, and then expired.

This event was of great importance to Cranmer, and to the cause in which he had become more and more engaged. The "numbing spell" which had hung over his exertions was removed; and under the young prince, his godson and pupil, who now ascended the throne, he was more free than he ever had been to carry out the objects dear to his heart. To these objects he devoted

himself with the zeal of one who felt that every hour was precious, and yet with a discretion which the time and country required, and which point him out as the man beyond all others suited to the work which had been committed to him. The tendency of all the measures he promoted was to carry forward into more decided Protestantism the mongrel Romanism which had prevailed in the preceding reign. This he accomplished by cautious and well-considered steps, which scarcely kept pace with the expectations and wishes of the continental reformers, particularly of the ardent Calvin, who strove by writing to hurry him on more precipitately; but to whom Cranmer replied with great amenity, justifying his own course of proceeding.

Important as was the position of Cranmer, and signal as were his labours during this reign, few circumstances occur illustrative of his personal history and character. The facts are such as rather belong to the history of his time and of his cause, and in this place need but be very briefly indicated.

By the will of the late king Cranmer found himself at the head of the regency of sixteen, but he rarely interfered in matters of state, taking the lead in ecclesiastical affairs alone. His first object was to settle the supremacy, as the foundation of all subsequent proceedings; and with this view he set the example of obtaining a new licence for himself to exercise his functions from the young King Edward. A general visitation was then commenced, by which many abuses were amended and irregularities restrained. The free use of the Scriptures was again allowed. Preaching had become so much of a nullity, that the Homilies were issued to be read in churches. The Catechism was now framed, and the Liturgy and Canon Law remodelled, chiefly by Cranmer himself; superstitious ceremonies and processions were discouraged; and many changes of less import were introduced. Not the least anxious of his labours was the drawing up of the Articles of the Church of England, of which, in their first state, as prepared by him, there were forty-two.

The severe enactments of the last reign were repealed; and Cranmer found his hands strengthened by the presence of the English reformers, who had taken refuge in foreign countries, and now ventured to return home, and of the learned foreigners who sought refuge from the persecutions of the Continent. Among the former were Coverdale, Hooper, Philpot, and Rogers; and among the latter Peter Martyr, Bucer, Aless, and Fagius, whom he entertained at Lambeth, and afterwards settled in professorships—Martyr, at Oxford, as Regius Professor of Divinity; and Bucer and Fagius at Cambridge. He also patronized John A'lasco, the exiled Polish nobleman, and the congregation attached to him; Sleidan, the historian; Leland, the antiquarian; and, though last not least, Latimer. By intercourse with these eminent men, and by correspondence with Osiander, Melancthon, and Calvin, his own views on many points of doctrine were carried forward to conclusions more and more adverse to those which the Roman Church maintained. It was indeed his ardent wish to promote a general union of all the Protestant churches; but this became every year more and more difficult; and although the project was applauded by the Continental reformers, they could not be prevailed upon to take any effectual steps in furtherance of it.

His advice was generally followed in filling up vacant sees in his province, and to him most of them owed their advancement who in the next reign sacrificed their lives or homes to their principles. On one point he more than once, however, found himself acting rather with the Romish and against the Protestant party; and this was in resisting encroachments upon the revenues of the colleges, and upon the temporalities of sees, which were made or attempted at the instance of the nobles, whose appetite had been whetted rather than satiated by the spoil of the monasteries, and who seem to have regarded this as the best and most essential part of the Reformation. He was also very careful in collating benefices to adapt the pastor to the flock: and after his death there was found among his papers a list of towns endorsed,

Memorandum: these towns to have learned ministers."

The last public act of Cranmer during the reign of Edward regarded the succession of the crown. In this matter he was greatly influenced by the oath he had formerly taken in favour of the Princess Mary, and would not therefore readily consent to her exclusion in behalf of the Lady Jane Grey; but at length he gave way in compliance with the earnest and pathetic entreaties of the young king himself.

The public sentiment was, however, outraged by the ambitious project of Northumberland, of which that interesting lady was the unwilling tool and became the victim; and this, with the natural respect of the English people for what they deem rightful authority, speedily cast the innocent usurper from the throne, and seated the Princess Mary on it. She was the daughter of Catherine of Aragon, and was known to be not only a most devoted adherent of Romanism, but to harbour a most implacable resentment against all those who had been instrumental in procuring or facilitating her mother's divorce. When therefore she came to the throne, in 1553, Cranmer saw that it was time for him to set his house in order. He lost no time in directing his steward to pay all his debts, observing, "In a short time, perhaps, we may not be able." And when this was done, he said, "I thank God I am now mine own man, and with God's help am able to answer all the world, and all worldly adversities." And he was not long left without a full measure of the adversities which he anticipated.

It has been stated that, although during the reign of Henry he had stoutly upheld the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation, his views had eventually undergone a change through his deeper study of the question and his intercourse with Ridley; and during the reign of Edward he wrote a book *against* the real presence, which made much noise, and excited some discussion. He therefore now stood fully committed to the Protestant view in this leading subject of controversy. When therefore a rumour went abroad that he had offered to cele-

brate mass at the burial of the late king, and that he had already caused the mass to be restored in Canterbury, he felt himself bound to contradict it by a public declaration; and in the same document he rather throws himself upon danger by volunteering that, with the assistance of Peter Martyr and a few others, he would maintain in public disputation against any man the reformations accomplished in the last reign.

This declaration afforded to his enemies the handle against him which they desired. A copy of it being sent to the queen's commissioners, he was cited to appear before them, and bring an inventory of his goods. It does not appear what was the precise charge against him on this first occasion: but soon after, he was called before the Star Chamber, and, after being severely questioned, committed to the Tower, partly for his late compliance in the alteration of the succession, partly from the bold avowal of his principles; but chiefly, no doubt, from the inveterate malice which had been conceived against him for the divorce of the queen's mother, the blame of which was wholly ascribed to him, although Gardiner and other bishops had been quite as deeply concerned in it.

Not long after his committal, the friends of Cranmer took occasion of a visit which the queen paid to the Tower, to intercede with her on his behalf, and to request that he might be admitted to her presence. But she would neither hear nor see him.

In parliament he was attainted, and was afterwards adjudged guilty of high-treason at Guildhall. He was then considered as divested of his archbishoprick, and its revenues were placed under sequestration. It was peculiarly distressing to him to be condemned under a charge of treason; and this induced him to make any submission which might obtain his pardon. His services towards Mary herself during the lifetime of her father had been very great, and this spoke much in his favour; but no services to herself could blot out her deep remembrance of his exertions in promoting the divorce of her mother; and this, with the leading part he had taken in the late

reformations, rendered him personally obnoxious to her — the object of her deep dislike. At length, however, this charge of treason was permitted to drop; but he remained in confinement as a heretic.

He might, however, it appears, have saved himself by a timely flight from England, as many other eminent men of the Protestant party, seeing the coming storm, did without scruple. But while he fully approved of this course in them, and indeed advised it, he deemed that it would better become one who had been the prime mover in the changes which had become so obnoxious, to hold his ground to the last.

He remained for some time in the Tower without any further step being taken against him. But he was at length summoned to appear before the convocation, which having met at St. Paul's, was adjourned to Oxford. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was the question proposed to be settled in this convocation.

To Oxford Cranmer was accordingly conducted by Lord Williams of Thame, together with his companions in misfortune, Latimer and Ridley, who, with Bradford, had been confined in the same small apartment with him in the Tower. Up to this time they had all been treated with some respect, whatever they wanted had been readily supplied, and their own servants had been allowed to attend them: but now all comforts were denied them, and they were ignominiously cast into Bocardo, the common jail. This was in March, 1544; and on the 14th of the ensuing month the strife of words began. On that day the representatives of the Lower House of Convocation, with the prolocutor, Dr. Weston, at their head, and attended by the delegates of both universities, went in procession to St. Mary's Church, and seated themselves in the chair, in front of the high altar. After the usual preliminaries, an order was sent to mayor and bailiffs to produce Dr. Cranmer before them. The archbishop soon appeared, guarded by a body of bill-men. He stood with his staff in hand, with a grave and composed aspect, and remained in that posture, having declined the seat which had been offered to him. The

prolocutor then opened the proceedings in an harangue, in which, after expatiating upon the necessity of unity in the church, he turned to Cranmer, and lamented that he, who had been once a Catholic man, should have made a lamentable breach in that unity, not merely by teaching erroneous doctrines, but by setting forth a new faith every year. It was however the earnest desire of the queen that he should, if possible, be recovered from his schismatical separation; and she had therefore charged them with the office of reclaiming him. The three questions chosen for discussion were then read; and they were so framed as to affirm the well-known Romish views respecting the real presence, transubstantiation, and the sacrifice of the mass.

Receiving the paper, Cranmer joined the prolocutor in a most ardent desire for Christian unity, "when it can be obtained with a good conscience." Then reading over the articles with care three or four times, he shook his head, and said he feared that this paper afforded a very insufficient basis for the religious unity which all so much desired. The ready and accomplished Ridley in this case would at once have launched forth in answer to these articles: but Cranmer, as our previous knowledge of his habits of mind would lead us to expect, said that if the articles were left with him, he would undertake to be prepared with a full answer in writing by the next morning. This was allowed, together with the use of such books as he might require, and he was then conducted back to the Bocardo. During the whole of this proceeding the demeanour of Cranmer was grave, modest, and respectful; and as he stood—a pale and enfeebled old man, in a plain habit, leaning upon his staff, many of those who had known him in his prosperous days, and saw how confinement and ill-usage had banished the glow of health from his cheek, and subdued his once brisk and active step, were moved even to tears, although they differed from him in opinion.

Cranmer sent in his answer the next day, which was Sunday; and Monday was appointed for the discussion with him of the question on which the parties differed;

Ridley was to have Tuesday, and Latimer Wednesday, for the same purpose. The mockery of all disputation under such circumstances must be apparent—seeing that to one party death must be the penalty of opposition, whatever be the success of the argument. Such odds are fearful. In other respects the discussion was managed with great disadvantage to the sufferers. Cranmer complained of the shortness of the time allowed: and claimed the privilege of opposing as well as of answering. But all was in vain. Sentence of condemnation was passed against them all on the 20th of April. But it was not executed, for the incompetency of the tribunal having become apparent, it was resolved to reserve them for a new trial when the pope's authority in the land should be formally re-established. Meanwhile, however, they were still treated as convicted criminals. Cranmer remained in custody in Bocardo, and the two others were severally consigned to the charge of public officers of Oxford, who kept them "in ward" in their houses. Seventeen months elapsed before a new Commission was issued for the trial of Latimer and Ridley. After their condemnation, the proceedings against Cranmer commenced, under a more solemn process which his metropolitan dignity was considered to demand; for according to the usage of the Roman Church, it was necessary that the authority for proceedings against him should issue directly from the pope himself. These proceedings commenced in St. Mary's Church, before Dr. Brokes, Bishop of Gloucester, who sat as representative of the Cardinal de Puteo, the chief commissioner appointed by the pope. When Cranmer was produced before this tribunal, habited in a black gown, with his doctor's hood over his shoulders, he respectfully saluted the royal proctors, but looked steadfastly at the Papal Commissioner without removing his cap, or showing any other mark of reverence. When reproved for this, he answered that he had forborne the customary marks of submission, not out of any disrespect to the Bishop of Gloucester, but out of regard to the oath he had taken, not to acknowledge the papal authority in this realm; and that if the

commission had derived its powers from the crown instead of from the see of Rome, he would instantly have acknowledged them with all becoming deference. In fact he denied the competency of the tribunal; but in answer to the matters laid to his charge, he entered into a vindication of his conduct and character, and re-asserted and enforced all his obnoxious opinions. The commission could not pronounce his condemnation, but an official report of the proceedings was despatched to Rome. This procedure closed September 13, 1554; but before they commenced this, Cranmer had received a citation dated September 7, commanding him to appear at Rome in the course of eighty days, there to answer for himself in person before the pontiff. This was of course only a form, as his imprisonment rendered obedience impossible; but it had the effect of delaying the execution during that period.

Not long after Cranmer was sent back to prison to await the final sentence from Rome, his friends Latimer and Ridley were led past his prison to that fiery ordeal through which they so gloriously passed. As they went by, they looked up to catch his eye; but he was at that moment engaged in a discussion with the friar de Soto, who had been sent to argue with him; yet he afterwards surveyed the distant execution from the top of the north-gate, and offered up his prayers to God that they might be supported in their mortal agonies.

On the 29th of November, the eighty days appointed for his appearance at Rome had elapsed. On the 4th of December, at the instance of Cardinal de Puteo, he was sentenced to excommunication, and deprived of the archbishoprick. The final executory letter of the pope was dated December the 14th. It alleged, that having been cited to Rome, and having taken no care to appear, he had incurred the guilt of contumacy; and it then proceeded to declare him guilty of heresy and other enormities, for which causes he was declared to be excommunicated; and Bonner, Bishop of London, and Thirlby, Bishop of Ely, were charged to degrade him from his archbishoprick, and then deliver him over to the secular

arm. No attempt was made to put this mandate into execution till the 14th of February, 1556, when Cranmer was summoned to appear before the papal delegates in St. Mary's Church. He was there invested with a coarse imitation of the archiepiscopal robes and insignia, which were successively removed by the delegates—by Thirlby with gentleness and pity, but by Bonner with coarse brutality and scornful jests. This miserable pageantry was concluded by the exhibition of the primate in his doublet, over which was contemptuously cast the threadbare gown of a yeoman bedel, with a townsman's cap upon his head; while Bonner insultingly exclaimed, "Now, 'you are my lord' no more:" and in addressing disparaging remarks regarding him to the people, as he did repeatedly, he marked the distinction by emphatically indicating him as "This *gentleman* here." Cranmer bore all this very meekly, save that he hesitated when they attempted to take the mock crosier from him; and that he put in a written appeal to a general council against these proceedings.

It now seems to have entered the minds of the dominant party that their work would be incomplete unless they could by some means prevail upon the great leader of the Reformation to recant, and to declare his adhesion to the opinions he had so earnestly laboured to subvert. With this view their whole conduct towards him underwent a change. He received visits of condolence and courtesy from various members of the university. He was invited frequently to the deanery of Christ Church, where he exchanged for a time the inconveniences of a prison for the society of learned men and the liberal hospitality of college life; and he was often requested to join in a game at bowls—an exercise in which he took great pleasure. In short, no marks of attention and respect were omitted, and no wish he could form was left ungratified. In the midst of these indulgences he was plied with a well-managed alternation of intimidation and encouragement. He was assured that nothing would gratify the queen so much as his submission, and that nothing short of this would gratify her; he was told that

he still possessed the good will of the nobility; and that no obstacles but of his own creating existed to the recovery of his former dignity, or, if he liked it better, to his passing his remaining days in honourable retirement. Unhappily they prevailed. The sudden return to social intercourse and comfort, after so long confinement and privation, dissipated his firm resolves, and rekindled his love of life; and, in an evil hour, he put his name to a paper expressing his assent to the disputed tenets of the Roman Church.

This recantation was immediately printed and widely circulated, and the triumph of the Romanists was complete.

But they knew not how to use the triumph they had gained. No greater benefit to their cause could possibly accrue—no greater damage to the name and influence of Cranmer could be inflicted, than by suffering him to live on in retirement, or in prison, with no opportunity of producing a signal re-action in his favour, and of wiping out the deep stain which that ink had shed upon his name. They resolved that he should perish, notwithstanding the great promises which had been held out to him.

Before he knew this—almost as soon as the act had been committed, remorse for the deed began to prey upon Cranmer's mind. "I have denied the faith—I have pierced myself through with many sorrows," were among the words in which his contrition found vent. That he who had been the leader, and should have stood for an example unto others, should have thus apostatised, was to him a dreadful thought; and he saw no means of retrieving the error into which he had fallen, so completely was he in the hands of those who triumphed in the ruin of his character and influence. Happily for his name and honour, the deep and blind malice of his enemies afforded him the most glorious opportunity that could be desired.

Up to the 29th of March, the day previous to that fixed for his execution, he had received no notice of it; but he was visited on the evening of that day by Dr.

Cole, who indirectly intimated to him his approaching doom. He forthwith proceeded to prepare himself for this great consummation of his fears and hopes; and employed the rest of the evening in drawing up a repentant speech and a prayer, together with a full confession of his apostacy.

It had been intended that he should be taken directly from prison to the stake; but as the day proved wet and stormy, it was concluded that all the preparatory ceremonies should take place under cover. Accordingly, about nine o'clock in the morning, Lord Williams received him at the prison gate and conducted him to St. Mary's Church. Here a sermon was preached by Dr. Cole, who strove to vindicate the execution notwithstanding the recantation; desired the hearers to take warning by the example; and exhorted Cranmer to bear his last worldly trial with fortitude. Having concluded his sermon, the preacher turned round and desired those present to join with him in silent prayer for the unhappy man before them. A solemn stillness ensued, during which every eye and every hand were lifted towards heaven. Cranmer, who had also fallen on his knees, then arose in all the dignity of affliction, and addressed the spectators:—"I had myself intended to have desired your prayers; my desires have been anticipated; and I return you all that a dying man can give you, my sincerest thanks. To your prayers for me let me add my own." He then gave utterance to a few fervent and pathetic supplications for the Divine mercy, but without indicating the grief that lay heaviest at his heart. Having concluded he rose from his knees, and, taking a paper from his bosom, thus addressed the audience:—"It is now, my brethren, no time to dissemble: I stand upon the verge of death; a vast eternity is before me. What my fears are, or what my hopes, it matters not here to unfold. For one action of my life, at least, I am accountable to the world—my late shameful subscription to opinions which are wholly opposite to my real sentiments. Before this congregation I solemnly declare, that the fear of death alone induced me to this ignomi-

nious action ; that it hath cost me many bitter tears ; and that in my heart I totally reject the pope and the doctrines of the church of Rome."

Amazement and confusion filled the assembly as these words fell from him ; and rage rose high in many bosoms. Some vehemently cast his dissimulation in his teeth. But he mildly answered, " Always since I lived hitherto, I have been a hater of falsehood and lover of simplicity, and never before this have I dissembled." He proceeded to speak in support of his real opinions, which threw the whole assembly into an uproar ; and, at a signal from Cole, several priests and friars rushed forward from different parts of the church with great eagerness, and hurried him out of the church and along the streets to the place of execution. This was the same spot, in front of Balliol College, where Ridley and Latimer had suffered. On arriving here Cranmer kneeled down, and prayed to God. He then laid aside his garments to his shirt, and stood ready for death. As he thus stood, his shirt reached down to his feet, which were bare. His head, also uncovered, appeared entirely bare, so that not a single hair could be seen upon it : but his beard was long and thick, giving to his countenance a most venerable aspect. Many, both friends and enemies, were moved, even to tears, at this sad spectacle.

The executioners were ready, and in a little time he stood chained to the stake, with the faggots piled in around him. He had discharged a great duty ; he had disburdened his conscience ; and he stood amid the implements of death with a serene and composed countenance, while bitter taunts and loud revilings poured in upon him from many of those into whose hands he had fallen. But he continued looking with eyes full of benignity, and gave his hand to some old men that stood by, bidding them farewell. At length the torch was put to the pile, and he was presently involved in a burst of smoke and flame ; but on the side next the wind, he was distinctly seen, before the fire reached him, to thrust his right hand into it, and to hold it there with astonish-

ing firmness, crying out, "This hand hath offended! this hand hath offended!"

It was soon over. The flames rose intensely around him, and a thick smoke enveloped him; so that life must have been speedily extinct.

Thus perished Thomas Cranmer, in the 67th year of his age, and after he had presided over the English Church twenty years. The view which we take of his character has been indicated in the course of the narrative, and requires no separate exhibition.

"Of all the martyrdoms during this great persecution," remarks Southey, "this was in all its circumstances the most injurious to the Roman cause. It was a manifestation of inveterate and deadly malice toward one who had borne his honours with almost unexampled meekness. It sufficiently disproved the argument on which the Romanists rested, that the constancy of our martyrs arose not from confidence in their faith, and the strength which they derived therefrom; but from vainglory, the pride of consistency, and the shame of retracting what they had so long professed. Such deceitful reasoning could have no place here: Cranmer had retracted, and the sincerity of his contrition for that sin was too plain to be denied, too public to be concealed, too memorable ever to be forgotten. The agony of his repentance had been seen by thousands; and tens of thousands had witnessed how, when that agony was past, he stood calm and immoveable amid the flames, a patient and willing holocaust; triumphant, not over his persecutors alone, but over himself, over the mind as well as the body, over fear, and weakness, and death."

HUGH LATIMER was born at Thurcaston in Leicestershire, about the year 1484.* In one of his sermons before King Edward, he says himself,—"My father was a yeoman, and had no lands of his own, only he had a farm of three or four pounds by the year, at the uttermost, and hereupon he tilled as much as kept half a dozen men. He had a walk for a hundred sheep, and my mother milked thirty kine. He was able, and he did find the king a harness, with himself and his horse, while he came to the place that he should receive the king's wages. I can remember that I buckled his har-

* The year of his birth is not known. Some place it in 1470, which must be too early; others in 1491, which must be far too late. The date of 1484 has been chosen, after carefully balancing all the evidence. If 1491 were taken, he could not in 1497 have been old enough to buckle his father's harness, nor of such advanced years at his death, as all accounts agree in stating; and if 1470, he would have been older than incidental statements allow.

ness when he went into Blackheath field.* He kept me to school, or else I had not been able to preach before the king's majesty now. He married my sisters with five pounds, or twenty nobles a-piece; so that he brought them up in godliness and fear of God. He kept hospitality for his poor neighbours, and some alms he gave to the poor. And all this he did of the said farm, where he that now hath it payeth sixteen pounds by the year, or more; and is not able to do anything for his prince, for himself, or for his children, or to give a cup of drink to the poor."

This honest yeoman finding that his son Hugh gave promise of a ready wit, was tempted to make a scholar of him; and after having previously given him the best education that the common schools of the neighbourhood afforded, sent him at the age of fourteen to Christ's College, Cambridge. He was chosen fellow of Clare Hall in 1509 while yet an under-graduate. In the following year he proceeded to the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and in 1514 commenced Master of Arts. He states himself that about the age of thirty he proceeded to the degree of Bachelor in Divinity; but it does not appear that he ever took the degree of Doctor in that faculty; and indeed he is never called Doctor, but is always, even when a bishop, styled "Master Hugh Latimer." After completing his degrees he was admitted to the order of the priesthood by the Bishop of Lincoln.

At the university Latimer was distinguished for his "sanctimony of life," as well as for his studious habits. He was besides a most fervent and zealous Romanist, and a bitter opposer of all who favoured the Reformation. He had at one time serious thoughts of taking the cowl, under the impression that he should never go to hell if he once became a friar; and such was the respect in which he was held that he was appointed to the charge of keeping the University Cross, in token of preference for his extraordinary sanctity. It seems

* Where the Cornish rebels were defeated in 1497.

he was so shocked at the impiety of the "new learning" that he actually feared the end of the world to be at hand. On proceeding Bachelor of Divinity, his whole oration was levelled against Philip Melanchthon and the opinions entertained by that eminent person: and it is related that he used sometimes to go to the divinity-school to oppose George Stafford, the divinity lecturer, who had embraced the views of the Reformers, and to dissuade the students from attending his instructions.

It was soon after he took his bachelor's degree in divinity that a change came over his views. The zeal which he on that and other occasions manifested, attracted the attention of Thomas Bilney, then at Cambridge, who conceived an ardent desire to enlist that zeal in the cause to which it was now opposed. His hope that this might be possible, arose from perceiving that the rage which he now manifested against the Reformation, was founded more on an intimacy with the scholastic divinity than on a knowledge of the Scriptures. The method Bilney adopted of making an impression upon Latimer was this; he came to his study, and asked him to hear him make his confession. He readily assented; and Bilney proceeding with his confession, he was so touched, that inquiry was awakened, and, under the instructions of Bilney, he was led to forsake his former modes of study and devote himself more entirely to the Scriptures. Many years after Latimer said to Ridley,—"By travailing thus with me, you use me as Bilney did once, when he converted me,—pretending as though he would be taught of me, he found ways and means to teach me; and so do you."

Latimer was all his life incapable of doing anything by halves. The simple earnestness of his character rendered any temporising medium impossible to him. Under his altered views, he became as zealous in behalf of the new learning as he had lately been against it. One of his first acts was to seek out Stafford and implore his forgiveness for the outrages against him of which he had formerly been guilty. His hostilities against the ancient abuses were now carried on with the most incessant

activity, and in a manner that could not fail to attract the public attention. He employed himself in visiting the sick and the prisoners in the town of Cambridge. He preached frequently, both in English and *ad clerum*. The account given of his sermons in the university by Becon, who heard them, is, that none, except the stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart, "ever went away from his preaching without being affected with a strong detestation of sin, and moved unto all godliness and virtue." Many also who had been strongly prejudiced against him, on being persuaded by their friends to go and hear him preach, returned from his sermons with all their prejudices softened. In his Sermon on the Card, by a sord of homely ingenuity, he made even the practice of card-playing subservient to religious instruction. In this sermon, preached the Sunday before Christmas 1529, he dealt out to the audience cards from the 5th, 6th, and 7th chapters of Matthew, accompanying them with an application to the superstitious practices of the time. "This blunt preaching," Fuller well remarks, "was in those dark days admirably effectual, which would justly be ridiculous in our age;" and he gives an instance of a preacher in his day who produced nothing but amusement in his audience by "a fond imitation of Latimer's Card sermon."

This sermon gave great offence to the Papal party; and one Dr. Buchneham (Buckingham), prior of the Black Friars, undertook to preach a counter-sermon, in which he, by a still more quaint device, exhibited *dice* before his audience, in order to illustrate the inexpediency of permitting to the people the use of the Scripture in English—making express reference to certain passages in which there was great danger of gross misapplication of the sacred text, if subjected to be read by men of simple understandings in their own language. Latimer, who thought himself bound to answer this sermon, came soon after to the church, and before a large audience, composed both of University men and towns-people, refuted the arguments of the prior, who was himself present, sitting directly before the preacher,

underneath the pulpit, with his cowl about his shoulders. In the course of his reply, he not only showed the great absurdity of his opponent in assuming such misapplications of Scripture as he had alleged, but exposed, with considerable felicity of sarcastic illustration, the groundlessness of such fears that the figurative language of the Bible should be misunderstood:—"For example," he said, looking at the place where the friar sat, "when painters represent a fox preaching out of a friar's cowl; no one takes this for a real fox, but only for a caution to beware of hypocrisy, craft, and dissimulation." On another occasion West, bishop of Ely, wishing to judge of Latimer's preaching, came suddenly to St. Mary's Church, when he was in the midst of his sermon. Without any appearance of surprise Latimer made a pause till the bishop and his retinue were seated, and then, with remarkable courage and presence of mind, said, that a new and more honourable auditory required a new theme; and he then proceeded from the text *Christus existens Pontifex futurorum bonorum*, etc., to set forth our Saviour as the true pattern of all bishops. On this theme he discoursed with so much wisdom and eloquence that the bishop after the sermon thanked him for it, declaring that he had never before heard the duties of the episcopal office so ably set forth. He added that he should much wish to hear him preach one sermon in the same place against Martin Luther and his doctrine. Latimer replied:—"My lord, I am not acquainted with the doctrine of Luther, nor are we here permitted to read his works: and therefore it were but a vain thing for me to refute his doctrines, not understanding what he hath written, nor what opinions he holdeth. Sure I am, that I have preached to you this day no *man's* doctrine, but only the doctrine of God, out of the Scriptures: and if Luther doeth no more than I have done, there needeth no confutation of his doctrine. Otherwise, when I understand that he doth preach against the Scripture, I will be ready with all my heart to confound his doctrine as much as lieth in me." To this discreet, and yet faithful answer, the bishop replied: "Well,

well, Master Latimer, I perceive that you smell of the pan. You will repent this gear one day." And from that day forward he was among the most active of Latimer's enemies, and eventually forbade him to preach in the churches of the University. He was however befriended by Dr. Barnes, prior of the Augustin Friars, who, having an independent jurisdiction, licensed him to preach in the church of the Augustines. He was also comforted by the presence of Bilney, who continued to reside at Cambridge. These two were constant companions in their walks, insomuch that the place which they frequented was afterwards called, from their joint resort to it, Heretics' Hill.

The machinations of Dr. West and other potent adversaries of the "new learning," seemed at length to be crowned with success; for Latimer was summoned to answer the charge of heresy before Cardinal Wolsey. His examination, however, ended in the signal defeat of his accusers; for the Cardinal was so much impressed with his learning and readiness, that he declared that, "If the Bishop of Ely could not abide Latimer's doctrine, he should nevertheless preach it even to his beard." He was accordingly dismissed with honour, tempered by a gentle admonition. and with the cardinal's licence to preach throughout England—an important privilege, of which he failed not to make such good use that he became one of the best known and most popular preachers in the country. His style of preaching was, in fact, from its familiar, homely, and singularly illustrative character, much better suited to captivate a common lay audience than to satisfy college-bred minds.

The name of Latimer appears among those of the persons who were appointed by grace of the senate to define and determine, on behalf of the University of Cambridge, the question relative to the lawfulness of the king's marriage with his brother's widow. He was known to be favourable to the divorce: but it does not appear that he took any active part in the matter. The decision of the University was delivered in March 9th, 1530, and the Sunday after we find Latimer preaching

before the king at Windsor, at the recommendation of Dr. Butts, the royal physician. The king is said to have "greatly praysed Master Latimer's sermon;" and the preacher received five pounds for his services.

Latimer then returned to Cambridge and remained there pursuing his usual course of duty, till he was selected as one of the twelve of "the best learned in divinity in that university," who, in obedience to a royal letter, were sent to London, to meet an equal number of divines from Oxford, in order to give their advice and judgment respecting certain books which had then got into circulation. The deliberations of this learned body resulted in the drawing up of an "Instrument for the abolishing and inhibiting of the Scripture and divers other books to be read in English;" which was followed by a royal proclamation "inhibiting all English books either containing or tending to any matters of Scripture." Latimer had not concurred in the conclusions to which this assembly of divines arrived. It was the determination of the majority, to which he and two or three others were opposed. It was no doubt to his reluctance to be considered as responsible for a determination opposed to his convictions that we owe his famous letter to the king—a long and free-spoken epistle in which he boldly warns the king of the legion of flatterers who laid siege to his greatness, and protested against the suppression of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue. Henry, with all his faults, had a natural love of honesty and plain-dealing; and although he did not think proper to meet the writer's views, Latimer was so far from incurring any danger or displeasure, that he rather won esteem and goodwill by his unwonted freedom and earnestness. He was soon after appointed one of the royal chaplains; in consequence of which he went to court, where he remained some time, during which he often preached in London. In his seventh sermon before Edward VI., he says, that, when he thus first came to court, a great man out of good will advised him—"You must beware, howsoever ye do, that ye contrary not the king; let him have his saying; follow him; go with him."—"Marry,

out upon this counsel;" adds Latimer. He was far from following it; but spoke out with his usual frank and confiding boldness. Yet he was not altogether indiscreet: for he says further on:—"It is a good wise verse '*Gutta cavat lapidem non vi sed sæpe cadendo*, the drop of rain maketh a hole in the stone, not by violence, but by oft falling.' Likewise a prince must be turned, not violently; but he must be won by a little and little. He must have his duty told him; but it must be done with humbleness, with request of pardon, or else it were a dangerous thing." It was however difficult for a man habitually so open-minded, altogether to avoid offence; and that he sometimes displeased those who were about the king is evinced by several anecdotes which he relates in his very sermons. He says, "There is a certain man, that shortly after my first sermon, being asked if he had been at the sermon that day, answered, 'Yea.' 'I pray you,' said he, 'how like you him?' 'Marry,' said he, 'even as I liked him always,—a seditious fellow!'" Again he states that one kneeled down in his presence before the king, and accused him of sedition, on which the king turned to his chaplain and asked, "What say you to this, Sir?" Latimer then fell on his knees, and after asking some taunting questions of his accuser, he turned to the king and said, "I never thought myself worthy, and I never sued to be a preacher before your grace, but I was called to it, and would be willing, if you mislike me, to give place to my betters; for I grant there be a great many more worthy of the place than I am. And if it be your grace's pleasure so to allow them for preachers, I could be content to bear their books after them. But if your grace allow me for a preacher, I would desire your grace to give me leave to discharge my conscience; give me leave to frame my doctrine according to mine audience. I had been a very dolt to preach so at the borders of your realm, as I have preached before your grace." He adds—"And I thank Almighty God, which hath always been my remedy, that my sayings were well accepted of the king; for like a gracious lord, he turned into another communication. It is even as

the Scripture saith:—'The Lord directeth the king's heart!' Certain of my friends came to me with tears in their eyes, and told me they looked I should have been in the Tower the same night."

The court was not however a congenial atmosphere for such a man as Latimer, and he soon grew weary of it, and retired to a living in the country which the king had given to him. This was at West Kington, in Wiltshire. His conduct in this new situation was marked by the most exemplary fidelity and diligence. He not only laboured strenuously to instruct his own flock, but extended his labours into the country round, under the authority which he enjoyed as one of the twelve preachers licensed by the university of Cambridge to preach throughout the realm. This course of proceeding, together with his views arising out of "the new learning" which he promulgated, speedily roused the country clergy against him, and by reason of their complaints, he was summoned to appear before the Archbishop of Canterbury. He accordingly proceeded to London, and was detained there a considerable time from his parish, to his great vexation and uneasiness. It was winter; and he was now, in addition to his mental suffering, in a state of great bodily pain and weakness. Thrice a week he had to appear before the Commissioners of the Archbishop, to undergo an examination—or rather to suffer the attempts made to argue or to intimidate him into subscribing certain articles favourable to the old superstitions The Commissioners did not deal fairly with him, as instanced by the fact that a concealed witness was introduced to take down his answers, that he might not afterwards secede from them. He thus relates this in one of his sermons: "I pray you, Mr. Latimer, said one, speak out; I am thick of hearing, and here be many that sit far off. I marvelled at this, that I was bidden to speak out, and began to misdeem, and gave an ear to the chimney; and, sir, there I heard a pen walking in the chimney behind the cloth. They had appointed one there to write all mine answers; for they made sure that I should not start from them." At length, wearied out

by ill-health and by their importunate way of proceeding, Latimer wrote a letter to Archbishop Wrangham, couched in humble but manly terms, excusing himself from further attendance. It does not appear how this letter was received: but at this time his sufferings attracted the notice of the king, by whose interposition he was rescued from the danger which hung over him. He is considered however to have expressed some kind of compliance with the articles proposed for his subscription, though it remains matter of doubt whether he actually subscribed to them, and if he did so, to what extent. Foxe thinks that he did subscribe through the fear of a sentence of death, his mind not being *then* nerved to the courage of martyrdom: but if it came to that, it does not appear what need there was of the king's interposition on his behalf, seeing that the act of subscription must of itself have sufficed.

Soon after this the primacy was bestowed on Cranmer, who held the zeal and piety of Latimer in sincere esteem, although he does not seem to have had any very high opinion of his discretion in great affairs. We find that he licensed several persons to preach within his province at the sole instance and recommendation of Latimer; he also empowered him to withdraw such licences if he saw cause; and he confided to him the administration of certain instructions for the regulation of such preachers who, by virtue of his licence, were not subject to diocesan jurisdiction. It was, moreover, owing to Cranmer's good offices that he was named to preach before the king on all the Wednesdays of Lent, 1534; and he wrote him a letter on the occasion, which is still extant, and is curious as indicating the view he took of Latimer's character; as he must have thought the hints and cautions which he gave, necessary for the person to whom they were addressed. He urges him *not* to take advantage of the opportunity to vindicate himself from the accusations lately made against him, lest it should be supposed that any grudge remained in him against those who had been adverse to him. He also advised him to avoid compromising his character for charity, by introducing allusions

to "any special man's facts, acts, manners, or sayings." He adds, "Furthermore, I would that you should so study to comprehend your matter, that, in any condition, you stand no longer in the pulpit than an hour, or an hour and a half at furthest. For by long expence of time, the king and queen shall peradventure wax so weary at the beginning, that they shall have small delight to continue with you to the end."

The kindness which the king had already shown was ere long followed by a more substantial mark of the royal favour. Latimer was held in high estimation by Anne Boleyn, who had become the consort of Henry; and he was by her means introduced to the notice of Lord Cromwell, the Vicar-General, as one calculated to advance the course of the Reformation. She then obtained his concurrence in recommending him to the king, already well disposed towards him, for the see of Worcester, which had been rendered vacant by the deprivation of the Italian bishop who had held it. This promotion, although altogether unsought and unexpected by Latimer, was conscientiously accepted by him; and he was accordingly consecrated Bishop of Worcester, in September, 1535.

In the critical times in which he was cast, it may be doubted whether Latimer was altogether the man for the anxious responsibilities of the episcopal office. His former labours may seem to have been better suited to his temper and character. He could then accomplish great good, without being accountable to any but God and his own conscience for his proceedings; but for a post so high and eminent, in which he must necessarily take a part in the settlement of great matters, and which gave weight and importance to all his words and actions, he incurred a deep responsibility to the cause which he had embraced, and to the *lives* and interests embarked in it, which his want of circumspection and his bluntness of speech but ill qualified him to fulfil. It is but fair to say, however, that during the short period of his episcopate, his abundant labours in his own diocese were honourable to the man and to the mitre which had been

bestowed upon him; nor are we acquainted with any of his proceedings when in London which Cranmer himself would not have sanctioned. But Cranmer was then in great want of coadjutors, on whose sound discretion and ripened judgment he could rely: and with regard to this circumstance it may certainly be affirmed, that the advancement of Latimer brought no strength to his hands. The years 1536, 1537, seem to have been spent by Latimer chiefly in settling the affairs of his own diocese; but in 1538 we find him much in London, and taking an active part in many affairs, some of which the friends of his memory would willingly forget. We find him united with Cranmer and another prelate in taking cognizance of "a fanatical doctor" named Crewkehorne. Lambert also, who was afterwards burnt at Smithfield, is mentioned as one of those in the private examination of whom Bishop Latimer was concerned, and against whom he was "most extreme;" and, to crown all, the characteristic zeal he had displayed in this direction, probably induced Cromwell to make choice of him to preach the sermon in Smithfield at the execution of Friar Forest. This alacrity in acting against those whom he regarded as entertaining erroneous opinions, grates painfully upon the sense of those who cherish the memory and love the name of Latimer, and tends to detract from the sympathy which his own fate awakens. But the fact is, those whom Latimer persecuted, and those who persecuted Latimer, equally believed and acted upon the belief that it was their solemn duty to extirpate what they deemed to be heresy; and, if need were, to do so even by blood and fire, that others might be deterred from the same peril of perdition. In this year the bishop also preached a characteristic sermon at St. Paul's Cross; and in the autumn was commissioned to examine into the famous imposture called "the blood of Hales," as he had before been employed to detect the imposture of "the Maid of Kent."

In the following year Latimer joined Cranmer in opposing a vigorous resistance to the act of the Six Articles (see before, p. 108); but the offence of this opposition

was not in his case overlooked, for the king, through Cromwell, signified to him his pleasure that he should resign his bishopric. Latimer accordingly ceased to be Bishop of Worcester on the 1st of July, 1539. It is related, that as soon as he put off his rochet in his chamber, among his friends, he fairly skipped for joy at being released, as he said, from a heavy burden. This shows how onerous the responsibilities of the episcopate must have seemed to a man of his temperament.

It would seem that after the resignation of his bishopric Latimer remained in some sort of confinement, in the house of Dr. Sampson, Bishop of Chichester; and that he remained in this custody till this prelate was himself consigned to the Tower. There is reason for believing that Latimer was then set at liberty; and that although on coming to London for medical advice, having been nearly killed by the falling of a tree, he was subject to some molestation from the bishops and others, yet that he continued at large till 1546. Then, under suspicion of having "counselled or devised with Crome," he was examined before the Privy Council, and at length cast into the Tower, and was kept there till the accession of Edward VI., in 1547. It would therefore appear that the common account of his having been kept six years in the Tower is incorrect.

When Edward came to the crown, and the Protestant party recovered the ascendency which it had lost during the last years of Henry's life, Latimer was not only set at liberty, but the restoration of his bishopric was offered to him; but he was determined not again to be troubled with the cares and responsibilities which the office of a bishop at that time involved, and to which he knew himself unsuited. He therefore declined the offer, urging the claims of advancing age to a life of privacy. He did not, however, remain unemployed, for his name appears in a commission, the object of which was to repress heresy; and he was also one of the divines appointed to reform the ecclesiastical law. He is also said to have assisted Cranmer in composing the Homilies, which were set forth by authority in the first year of King Edward's

reign. His manner of life during this period is thus described by the writer of the Dedication to Latimer's 'Sermons on the Lord's Prayer,' which he preached in 1552:—after indicating the kind of labours to which he applied himself after his release from the Tower, this writer says, "In the which his painful travails he continued all King Edward's time, preaching for the most part every Sunday two sermons, to the great shame, confusion, and damnation of a great number of our fat-bellied unpreaching prelates. For he, being a sore bruised man, and above threescore and seven years of age, took, notwithstanding, all these pains in preaching; and, besides this, every morning ordinarily, winter and summer, about two of the clock in the morning, he was at his book most diligently. And besides this, how careful he was for the preservation of the church of God, and the good success of the Gospel, they can bear record, which at that time were in authority, whom continually, by his letters, he admonished of their duties, and assisted with his godly counsel."

During this period he resided chiefly with Cranmer at Lambeth; where much of his time was consumed in attending to the complaints of the oppressed and needy. He speaks of this himself in his second sermon before King Edward:—"I cannot go to my book, for poor folks come unto me, desiring me that I will speak that their matters may be heard. I trouble my lord of Canterbury; and being at his house, now and then I walk in the garden looking in my book, as I can do but little good at it. But something I must needs do to satisfy this place. I am no sooner in the garden, and having read awhile, but by-and-by cometh some one or other knocking at the gate. Anon cometh my man, and saith: 'Sir, there is one at the gate would speak with you.' When I come, it is some one or other that desireth me that I will speak that his matter may be heard; that he hath lain thus long at great costs and charges, and cannot once have his matter come to a hearing," &c.

In the midst of these useful labours, Latimer had strong forebodings of the perils which awaited the cause

of the Reformation, and of his share in the impending calamities. He used to say that the preaching of the Gospel would cost him his life, and that he cheerfully prepared himself for it; being persuaded that the Bishop of Winchester (Gardiner, then confined in the Tower) was reserved for evil to him.

On the accession of Queen Mary his anticipations were accomplished to the letter. She was scarcely seated on the throne than a pursuivant was sent after him into the country, whither he had once more retired. He was at Coventry, and one Careless, a weaver in that city, gave him timely notice of the arrival of the pursuivant. But although he had good six hours before him, he employed them only in preparations for his journey to London, to the great astonishment of the officer, who found him in perfect readiness to depart, but who, having no orders for his detention, left the citation and went away. From this it has been inferred that the council would have been glad of his escape from the kingdom, lest the persecution of one held in so much veneration by the people should occasion disturbances.

On the 12th of September, 1553, he arrived in London; and on passing through Smithfield, exclaimed, "This place hath long groaned for me!" The next day he appeared before the lords of the council, and, in the language of its minutes, was "for his seditious demeanour committed to the Tower." Out of this, writers unfriendly to his cause and memory have chosen to infer that he was committed "on a charge of sedition." The truth probably is that he expressed himself with his customary bluntness and freedom of speech; that their lordships chose to regard his behaviour as irreverent and contumacious, and that they scrupled not to mark their sense of it by calling it *seditious*—an epithet which we know to have been often applied even to his preaching by those to whom its plain truth was unpalatable.

In the Tower the treatment of Latimer was brutally severe; but his sense of it was expressed with his usual light-hearted pleasantry. On one occasion he sent to the lieutenant of the Tower a message that "if not better

looked after he should perhaps deceive him." The lieutenant, in great alarm, hastened for an explanation to his prisoner; who replied:—"You look, I think, that I should burn; but unless you let me have some fire, I am like to deceive your expectation; for I am more like here to starve for cold."

He was shortly after removed, together with Cranmer and Ridley, to Oxford, and there subjected to the proceedings which have been already described in the preceding notice of Cranmer. On arriving at Oxford, they were placed together in the common jail called Bocardo, where they were subject to much privation; but were much comforted by the religious conferences which they held together, by reading the Scriptures, and above all by prayer, to which especially they devoted a considerable part of every day, "good old father Latimer" indeed often continuing in a kneeling posture so long that he was unable to rise without help.

When the disputations before the convocation began in April, 1554, Latimer was not brought in till Cranmer and Ridley had successively declared their dissent to the proposed articles, and had retired. He appeared in all the simplicity of his character, with a kerchief and two or three caps on his head, buttoned under his chin, his spectacles hanging by a string at his breast, and a staff in his hand, with the New Testament under his arm. He was almost exhausted in passing through the crowd, and the prolocutor allowed him a chair. He also denied the articles; but he alleged that his age, his infirmities, and the weakness of his memory, disqualified him from opposing them efficiently in the proposed disputation. This was on Saturday. On the following Monday Cranmer opposed the articles, on Tuesday disputed with great ability against them, and on Wednesday Latimer was produced. The prolocutor, addressing him in Latin, desired him to enter upon his argument. He pleaded that he was not very conversant with the Latin tongue, not having used it for twenty years; and he was then permitted to speak in English. Meanwhile he was not unassailed by taunts, hissings, and scornful laughs. He

was very faint, and desired that he might not be long detained. He then obtained permission to read a written protest against the articles, but being prevented from finishing by the indecent uproar which prevailed, he handed the paper to the prolocutor, who offered to read it for him. After casting his eye over it, he declined to fulfil his promise; but demanded of Latimer whether, as he refused to dispute, he would sign the articles or not. He gave a decided negative; and an attempt was then made to draw him into a disputation. He was attacked by several persons in turn; but although he answered direct questions with civility and patience, they could not induce him to argue questions to which he felt himself unable to do justice. The prolocutor finding him inflexible, at length rose and dissolved the assembly, crying out:—"Ye all see the weakness of heresy against the truth; he denieth all truth, and all the old fathers." Latimer made no reply, but wrapping his gown around him, and taking up his Testament and his staff, he walked out as unconcerned as he came in.

In the interval which passed between this and the appearance before the papal commission in the same place, the friends were separated, Cranmer alone remaining in Bocardo. Ridley was kept in custody in the sheriff's house, Latimer in the bailiff's. Their treatment in their new quarters seems to have been marked both by severity and caprice. They were deprived of the services of their own people; the freedom of communication with each other well nigh ceased. They could not always obtain writing materials or books, they were avoided by the university men, and Ridley wondered that their solitude was not cheered by a single kind office from any one of their brethren in scholarship. The sympathies of the humble and unlettered were much more lively in their behalf, and the townspeople of Oxford as well as many at a distance were most liberal in supplying their necessities by gifts of provisions, clothing, and money. As for Latimer, he employed himself almost exclusively in the repeated perusal of the New Testament. He and Ridley were however sometimes allowed to go and dine with

Cranmer in Bocardo. Strype says he had seen a book of their diet every dinner and supper, and the charge thereof; which was at the expense of Winkle and Wells, bailiffs of the city at that time, under whose custody they were. As for example in this method :—

The first of October, dinner.

Bread and ale	iid.
Item, oisters	id.
Item, butter	iid.
Item, eggs	iid.
Item, lyng	viiid.
Item, a piece of fresh salmon . .	xd.
Wine	iiid.
Cheese and pears	iid.
	iis. vid.

Strype does not seem to have seen that this was a fast day, and that the prisoners kept, or were obliged to keep, such days in the usual Romish fashion, by abstaining from animal food; for there is no substantial food but fish in the list. Strype further collects from this book of expenses that they "ate constantly suppers as well as dinners. Their meals amounted to about three or four shillings, seldom exceeding four.* Their bread and ale commonly came to two pence or three pence. They had constantly cheese and pears for their last dish, both at dinner and supper, and always wine, the price whereof was ever three pence and no more."†

The proceedings of the former commission having been

* This must mean for the two daily meals of all the three; as the expense for the *whole* period did not exceed 63*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.*

† Strype further states that the prices of the provisions (it being an extraordinary dear year) were as follows :—"A goose, 14*d.*; a pig, 12*d.* or 13*d.*; a cony, 6*d.*; a woodcock, 3*d.* and sometimes 4*d.*; three plovers, 10*d.*; half a dozen larks, 3*d.*; a dozen larks and two plovers, 10*d.*; a breast of veal, 11*d.*; a shoulder of mutton, 10*d.*; roast beef, 12*d.*" The *last* disbursements entered in this book of accounts were the following :—

clearly irregular and illegal, it was necessary to wait till the statutes repealed in the time of Edward were re-enacted, and till the realm of England should be formally reconciled to the pope, before a competent tribunal could be established. Hence the delay which has been indicated. At length, in September, 1555, a new commission was sent down to Oxford by Cardinal Pole as legate à latere, to John White, bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Brokes, bishop of Gloucester, and Dr. Holyman, bishop of Bristol, authorising them "to ascite, examine, and judge Master Hugh Latimer and Master Dr. Ridley, pretensed bishops of Worcester and London, for divers and sundry erroneous opinions, which the said Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley did hold and maintain in open disputations held at Oxford, in the year of our Lord 1554, as long before, *in the time of perdition*, and since."

On Monday, September 30, 1555, at eight o'clock in the morning, the commissioners repaired to the divinity school at Oxford, and placed themselves "on the high seat made for public lectures and disputations, according to the usage of that school, being then fair set, with cloth of tissue and cushions of velvet." The prisoners were then sent for, and Ridley presently entered, but Latimer was kept back till after the examination of Ridley had been completed. With that examination it is not our present purpose to speak: but a saying of Dr. Brokes may be noted, as intimating the view which the commissioners, and doubtless others, had taken of their relative position in argument and intellect:—"Latimer leaneth to Cranmer, Cranmer to Ridley, and Ridley to the singularity of his own wit; so that if you overthrow the singularity of

	s.	*d.*
For three loads of faggots to burn Ridley and Latimer	12	0
Item, one load of furs-faggots	3	4
For a carriage of these four loads	2	0
Item, a post	1	4
Item, two chains	3	4
Item, two staples	0	6
Item, four labourers	2	8

Ridley's wit, then must needs the religion of Cranmer and Latimer fall also." In the course of his reply Ridley modestly denied the justice of this comparison, as regarded himself and Cranmer: but it is nevertheless true that while Ridley was fully equal to Latimer and superior to Cranmer in firmness of character, he possessed many high qualities of mind which were wanting to both of his companions in trouble.

Ridley having been examined, the commissioners then proceeded with Latimer. He appeared before them in the same attire as on the first occasion, and was again compelled to undergo a most vexatious questioning on the same articles which had been submitted to him on the former examination, and from which he again expressed his dissent. The pope's supremacy was a point also much pressed upon him, but which he disclaimed with a force of reasoning for which the commissioners were scarcely prepared. His age and infirmities were so far considered that he was allowed to be seated; but in other respects he obtained little consideration from the audience. More than once his answers were received with laughter, which caused him to say:—"Why, my masters, this is no laughing matter; I answer upon life and death." At the conclusion of the examination he was informed that it would be necessary for him to appear again on the ensuing day. But he answered that he required no respite: it would be in vain—his mind was fully made up, and he prayed to be troubled no more. Dr. White, however, said that he trusted God might yet work in him; and that he could not be excused from appearing in St. Mary's Church the next day.

The following day, accordingly, soon after eight o'clock in the morning, the commissioners repaired to the church, where the whole body of the university, and as many of the townspeople as could find room, were assembled to see the issue of the matter. Ridley first appeared before them, and received the sentence of condemnation; Latimer then appeared, and a cloth which had covered the table during the proceedings against Ridley, was then removed, to mark the difference of the degrees of the

prisoners. Perceiving this, Latimer in his quaint manner placed his hat, which was an old felt one, under his elbows, as he leaned upon the table; and then proceeded to address the commissioners, saying, "My lords, I beseech your lordships to set a better order here at your entrance; for I am an old man, and have an evil back, so that the press of the multitude doth much hurt me." The Bishop of Lincoln promised that attention should be paid to his infirm state; for which he returned thanks with a low bow. A strong and final effort was then made to induce him to recant: but finding that no impression could be made upon him, the sentence of condemnation was somewhat abruptly read, and the proceedings terminated, but not before Latimer had put in an appeal "to the next general council that should be truly called in God's name." He was then committed to the custody of the mayor; and care was taken to prevent his being hurt, as he had been at his entrance, by the pressure of the crowd.

Returning to his prison, Latimer remained closely confined till the 16th of October, the day appointed for the execution. Early in the morning of that day, the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, with his retinue, repaired to the open space in front of Balliol College, where this melancholy tragedy was to take place; and to prevent any tumultuous interruptions from the people, the ground was kept by an armed force under the command of Lord Williams. Every preparation being completed, Latimer was brought forth by the mayor and bailiffs, together with Ridley. The contrast exhibited in the appearance of the two sufferers was striking, and excited the liveliest sympathy in the spectators. Ridley, in the prime of life and intellect, radiant with holy hope, and rejoicing in being deemed worthy to shed forth his life in this great cause, came forward with an elastic step, arrayed with care and attention in the costly dress of his rank and order. But poor old Latimer—less visibly excited by the greatness of the occasion—came forth with quiet contentment written on his countenance, and arrayed in the same frieze gown, kerchief, and buttoned cap which he

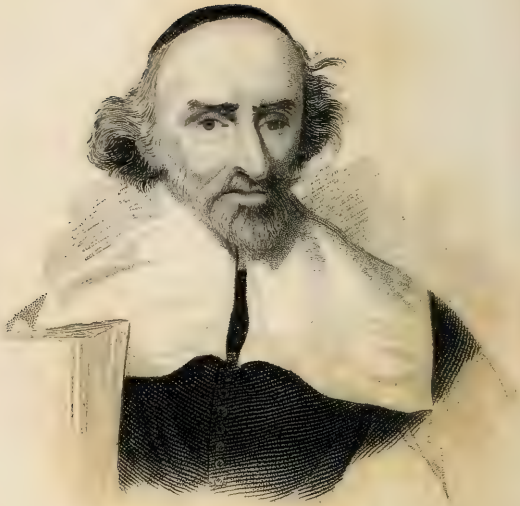
had worn at his trial: but in addition to this, he now wore a new long shroud, which came down over his hose to his feet, and marked his preparation for death. Having reached the stake, they affectionately embraced each other, and then kneeled down and prayed; after which they conversed cheerfully together, till Dr. Smith began the appointed sermon. He chose for his text the words —"Although I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing;" and his discourse thereon went to show that the goodness of the cause, and not the manner of death, made the holiness of the person, which he confirmed by the example of Judas, and of a woman who had lately hanged herself in Oxford; and he alleged that, seeing that the persons before him would not save themselves by recanting their heretical opinions, they were in fact their own destroyers. It was an unusually short sermon for that time, not taking more than a quarter of an hour. When it was concluded, Ridley said to Latimer, "Will you begin to answer the sermon, or shall I?" Latimer said, "Begin you first, I pray you." On which Ridley, with his usual ready mastery of his great resources, addressed himself to the task; but the vice-chancellor and the bailiffs ran hastily to him and stopped his mouth with their hands. This drew from Latimer his favourite "old posy"—"Well! there is nothing shut that shall not be opened."

They were then commanded to make ready; and with all meekness they obeyed. Ridley took off the several articles of his dress, and presented them, together with the contents of his pockets, to those who stood near him, who received them with the utmost eagerness. Latimer gave nothing; but very quietly suffered the executioner to disrobe him; and being stripped to his shroud it was marvellous to behold the change for the better in his appearance; for "whereas in his clothes he appeared a withered and crooked silly old man, he now stood bolt upright, as comely a father as one might lightly behold." One chain carried around their bodies, fastened them both to one stake. They accepted thankfully some gunpowder, which Ridley's brother-in-law gave them with

the view of shortening their sufferings; and all being ready, a blazing faggot was brought and laid down at Ridley's feet. It was at that moment that Latimer addressed to him the prophetic and memorable words, "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out." Then, as the flames arose, he cried "O, Father of Heaven, receive my soul!" and received the flames as if embracing them. He was next observed to stroke his face repeatedly with his hands, and, as it were, bathed them in the fire. His head then dropped, and he expired with little if any suffering. The sufferings of Ridley were protracted and horrible: but at length his body slipped through or fell over the chain to the feet of Latimer, and both were utterly consumed in the fierce heat.

Thus closed the career of Hugh Latimer—a man who claims our admiration for no high attainments or vast capacities of intellect—but who, while he engages our curiosity by some eccentricities of character, wins our entire respect, and acquired the great influence he possessed among the people, from whom he sprung, by his singleness of heart, by his simplicity of purpose, by the entire absence of all suspicion of low or selfish aims, and by the earnest and often dangerous intrepidity with which he dared to reprove freely the vices that lurked in high places, where his clear and unambiguous voice pierced like a blast of keen fresh air through the unwholesome and hot haze that gathered round the throne, and that filled the conclaves and councils of his time. There is perhaps no one man whose death did more to advance the cause of the Reformation in the hearts of the people than that of Latimer. He was exactly the man whom they could appreciate and value: and when, to all his other claims to their love and veneration, the insane folly c the Romish party—which amounted to judicial blindness—enabled him to add the greatness which belongs to the man who yields up his life for a principle, his character received that crowning glory which has ever rendered his memory most dear to the English people. The

commanding talents and exalted genius of Ridley more engage the attention of scholars and educated men; but Latimer has ever been *the* hero of the Reformation with the great body of the people; and their estimation of him has not inaptly been expressed by the title of "the Apostle of England," which their veneration has conferred upon him.



JOHN KNOX, the Father of the Scottish Reformation, one of the most remarkable of men, both for what he did and what he was—for his personal character as well as for the great transactions in which he was concerned—is notable, among other things, for being an example of that order of ascendant minds in which, whether owing to nature or circumstances, or partly to both, the inherent superiority has not shown itself till comparatively late in life. "Those persons," says Bacon (in his Character of Augustus Cæsar), "which are of a turbulent nature or appetite do commonly pass their youth in many errors; and about their middle, and then and not before, they show forth their perfections; but those that are of a sedate and calm nature may be ripe for great and glorious actions in their youth." This is so far applicable to Knox, that he certainly was not "of a sedate and calm nature;" he was not an Augustus Cæsar, without passions, and all judgment, or rather calculation and

craft. But, as in all other cases, the course of events had much to do in determining the time at which what was in him made itself be seen and felt. No force can altogether make its own opportunities. The sun himself must bide his due hour of rising, and cannot always pierce the obstructing clouds.

A consequence of Knox having been thus late in coming forward into the light, is that the first half of his life is very imperfectly known. He was born in 1505, in East Lothian, either in the town of Haddington, or in the neighbouring village of Gifford. His father is believed to have been a descendant of the Knoxes, proprietors of Knock (whence probably the family name), Ranferly, and Graigends, in the parish of Kilbarchan, in Renfrewshire: his mother's name was Sinclair. Besides John, they had at least another son, William, who also ultimately became a preacher in the Reformed Church, but was bred a merchant, and traded on so considerable a scale as in the year 1552 to have one or more vessels of a hundred tons burthen frequenting the ports of England. What is known of both brothers looks as if their father had been in comfortable circumstances, and perhaps possessed, as tradition reports, of some little landed property. Probably William, from his afterwards going into the church, as well as John, received a learned education. John at least, after having acquired the rudiments of classical knowledge at the grammar school of Haddington, was sent in 1522 to the University of Glasgow. It is supposed that he afterwards studied at St. Andrew's, and it has been generally asserted that he took his degree of Master of Arts there; but there does not appear to be any sufficient evidence for the latter of these statements. It is doubtful indeed if he ever graduated. However, it seems to be admitted that, after finishing his academical curriculum, he taught a class for some time in the University of St. Andrew's. His master in scholastic philosophy, the great study of the time, is affirmed in all the old accounts to have been John Mair—in Latin, Major—now best known from his History of Scotland, but celebrated in his own day as

one of the chief luminaries of philosophy and theology. These sciences he taught at Glasgow, where he was Principal of the University, till 1523, when he removed to St. Andrew's; and there it is said he had both Knox and Buchanan for his pupils. If that was the case, Knox must have studied not at the College of St. Salvator, as has been commonly assumed, but at that of St. Mary, to which it is known that Buchanan belonged, and where it is supposed that Mair taught before he became Provost, or Principal, of St. Salvator's in 1533.*

Mair had been educated in France, and there he had acquired some opinions, and a mode of thinking, both on political and ecclesiastical subjects, the influence of which is conceived to have acted powerfully upon his two distinguished pupils. "He had imbibed," says M'Crie, "the sentiments concerning ecclesiastical polity maintained by John Gerson and Peter d'Ailly, who so ably defended the decrees of the Council of Constance and

* This is the best account that we can make out of the various statements of Dr. M'Crie in the last edition (8vo. Edinb. 1841) of his 'Life of Knox.' In the earlier editions of his work Dr. M'Crie had stated, in conformity with the common accounts, that Knox was educated at St. Andrew's. In the edition of 1841, which is a reprint of his fifth edition (Edinb. 1831), being the last which he lived to superintend, we are told in the text (at p. 2) that he was sent to Glasgow in 1521, and in the notes (at pp. 381 and 382) that he was entered of that University in 1522. Further confusion and uncertainty are occasioned by other passages having been left standing as in the earlier editions. Thus, without any intimation having been given that Knox had ever left Glasgow, it is stated at p. 8 that he taught philosophy in the University — meaning, as appears afterwards (see p. 23), in the University of St. Andrew's. The late Mr. William M'Gavin, in a sketch of Knox's life prefixed to his edition of the 'History of the Reformation,' Glasgow, 1831, asserts that Knox's matriculation appears in the records of the University of Glasgow under the date of 1520, and claims the credit of having been the first to publish this discovery in his edition of 'The Scots Worthies,' (Glasgow, 1829.) But there can be no doubt that this is a blunder.

the liberties of the Gallican Church against the advocates for the uncontrollable authority of the Sovereign Pontiff. He taught that a general council was superior to the Pope, and might judge, rebuke, restrain, and even depose him from his dignity; denied the temporal supremacy of the bishop of Rome, and his right to inaugurate or dethrone princes; maintained that ecclesiastical censures, and even papal excommunications had no force, if pronounced on irrelevant or invalid grounds: he held that tithes were not of divine right, but merely of human appointment; censured the avarice, ambition, and secular pomp of the court of Rome, and of the episcopal order; was no warm friend of the regular clergy; and advised the reduction of monasteries and holidays. His opinions respecting civil government were analogous to those which he held as to ecclesiastical polity. He taught that the authority of kings and princes was originally derived from the people; that the former are not superior to the latter, collectively considered; that, if rulers become tyrannical, or employ their power for the destruction of their subjects, they may lawfully be controlled by them, and, proving incorrigible, may be deposed by the community as the superior power; and that tyrants may be judicially proceeded against, even to capital punishments." From Mair (who, however, was not a person of any remarkable force or reach of understanding) Knox is also supposed to have derived a taste for the subtleties of the scholastic logic, and it is as a teacher of this science that he is said to have first distinguished himself. If it be the fact that he was thus far indebted to the instructions of Mair, he must have studied at St. Andrew's, for Mair, as we have seen, left Glasgow about a year after Knox was entered of that University. There can hardly indeed be a doubt that it was at St. Andrew's his mind was principally trained, and that that city, the then metropolis both of the learning and the religion of Scotland, was the scene in which he first made himself known, as it was also that of the most memorable events of his after career.

It is known that he was ordained as a priest before he

had reached the canonical age of twenty-five, and consequently before the year 1330. He had not therefore been shaken in his original faith by the execution of Patrick Hamilton, the burning of whom for heresy before the gate of the Old, or St. Salvator's, College, on the afternoon of the last day of February, 1528, he has related with strong expressions of indignation in the beginning of his 'History of the Reformation.' Nor is anything known of what he was about from this date till the year 1542, when he is stated to have avowed himself a Protestant, having now reached the age of thirty-seven. It is probable, however, that the change in his opinions had begun six or seven years before this date.

It is certain that he was engaged in teaching publicly in the University of St. Andrew's when he first brought himself under the imputation of heresy, by the new views in regard both to religion and philosophy which he advanced in his lectures. To avoid the consequences he left that city, and, retiring to the south of Scotland, there openly declared his change of belief. He was immediately degraded from the priesthood; and it is asserted that he would have been in danger of assassination, but for the protection of a country gentleman of East Lothian, Hugh Douglas, laird of Langniddry, who had himself embraced the Protestant doctrines, and who now received Knox into his family to be tutor to his two sons. Here he appears to have remained for the next three years; the son of a neighbouring gentleman, John Cockburn of Ormiston, being also placed under his care.

It is from the year 1545 that Knox's life may be said to have passed in the light. From that date, indeed, it becomes part of the history of the country; and many of its most memorable passages have been recorded by his own pen in his 'History of the Reformation.' The first mention that he makes of himself is in giving an account of the peregrination made in the latter part of that year through the western and southern counties by the celebrated George Wishart, who soon afterwards ended his course by suffering martyrdom at St. Andrew's. Wishart was a person of good family, being a brother of the laird

of Pitarrow in Kincardineshire, and probably a son of the Wishart of Pitarrow who was justice-clerk in the reign of James V. He is first heard of as employed in teaching the Greek New Testament at Montrose, from which place, where he no doubt did not confine his teaching to the mere language of the Scriptures, he is stated to have been driven by the Bishop of Brechin in 1537. Upon this he took refuge in England; and it appears by an extract from the records of the corporation of Bristol, which Dr. M'Crie has published, that in consequence of having in a lecture in St. Nicholas' church in that city, on the 15th of May, 1538, set forth "the most blasphemous heresy that ever was heard, openly declaring that Christ's mother hath not nor could not merit for him, nor yet for us,"—"which heresy," it is added, "brought many of the commons of this town into a great error, and divers of them were persuaded by that heretical lecture to heresy,"—he was examined before the Archbishop of Canterbury and other prelates, and, being condemned, was (it must be presumed upon his recantation) sentenced to bear his fagot in St. Nicholas' church on the 13th, and in Christ Church on the 20th of July, and did so accordingly. Some years after he is heard of as resident at Cambridge, where he appears to have become a member of the University. Fox, in his 'Martyrology,' has inserted an interesting account of him, given by Emery Tylney, one of his pupils there in 1543, in which he is said to have been commonly called Master George of Bennet's College, and is described as "a man of tall stature, polled-headed, and on the same a round French cap of the best; judged of melancholy complexion by his physiognomy, black haired, long bearded, comely of personage, well spoken after his manner of Scotland, courteous, lowly, lovely, glad to teach, desirous to learn." He "was," the writer adds, "well travelled, having on him for his habit or clothing never but a mantle freize gown to the shoes, a black Milan fustian doublet and plain black hosen, coarse new canvass for his shirts, and white falling bands, and cuffs at the hands. All the which apparel he gave to the poor, some weekly, some monthly,

some quarterly, as he liked, saving his French cap, which he kept the whole year of my being with him. He was a man modest, temperate, fearing God, hating covetousness; for his charity had never end, night, noon, nor day. He forbare one meal in three one day in four for the most part, except something to comfort nature. He lay hard upon a puff of straw; coarse new canvass sheets, which when he changed he gave away. He had commonly by his bedside a tub of water, in the which (his people being in bed, the candle put out, and all quiet) he used to bathe himself, as I, being very young, being assured often heard him, and in one light night discerned him. He loved me tenderly, and I him, for my age, as effectually. He taught with great modesty and gravity, so that some of his people thought him severe, and would have slain him, but the Lord was his defence. And he, after due correction for their malice, by good exhortation amended them, and he went his way." It is a singular trait of the times that a man of this character, and one the sincerity of whose convictions and his elevation over all worldly considerations were afterwards attested by his death at the stake, should nevertheless not have refused to associate himself in a scheme of assassination. Yet such appears to have been the case. A letter to Henry VIII. from the Earl of Hertford, dated Newcastle, 17th April, 1544, first published by Robertson, in his 'History of Scotland,' though previously mentioned by other writers, states that a Scotsman called Wishart had that day come to the Earl with letters from Crichton of Brunstane, and would be immediately sent on to London to communicate to Henry a plan proposed by the Master of Rothes and others for either the apprehension or the slaughter of Cardinal Beaton, at this time the great stay of the Popish interest in Scotland. There can scarcely be a doubt that this Wishart was the reformer and martyr; and the more thorough examination that the affair has recently received from Mr. Tytler makes it clear that Henry saw Wishart, approved of the plot, and promised the conspirators his protection if they

should be compelled to take refuge in England.* What is certain is, that Wishart returned to his native country in the latter part of July, 1543,† along with the commissioners who had been despatched to England a few weeks before to negotiate the treaty for the marriage of the infant Queen of Scotland and the Prince of Wales. He appears to have spent the next two years chiefly in preaching in different parts of the country against the old religion. Knox, after giving an account of a succession of sermons which he delivered in Ayrshire and the Lothians in the latter part of the year 1545, tells us that one morning, towards the close of the Christmas holidays, when he was at Haddington, before mounting the pulpit to preach, there came to him a boy with a letter from the west country, as soon as he had read which, the narrative continues, "he called for John Knox, who had awaited upon him carefully from the time he came to Lothian." He told Knox that he was wearied of the world—that the gentlemen of the west had written to him that they could not keep the appointment they had made to come up to Edinburgh. After this he paced up and down before the high altar for more than half an hour, his very countenance and visage declaring the grief and alteration of his mind. He then delivered a long and vehement sermon, commencing by adverting to the smallness of his audience—not, he said, amounting to a hundred persons, while he had heard that in the same town "at a vain clerk play," as many as two or three thousand people would sometimes assemble. He went on nearly an hour and a half, "in the which," says Knox, "he declared all the plagues that ensued as plainly as after our eyes saw them performed." That same night the preacher was apprehended in the house of Cockburn of Ormiston. "The manner of his taking," writes Knox, "was this: Departing from the town of

* History of Scotland, vol. v. (1841), pp. 300, 376-391.

† This date, which is important, was first ascertained by Mr Tytler, Hist. of Scotland, v. 341.

Haddington, he took his good-night, as it were, for ever, of all his acquaintances, especially from Hugh Douglas, of Long Niddry. John Knox pressing to have gone with the said Mr. George, he said, 'Nay; return to your bairns [children, pupils], and God bless you! One is sufficient for a sacrifice.' And he caused a two-handed sword, which commonly was carried with the said Mr. George, be taken from the said Knox, who —albeit unwillingly—obeyed, and returned with Hugh Douglas, of Long Niddry." Cockburn of Ormiston, Crichton of Brunstane, and others accompanied Wishart to Ormiston, where he was to pass the night, on foot, a hard frost making it dangerous or difficult to ride. They had all retired to rest, when a little before midnight Ormiston House was surrounded by a party under the command of the Earl of Bothwell, who, to use Knox's expression, on this occasion made himself for money "butcher to the Cardinal." After some parley Bothwell was admitted into the house, and Wishart was delivered up to him, on his solemn promise that he should come to no harm. He was immediately carried to Beaton, who was waiting at Elphinstone, not a mile off. Then, after being taken to Edinburgh, he was brought back, "for the fashion's sake," as the historian phrases it, that is, for the sake of appearances, to Bothwell's house of Hailes; "but," continues the narrative, "as gold and women have corrupted all worldly and fleshly men from the beginning, so did they him; for the cardinal gave gold, and that largely; and the queen, with whom the said earl was then in the glonders [out of favour], promised favours in all his lawful suits to women, if he would deliver the said Mr. George to be kept in the Castle of Edinburgh. He made some resistance at the first, by reason of his promise; but an effeminate man cannot long withstand the assaults of a gracious queen; and so was the servant of God transported to Edinburgh Castle, where he remained not many days; for that bloody wolf, the Cardinal, ever thirsting for the blood of the servant of God, so travelled with the abused governor that he was content that God's servant should be de-

livered to the power of that tyrant." Wishart was burned before the gate of the Cardinal's castle at St. Andrew's on the 28th of March, 1546. His execution was followed by the assassination of Beaton in the same stronghold on the 29th of May following. The conspirators retained possession of the place, and were in course of time joined by many of the members of the reformed party, till their numbers at last amounted to nearly a hundred and fifty persons. Of these Knox was one, but not one of the first. His own account is as follows:—"At the Pasch [Easter] after, Anno 1547, came to the castle of St. Andrew's John Knox, who, wearied of removing from place to place by reason of the persecution that came upon him by this Bishop of St. Andrew's, was determined to have left Scotland, and to have visited the schools of Germany; of England then he had no pleasure, by reason that, the Pope's name being suppressed, his laws and corruptions remained in full vigour; but, because he had the care of some gentlemen's children, whom certain years he had nourished in godliness, their fathers solicited him to go to St. Andrew's, that himself might have the benefit of the castle, and their children the benefit of his doctrine; and so, we say, came he the time foresaid to the said place; and, having in his company Francis Douglas of Longniddry, George his brother, and Alexander Cockburn, then eldest son to the laird of Ormiston, began to exercise them after his accustomed manner. Besides their grammar, and other humane authors, he read unto them a catechism, account whereof he caused them give publicly in the parish kirk of St. Andrew's. He read moreover unto them the Evangel of John, proceeding where he left at his departing from Longniddry, where before his residence was; and that lecture he read in the chapel within the castle at a certain hour." It was this step which led to Knox commencing at the mature age of forty-two his career as a Protestant preacher. His interesting narrative proceeds:—"They of the place, but especially Mr. Henry Balnaves and John Rough, preacher, perceiving the manner of his doctrine,

began earnestly to travail with him, that he would take the preaching place upon him. But he utterly refused, alleging that he would not run where God had not called him; meaning, that he would do nothing without a lawful vocation. Whereupon they privily amongst themselves advising, having with them in company Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, they concluded that they would give a charge to the said John, and that publicly by the mouth of their preacher." Accordingly, on a day agreed upon, Rough, in concluding a sermon appropriate to the matter in hand, turned round to Knox, and, after asking him not to be offended if he should declare unto him what he had in charge from all present, proceeded: "In the name of God, and of his son Jesus Christ, and in the name of these that presently call you by my mouth, I charge you that ye refuse not this holy vocation, but, as ye tender the glory of God, the increase of Christ's kingdom, the edification of your brethren, and the comfort of me, whom ye understand well enough to be oppressed by the multitude of labours, that ye take upon you the public office and charge of preaching, even as ye look to avoid God's heavy displeasure, and desire that he shall multiply his graces with you." Those present, being then appealed to, signified their assent: "Whereat," continues the account, "the said John, abashed, burst forth in most abundant tears, and withdrew himself to his chamber; his countenance and behaviour, from that day till the day that he was compelled to present himself to the public place of preaching, did sufficiently declare the grief and trouble of his heart; for no man saw any sign of mirth of him, neither yet had he pleasure to accompany any man, many days together." This scene seems to have taken place in the chapel of the castle. About the same time he goes on to relate, he had become involved in a controversy on the question of the two religions with Dean John Annand, whom he describes as "a rotten papist," that "had long troubled John Rough in his preaching." Annand was Principal of St. Leonard's College, and a person of eminent learning, which made him in disputation much more

than a match for Rough, who had received a very imperfect education, though he was popular as a preacher. Knox had in the first instance defended his friend by his pen, and, as he tells us himself, "had beaten the said Dean John from all defences; that he was compelled to fly to his last refuge, that is, to the authority of the church, 'which authority,' said he, 'damneth all Lutherans and heretics,' and therefore he needed no farther disputation." Knox upon this, "in open audience in the parish church of St. Andrew's," undertook to prove that the Roman Church was nothing else than the synagogue of Satan, and the Pope the man of sin, or antichrist. The people eagerly desired to hear what he had to say in evidence of these strong affirmations; "and so the next Sunday was appointed to the said John to express his mind in the public preaching place." He took for his text the 24th and 25th verses of the seventh chapter of Daniel; and his sermon, treating the subject both doctrinally and historically, was such a dissection, or rather mangling and tearing to pieces, of Popery, as had been scarcely matched by anything ever delivered by Luther himself. There were present his old master, Mair, and other members of the university, with many canons and some friars; and in concluding he challenged any one who should say that he had alleged Scripture, doctor, or history, otherwise than correctly, to meet him in conference before witnesses, when he would prove that he had not. "Of this sermon," the account continues, "which was the first that ever John Knox made in public, were there divers bruits. Some said, 'Others hewed the branches of papistry, but he striketh at the root to destroy the whole.' Others said, 'If the doctors and *magistri nostri* defend not now the Pope and his authority, which in their own presence is so manifestly impugned, the devil have my part of him and his laws both.' Others said, 'Mr. George Wishart spake never so plainly, and yet he was burnt; even so will he be.' In the end, others said, 'The tyranny of the Cardinal made not his cause the better, neither yet the suffering of God's servant made his cause the worse; and,

therefore, we would counsel you and them to provide better defences than fire and sword, for it may be that else ye shall be disappointed: men now have other eyes than they had then.' This answer gave the laird of Niddry, a man fervent and upright in religion." Then we are told that "the bastard bishop, who was not yet execrated, consecrated they call it"—that is the archbishop elect, John Hamilton, illegitimate brother of the Regent Arran—wrote to the sub-prior touching what had taken place; and upon this "a convention of grey friars and black fiends" was appointed to be held in St. Leonard's Yard, before which first Rough was called and then Knox. The sub-prior, Dean John Winram, who presided, was understood to be inclined in his heart to the new doctrines, and Knox seems to have been at least allowed to defend himself without being silenced or interrupted. He himself speaks of the auditory as being "modest and quiet," and he says that in the disputation "many things were merrily scoffed over." Nor was it followed by any measures to prevent the Reformer from continuing to preach; the possession of the castle, indeed, gave his friends the command of the town, and for the present secured him from molestation. Soon after this the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered, apparently in the chapel of the castle, by Rough and Knox, being the first administration of it in Scotland after the reformed mode, except that which Wishart had performed with great privacy immediately before his martyrdom. "God," says Knox, "so assisted his weak soldier, and so blessed his labours, that not only all those of the castle, but also a great number of the town, openly professed, by participation of the Lord's Table in the same purity that now it is ministered in the kirks of Scotland, with that same doctrine that he had taught unto them."

Knox claims to himself the credit of having foreseen and foretold the fall of the castle, which was effected by the aid of a French force on Saturday, the 31st of July, and he evidently takes credit to himself in the matter for something more than human sagacity. Such a trait of character ought not to be suppressed in giving an account

of his life, as it has been by his generally courageous enough biographer Dr. M'Crie, who merely says that he did not expect the garrison would be able to hold out. His own account is, that some of the besieged were chiefly alarmed on account of the ordnance which the enemy had planted upon the Abbey Kirk and upon St. Salvator's College, and of the devastation which the pest, or plague, was making within the walls; "but," he continues, "John Knox was of another judgment, for he ever said that their corrupt life could not escape punishment of God, and that was his continual advertisement from the time that he was called to preach. When they triumphed of their victory—the first twenty days [of the siege] they had many prosperous chances—he lamented, and ever said, *they saw not what he saw.* When they bragged of the force and thickness of their walls he said, they should be but egg-shells. When they vaunted, 'England will rescue us,' he said, 'Ye shall not see them; but ye shall be delivered into your enemies' hands, *and shall be carried unto a strange country.*'" Here is a direct claim to the gift of prophecy. Knox distinctly represents himself as another Cassandra, discerning coming events with quite another vision than that of human reason. And the passage is also important as containing his emphatic and decisive testimony as to the character of his associates, and the life they led while they kept possession of the place. The murderers of the Cardinal, and the other friends of the reformed opinions who flocked to join them after the deed, were clearly not all saints in their ordinary walk and conversation.

It was stipulated that the prisoners taken in the castle should be sent over in the first instance to France, and that then, if they did not choose to remain in that country, they should be safely conveyed at the expense of the French king to any other they might desire to go to, Scotland only excepted. This at least is Knox' statement—though such terms, in the circumstances, or in any circumstances, it must be confessed, seem strange and improbable. They were at any rate put on board galleys, in which they were transported to the French

coast, and then carried up the Seine. Some were taken out and confined in prisons on shore; but Knox, with others, was left in the galleys. He is supposed to have been himself the hero of a story which he tells by way of showing the persecution or annoyance to which they were subjected on account of their religion. "Soon after their arrival at Nantes," he says, "a glorious painted lady was brought in to be kissed [it was an image of the Virgin], and, amongst others, was presented to one of the Scotsmen, then chained. He gently said, 'Trouble me not; such an idol is accursed; and therefore I will not touch it.' The patron and the argousin [lieutenant], with two officers, having the chief charge of all such matters, said, 'Thou shalt handle it.' And so they violently thrust it to his face, and put it betwixt his hands, who, seeing the extremity, took the idol, and, advisedly looking about, he cast it in the river, and said, 'Let our Lady now save herself; she is light enough, let her learn to swim.' After that was no Scotsman teazed with that idolatry."

He always felt confident of his deliverance, and was even wont to predict it, according to his own account, with something of prophetic assurance. The galleys appear to have been occasionally sent over to the Scotch coast; and once, when that in which he was was lying betwixt Dundee and St. Andrew's, he being at the time so sick that his life was generally despaired of, one of his fellow prisoners, he tells us, desired him to look at the land, and asked him if he knew it. It was St. Andrew's that was in view, with its crowded spires and pinnacles. "Yes," answered Knox, "I know it well; for I see the steeple of that place where God first opened my mouth in public to his glory; and I am fully persuaded, how weak that ever I now appear, that I shall not depart this life till that my tongue shall glorify his godly name in the same place." He takes care to add that this was reported by the person to whom he spoke the words, in the presence of many witnesses, many years before he again set foot in Scotland.

regained his liberty in February, 1549, how he has not recorded, nor is it certainly known. Dr. M'Crie seems to think that the French government winked at his making his escape. The affair was probably managed by means of some persons who might have been inconveniently compromised if the circumstances had been published.

He remained, however, an exile from his native country for more than six years longer. In the first instance he proceeded to London, whence he was sent down by the government of Edward VI. to fill the office of preacher at Berwick. In 1551 he was removed to Newcastle; and in December of the same year he was appointed one of the king's chaplains. Early in 1553 he was summoned to London in consequence of certain charges brought against him by the Duke of Northumberland (better known by his previous title of the Earl of Warwick), warden of the Northern Marches; but he so completely vindicated himself, when he appeared before the Privy Council, that he was not only discharged, but was soon afterwards offered first the living of All Hallows in London, and then a bishopric, both of which preferments, however, he declined. He remained in the English capital till after the death of King Edward, on the 6th of July, and the failure of the attempt of the Protestant party, or a section of it, to set up the Lady Jane Grey as queen; he probably left immediately after the throne was secured for Mary. He does not seem, however, to have attempted to conceal himself; on the contrary, he preached repeatedly to large congregations in Buckinghamshire, and then, after revisiting London in September, returned to Newcastle in the last month of the year. It appears to have been at this crisis also that he married; the lady was a Miss Marjory Bowes, a person of good connexions, her father being a younger son of Sir Ralph Bowes of Streatlem; her mother, a daughter, and one of the co-heirs, of Sir Roger Aske of Aske. They had become acquainted while Knox resided at Berwick; and their engagement had been of some years' standing, the

marriage having apparently been prevented from taking place sooner by the opposition of the lady's father, although her mother was strongly in Knox's interest. Many of the Reformer's letters to Mrs. Bowes and her daughter have been preserved; and although those to the latter, whom before their marriage he usually addresses by the title of sister, do not much resemble ordinary love-letters, they express in their own manner, and sometimes very touchingly, a strong and deep-seated affection. One, for instance, written when he was called up to London in the beginning of this year 1553, and when he appears for the moment (with however little reason) to have considered himself in some danger of his life, concludes as follows:—"Rejoice, sister, for the same word that forespeaketh trouble doth certify us of the glory consequent. As for myself, albeit the extremity should now apprehend me, it is not come unlooked for. But alas! I fear that yet I be not ripe nor able to glorify Christ by my death; but what lacketh now, God shall perform in his own time. Be sure I will not forget you and your company so long as mortal man may remember any earthly creature." Words of little sound or show, but yet, coming from a man of Knox's nature and convictions, as assuring as ever were addressed to woman. The high-spirited reformer felt very keenly the usage of his wife's relations. In a letter to his mother-in-law, written after his marriage, he tells her that, having at her request sought an interview with the head of the family, Sir Robert Bowes, with the view of removing the unfavourable impressions that had been taken up, he had been treated in a manner which he had hardly been able to bear. Sir Robert's "disdainful, yea dispiteful words," he says, "have so pierced my heart that my life is bitter unto me." And again, "Were it not that no man's unthankfulness shall move me (God supporting my infirmity) to cease to do profit unto Christ's congregation, those days should be few that England would give me bread. And I fear that, when all is done, I shall be driven to that end; for I cannot abide the disdainful hatred of those of whom not only I

thought I might have craved kindness, but also to whom God hath been by me more liberal than they be thankful."

He did leave England not long after this. Having reason to fear that the new government was about to have him apprehended, he first retired to a place of concealment near the sea-coast, and then took the first opportunity of crossing to France, and was landed at Dieppe on the 20th of January, 1554. From Dieppe he proceeded, after a few weeks, to Geneva; and that town was his head-quarters for many months after this—though he made frequent journeys back to Dieppe in the course of 1554 and 1555, and also resided during part of the latter year at Frankfort, where he officiated as pastor to a Protestant congregation of English refugees, till the famous discussion that arose about the use of the English Liturgy, to which he was opposed, drove him back to Geneva. While here he acquired a knowledge of the Hebrew language; the Greek he had studied before, though probably since he had grown up. At last, in September, 1555, he ventured to revisit his native country. He first repaired to Berwick, in the neighbourhood of which town he had landed, and where his wife and her mother had continued during his absence; and he afterwards made an extensive round among the principal friends of the reformed doctrines in Edinburgh, Angus, Ayrshire, and elsewhere, preaching in various places to crowded audiences, and with extraordinary acceptance. He remained in Scotland till July, 1556, when he was recalled to Geneva by letters from the English congregation there, informing him that he had been elected one of their pastors. This time he took his wife with him, and Geneva was again his residence for a space of more than two years. Two sons were born to him in that city; and while there, also, besides assisting in the preparation of the English version of the Scriptures commonly known by the name of the Geneva Bible, he published in 1558 one of the most famous of his writings, his 'First [illegible]

the custom of allowing females to become national sovereigns, prompted chiefly, no doubt, by the Protestant enmity to the then Queen of England, the bigoted and persecuting Mary. The First Blast was to have been followed by two others; but, although the author never recanted his doctrine, and probably continued to hold it while he lived, the death of Queen Mary and the accession of Elizabeth, which took place the next year, made him feel it to be unnecessary and inexpedient to blow his trumpet again.

The improved prospects of the friends of the Reformation in Scotland, arising from the change of government in England and other causes, now induced the heads of the party to invite Knox to return to his native country: and he accordingly left Geneva in January, 1559, and, after travelling leisurely through France, he sailed from Dieppe on the 12th of April, and landed at Leith on the 2nd of May. With the exception of a short visit to England some years after this, the rest of his life was all passed in Scotland.

From this date his career belongs to the history of the country. His first public appearance was at Perth, then commonly called St. Johnstone's, where, although he does not say so in his own account, he is understood to have been the preacher of the famous sermon on the 11th of May,—described by himself as having been "vehement against idolatry"—which led to, or at least was followed by, the first open popular outbreak against the established religion, and attack upon it by force. He does not in his History directly profess to approve of what was done upon this occasion; but it is plain that, naturally enough, he did not much regret it. In the beginning of his narrative he states that the treachery of the government in outlawing the Protestant preachers, after having induced their adherents, who had assembled for their protection, to disperse on a promise that the proceedings which had been commenced against them should be dropped, so inflamed the multitude, "that neither could the exhortation of the preachers, nor the commandment of the magistrate, stay them from destroying

the places of idolatry;" but in the same breath he tells us that "the preachers had declared before how odious was idolatry in God's presence; what commandment he had given for the destruction of the monuments thereof; what idolatry and what abomination was in the mass." After the vehement sermon on the 11th, "it chanced," he proceeds, "that a priest in contempt would go to the mass; and, to declare his malapert presumption, he would open up a glorious tabernacle which stood upon the high altar. There stood beside certain godly men, and amongst others a young boy, who cried with a loud voice, 'This is intolerable, that when God by his word hath plainly damned idolatry, we shall stand and see it used in despite.' The priest hereat offended, gave the child a great blow; who in anger took up a stone, and, casting at the priest, did hit the tabernacle, and brake down an image; and immediately the whole multitude that were about cast stones, and put hands to the said tabernacle, and to all other monuments of idolatry, which were despatched before the tenth man in the town were advertised, for the most part were gone to dinner. Which noised abroad, the whole multitude convened, not of the gentlemen, neither of them that were earnest professors, but of the rascal multitude; who, finding nothing to do in that church, did run without deliberation to the Grey and Black Friars; and, notwithstanding that they had within them very stark guards kept for their defence, yet were their gates incontinent burst up. The first invasion was upon the idolatry; and thereafter the common people began to seek some spoil." In the Grey Friars especially, he goes on to relate, they found abundance of the best of everything—and linen, clothing, articles of furniture, beef, wine, ale, and other drinks, were carried off in great quantities. Yet, he adds, "So were men's consciences before beaten with the word, that they had no respect to their own particular profit, but only to abolish idolatry, the places and monuments thereof;" "in which," he concludes, "they were so busy and so laborious, that within two days these three great places, monuments of idolatry, to wit,

the Black and Grey Friars, and the Charterhouse Monks, a building of a wondrous cost and greatness, was so destroyed, that the walls only did remain of all these great edifications."

But by this time the Protestants, or, as they called themselves, "the Faithful Congregation of Jesus Christ in Scotland," had taken measures for embodying themselves as a military force, and openly setting the government at defiance. It was resolved by the heads of the party that they should assemble at St. Andrew's on the 4th of June, "for reformation to be made there,"—that is to say, there to put down the old religion, and to set up the new. They met accordingly, bringing Knox with them. First making a tour along the coast of Fife, he preached at Crail on Friday the 8th, at Anstruther on the 9th, and then returned to St. Andrew's, to blow his third and crowning blast there on the Sunday. Hamilton, the archbishop,—"the cruel beast, the Bishop of St. Andrew's," is Knox's designation for him,—hearing of what was going on, came to the town on Saturday night, and sent to the Lords of the Congregation to warn them "that, in case the said John Knox presented himself to the preaching place in his town and principal kirk, he should gar [cause] him be saluted with a dozen of culverins [muskets], whereof the most part should light on his nose." The zealous and intrepid reformer, however, was not to be kept back from what he had resolved to do, although his friends earnestly entreated him to give way for the present. His hour of compensation and triumph was come, and he was resolved that it should make up for all his injuries, for all his sufferings. "In this town and kirk," said he, "began God first to call me to the dignity of a preacher, from the which I was reft by the tyranny of France, by procurement of the bishops, as ye all well enough know. How long I continued prisoner, what torment I sustained in the galleys, and what were the sobs of my heart, is now no time to recite. This only I cannot conceal, which more than one have heard me say when the body was far absent from Scotland, that my

assured hope was in open audience to preach in St. Andrew's before I departed this life." Dr. M'Crie's account would make it appear that it was Knox's intention to preach in the cathedral, and that he actually did preach there; but this is certainly a mistake. The place in which he preached appears clearly to have been the parish church—as, indeed, is expressly stated by Spotswood; and we conceive that the meeting of the Lords of the Congregation, at which he delivered the speech a part of which we have just quoted, must have been held on the previous evening in the same building. His own narrative of what took place on the Sunday is short and quiet. The subject of his sermon was "the ejection of the buyers and the sellers forth of the Temple of Jerusalem;" in treating of which, he says, he "so applied the corruption that was then to the corruption that is in the papistry, and Christ's fact to the duty of those to whom God giveth power, and zeal thereto, that as well the magistrates, the provost and bailies, as the commonalty, did agree to remove all monuments of idolatry, which also they did with expedition." Dr. M'Crie says that "the church [evidently meaning the cathedral] was stripped of images and pictures, and the monasteries were pulled down." Spotswood's words are, "He did so incite the auditors, as, the sermon being ended, they went all and made spoil of the churches, razing the monasteries of the Black and Grey Friars to the ground." From Spotswood, and also from Knox's History, it would appear as if all this was done on the Sunday; but Calderwood has preserved a letter from Knox to a friend, written on the 23rd of the same month, in which he says "That Sunday, *and three days after*, I did occupy the public place, in the midst of the doctors, who to this day are dumb—even as dumb as their idols, which were burnt in their presence."* This, we suppose, is Dr. M'Crie's authority for making the stripping

* Calderwood's History of the Kirk of Scotland, edited by the Rev. Thomas Thomson. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1842, vol. i., p. 464.

of the church and the destruction of the monasteries to have happened on the 14th. As for the destruction of the cathedral—a building of great extent and magnificence—which is commonly said to have taken place on this occasion (Martine, for instance, who held the office of secretary to Archbishop Sharp, in his *Reliquiæ Divi Andreæ*, speaks of it as having been razed after "a sermon of John Knox's against idolatry, preached at Crail to a giddy lawless multitude")—it was more probably the consequence of the extraordinary Act passed by the Parliament held at Edinburgh in August of the following year for demolishing all such cloisters and abbey churches as had not previously been pulled down—the effects of which are thus related by Spotswood:—"Thereupon ensued a pitiful vastation of churches and church buildings throughout all parts of the realm; for every one made bold to put to their hands, the meaner sort imitating the example of the greater and those who were in authority. No difference was made, but all the churches either defaced or pulled to the ground. The holy vessels, and whatsoever else men could gain of, as timber, lead, and bells, were put to sale. The very sepulchres of the dead were not spared. The registers of the church and bibliothecs cast into the fire. In a word, all was ruined; and what had escaped in the time of the first tumult did now undergo the common calamity; which was so much the worse, that the violences committed at this time were coloured with the warrant of public authority. Some ill-advised preachers did likewise animate people in these their barbarous proceedings, crying out, that the places where idols had been worshipped ought by the law of God to be destroyed, and that the sparing of them was the reserving of things execrable. . . . . The report also went that John Knox (whose sayings were by many esteemed as oracles) should in one of his sermons say, that the sure way to banish the rooks was to pull down their nests." The Presbyterian writers generally say as little as possible about these proceedings. The Act of Parliament ordering the general demolition of ecclesiastical build-

ings is nowhere even mentioned either by Knox or by Calderwood.*

About three weeks after his memorable sermon, or sermons, at St. Andrew's, Knox received and accepted a call from the people of Edinburgh to come over and be their minister. The Scottish capital is the principal scene where he figures throughout nearly all the rest of his career.

We cannot of course, in our narrow limits, enter upon any detail of the succession of events which shortly after this secured the complete ascendancy and permanent establishment of the Reformed faith in Scotland. One chief obstacle was removed by the death, on the 10th of June, 1560, of the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise, a woman of great ability, and devoted to the opinions and the politics of her brothers, the Princes of Lorrain, who were at this time the main supporters of the Roman Catholic interest in France, and a leading part of whose system it was to maintain also the old domination of Popery in Scotland. On the 4th of December following died the French king, Francis II., the husband of the young Queen of Scotland; and this event, by throwing the chief direction of affairs in France into the hands of Catherine de Medicis, the rival of Mary Stuart, and so severing the former intimate connexion between the two kingdoms, and also occupying the Princes of Lorrain with other objects, still further weakened the Roman Catholic party in Scotland, and proved favourable to the advancing cause of the Reformation. But what unquestionably did most for the Lords of the Congregation was the assistance they at last obtained from England. Knox, whose sagacity and sound judgment made him well aware of its importance, had exerted himself to procure such support from the caution and hesitation

* Nor has the Act been preserved: but neither have others which are well attested to have been passed by this Parliament, the records of whose proceedings have nearly all perished. The testimony of Spotswood (*History*, pp. 174, 175) is express.

of Elizabeth and her ministers with extraordinary eagerness and importunity. In one of his letters to Sir James Croft, the English governor of Berwick, through whom the negotiations were carried on, he goes the length of suggesting the following curious plan for getting over the difficulty arising from Elizabeth being at this time at peace with France:—"If ye list to craft with them," says he, "the sending of a thousand or mo men to us can break no league nor point of peace contracted betwixt you and France; for it is free for your subjects to serve in war any prince or nation for their wages; *and, if ye fear that such excuses will not prevail, ye may declare them rebels to your realm when ye shall be assured that they be in our company.*" Croft in reply expresses his wonder that his correspondent, "being a wise man," could propose so transparent a trick: the world, he tells him, was not so blind but that it would soon see through such devices.

Towards the close of the year 1560 Knox lost his affectionate wife. On Tuesday, the 19th of August, 1561, the young queen arrived from France. "The very face of the heavens," writes Knox, "the time of her arrival, did manifestly speak what comfort was brought into this country with her, to wit, sorrow, darkness, dolour, and all impiety; for in the memory of man, that day of the year, was never seen a more dolorous face of the heaven than was at her arrival, which two days after did so continue. For, besides the surface wet, and corruption of the air, the mist was so thick and dark, that scarce might any man espy another the length of two pair of butts. The sun was not seen to shine two days before nor two days after. That forewarning gave God unto us; but, alas, the most part were blind." On the Sunday following the Romish service was again celebrated in the chapel of Holyrood House. That day week Knox delivered a furious sermon on his favourite subject, the sin of idolatry, in the course of which he said that one mass was a more fearful thing to his mind than if ten thousand armed enemies were to be landed in the realm to suppress the true religion. Some years after, referring

to this crisis, he took credit to himself, or rather asked pardon of heaven, for his moderation; he believed that idolaters ought to be put to death, and he had influence, he said, with a sufficient number of persons, who would now have put in execution God's judgments, if he would have given his consent, in refusing which, and in labouring "rather to mitigate, yea to slacken that fervency that God had kindled in others," he unfeignedly acknowledged himself to have done most wickedly, and besought God to forgive him from the bottom of his heart. Nevertheless when the Queen heard of the length to which he had gone in his sermon she sent for him—and a long conversation or argument took place between them—the first of several which are among the most notable passages in the life of the Reformer. No one was present except Mary's illegitimate brother, the Lord James Stuart—afterwards the Regent Murray, already looked up to as the head of the Protestant party. Knox has himself recorded what passed. She began by charging him with having written a book against her just authority —his famous attack on the regimen of women. He answered that it was most certain he had written such a book, nor had he seen it refuted; on the contrary, he added, he still thought himself better able alone to maintain the truth of what he had there advanced than any ten men in Europe would be found to be to prove him in error. Afterwards, however, he said, with an attempt to mend matters, probably better meant than it was fortunate, "I have communicated my judgment to the world; if the realm finds no inconveniency in the regimen of a woman, that which they approve shall I not farther disallow than within my own breast, but shall be as well content to live under your Grace *as Paul was to live under Nero.*" From this they passed after some time to the much larger and more delicate question of the right of subjects in any circumstances to disobey their rulers. Knox insisted that if rulers misconducted themselves, their subjects might both resist and coerce them. The blind zeal, for instance, he argued, of those princes that would support a false or put down the true

religion was nothing but a mad frenzy; "and therefore," said he, "to take the sword from them, to bind their hands, and to cast them into prison, till that they be brought to a more sober mind, is no disobedience against princes, but just obedience, because that it agreeth with the will of God." At these words, he tells us, an alteration came over the Queen's countenance, and she stood silent and amazed for more than a quarter of an hour. When Knox was asked by some of his friends after this interview what he thought of Mary, "If there be not in her," he answered, "a proud mind, a crafty wit, and an indurate heart against God and his truth, my judgment faileth me."

He was sent for again to the palace in May of the following year, 1562, in consequence of a sermon in which he was reported to have glanced at the Queen's dancing. Upon this occasion he insisted upon repeating to Mary the whole of his discourse, or at least a full summary of it, as it was actually delivered; and he proposed that she should assign him a certain day and hour when he might come to her for the same purpose every week. From this interview we are told, in his History, "the said John departed with a reasonable merry countenance; whereat some papists offended said, 'He is not afraid.' Which heard of him, he answered, 'Why should the pleasing face of a gentlewoman fear me? I have looked in the faces of many angry men, and yet have not been afraid above measure.' And so left the Queen and the Court for that time."

We must pass over his great debate at Maybole on the 28th, 29th, and 30th of September, 1562, with Quintin Kennedy, Abbot of Crossraguel, a report of which he afterwards published; and also his various disputations with Maitland of Lethington and other lay members of his own party, whom he could not always get to adopt his extreme notions, and who besides took quite an opposite view from his of the religious revolution which they had jointly brought about in one most material particular—he claiming the revenues of the old church as the rightful inheritance of the new, they deriding that

theory as "a devout imagination," and, having most of them by securing a share of that spoil for themselves found godliness to be great gain at least in the world that now is, being immoveable in their determination to hold fast what afforded them so comfortable an experience. In 1563 he even quarrelled with the Earl of Murray, upbraiding him with his lukewarmness, and solemnly renouncing his friendship; nor were they reconciled till after nearly two years.

In May 1563 he had a third interview with the Queen. She sent for him to Lochleven, where she then lodged, and "travailed with him earnestly," he tells us, "two hours before her supper, that he would be the instrument to persuade the people not to put hands to punish any man for the using of themselves in their religion as pleased them." He perceived her craft, however, he says, and would go no farther than to assure her that if she would do her duty the people would do theirs. "It should be profitable to your majesty," said he, "to consider what is the thing your Grace's subjects look to receive of your Majesty, and what it is that ye ought to do unto them by mutual contract. . . . . Ye crave of them service; they crave of you protection and defence against wicked doers. Now, Madam, if you shall deny your duty unto them . . . think ye to receive full obedience of them? I fear, Madam, ye shall not." "Herewith," he adds, "she, being somewhat offended, passed to her supper." She sent for him again, however, early the next morning, and he met her while she was enjoying the amusement of hawking a little west from Kinross. She was now all smiles—whether, says Knox, "it was the night's sleep, or a deep dissimulation locked in her breast"—and her condescension and show of confidence seem to have made some impression for the moment upon the stern Reformer. But in looking back upon what passed when writing his History he reverts to his more habitual convictions: he inserts the conference, he says, "to let the world see how deeply Mary, Queen of Scotland, can dissemble; and how that she could cause men to think that she bore no indignation for any controversy

in religion, while that yet in her heart was nothing but venom and distruction, as shortly after did appear."

But their next meeting, which took place in the latter part of the same year, was the most remarkable. Knox, in a sermon which he preached in his own church at Edinburgh, had made some strong allusions to the queen's intended marriage with Darnley, the rumour of which was then rife. Calling upon his audience to take note of his words, he concluded by solemnly warning them that, whensoever the nobility of the land professing the Lord Jesus should consent that an infidel—and all papists were infidels—should be head to their sovereign, they would, as far as in them lay, banish Christ from the realm, and bring God's vengeance upon the country and a plague upon themselves, as well as perchance give the queen what would prove to her but small comfort. These words and this manner of speaking, he tells us, were judged intolerable, both by Papists and Protestants; and even his more attached friends were displeased, and blamed him for having gone too far. Information having been quickly carried to the palace, he was sent for, and presented himself before her majesty soon after dinner. Several of his friends accompanied him to Holyrood House, but only John Erskine of Dun, an eminent Protestant who then officiated as superintendent (or spiritual overseer) of the district of Angus and Mearns, passed with him into the royal cabinet. As soon as he entered, Mary broke out into what he calls "a vehement fume," crying that never prince had been treated as she was. She vowed to God she would some day be revenged. "And with these words," says Knox, "scarcely could Marnock, her secret chamber-boy, get napkins to hold her eyes dry for the tears; and the howling, besides womanly weeping, stayed her speech." "The said John," he continues, "did patiently abide all the first fume;" but the few words he spoke when he found an opportunity had little or no effect in soothing her. "What have you to do," she repeated, "with my marriage? What are you in this commonwealth?" "A subject born within the same, Madam," replied Knox. "And,

albeit," he proceeded, "although I am neither earl, lord, nor baron, yet to me it appertains no less to forewarn of such things as may hurt it, if I foresee them, than it doth to any of the nobility." He then repeated nearly what he had said in the pulpit about her taking an infidel to be her husband. "At these words," continues the contemptuous narrative, "howling was heard, and tears might have been seen in greater abundance than the matter required. John Erskine of Dun, a man of meek and gentle spirit, stood beside, and entreated what he could to mitigate her anger, and gave unto her many pleasing words of her beauty, of her excellency, and how that all the princes of Europe would be glad to seek her favour." We may conceive the suppressed scorn with which Knox heard all this flattery of his gentle brother clergyman. It was, he intimates, all useless or worse than useless—only casting oil upon the flaming fire. He himself stood still with unaltered countenance, till her majesty's passion, after a long while, somewhat subsided; he then assured her that he had never delighted in the weeping of any of God's creatures; he could scarcely bear the tears of his boys when his own hand corrected them, much less could he rejoice in those of her majesty; still even her tears he must sustain, albeit unwillingly, rather than hurt his conscience or betray the commonwealth by his silence. More offended than ever, the queen ordered him to leave her presence, and he retired to the outer chamber, leaving her majesty with Erskine, who, assisted by the Lord John of Coldingham, remained trying to soothe her for nearly an hour. "The said John," the characteristic relation concludes, "stood in the chamber as one whom men had never seen—so were all afraid—except that the Lord Ochiltree bore him company; and therefore began he to forge talking with the ladies who were there sitting in all their gorgeous apparel; which espied, he merrily said, 'O fair ladies, how pleasing was this life of yours, if it should ever abide, and then in the end that ye might pass to heaven with all this gay gear! But fie upon that knave Death, that will come whether we will or not;

and, when he has laid on his arrest, the foul worms will be busy with this flesh, be it never so fair and so tender; and the silly soul, I fear, shall be so feeble that it can neither carry with it gold, garnishing, targeting [tassels], pearl, nor precious stones.' And by such means procured he company of women, and so passed the time till the laird of Dun willed him to depart to his house with new advertisement."

The popish writers assert that Knox about this time sought in marriage the Lady Barbara Hamilton, eldest daughter of the Duke of Chastelherault, and widow of the Lord Fleming, but was refused. The story is of very doubtful credibility. In March 1564 he married Margaret Stewart, daughter of the Lord Ochiltree. On the 29th of July, 1565, the queen married Darnley.

We cannot here enter upon the discussion which has been recently revived as to whether Knox was privy to the plot for the murder of Rizzio, or Riccio, which took place on the 9th of March, 1566. For the new evidence which is conceived by Mr. Fraser Tytler to establish his participation the reader must be referred to the seventh volume of that gentleman's 'History of Scotland' (8vo., Edinburgh, 1842), pp. 353—362. It is very far from being conclusive. At the same time, it may be observed, the greatest admirers and staunchest defenders of Knox have not been accustomed to treat this imputation as entirely improbable. All that Dr. M'Crie says is, "There is no reason to think that he was privy to the conspiracy which proved fatal to Rizzio. But it is probable that he had expressed his satisfaction at an event which contributed to the safety of religion and the commonwealth, if not also his approbation of the object of the conspiracy."* M'Crie admits also, in another place, that Knox "held the opinion that persons who, according to the law of God, and the just laws of society, have forfeited their lives by the commission of flagrant crimes, may warrantably be put to death by private individuals, provided all redress in the ordinary course of justice is

* Life of Knox, p. 294.

rendered impossible in consequence of the offenders having usurped the executive authority, or being systematically protected by oppressive rulers."* Upon this principle he rejoiced over and justified the assassination of Cardinal Beaton. Robertson has some observations in his 'History of Scotland' upon the assassinations of this age, and the light in which they were looked upon, which are highly curious and well worthy of attention.†

Knox deemed it prudent to retire from Edinburgh, along with the other conspicuous members of his party, immediately after the slaughter of Rizzio, and he took the opportunity of paying a visit to England. He was still in that part of the island when the murder of Darnley took place on the 10th of February, 1567. He returned to Edinburgh, however, in June following; and he had a prominent and influential part in urging the proceedings afterwards taken against Mary, already a prisoner in Lochleven, which ended in her speedy deposition from the throne. He maintained, indeed, that she ought to be brought to trial; and, if found guilty of adultery and murder, as he had no doubt she was, put to death. Under the regency of the Earl of Murray, he was of course a person of the first importance. Murray was assassinated on the 23rd of January, 1570; and in October thereafter Knox had a stroke of apoplexy. From this attack he recovered so far as to be able to resume his clerical duties; but his diminished strength and the aspect of public affairs together induced him to retire to St. Andrew's in the beginning of May 1571. We have a most graphic description of him at this time in the Diary of James Melville, a Presbyterian clergyman of the next age, who was then a student at St. Andrews:—"Of all the benefits," he writes, "that I had that year [1571] was the coming of that maist notable prophet and apostle of our nation, Mr. John Knox, to St. Andrew's, who, by the faction of the Queen's occupying the castle and town of Edinburgh, was compellit to remove therefrom, with a number of the best, and

* Life of Knox, p. 30 † See Book IV., under the year 1566.

choosit to come to St. Andrew's. I heard him teach there the prophecies of Daniel, that simmer and the winter following. I had my pen and my little book, and took away sic [such] things as I could comprehend. In the opening up of his text he was moderate the space of an half hour; but, when he entered to application, he made me so to grew [thrill] and tremble that I could not hald a pen to write. He was very weak. I saw him, every day of his doctrine [teaching, or preaching], go hulie and fear [slowly and warily], with a furring of marticks about his neck, a staff in the ane hand, and gude, godly Richard Ballenden, his servant, hauldin up the other oxter [arm-pit], from the Abbey to the parish kirk, and by the said Richard and another servant lifted up to the pulpit, whar he behovit to lean at his first entry: but, ere he had done with his sermon, he was sa active and vigorous that he was like to ding the pulpit in blads [beat the pulpit in pieces], and fly out of it."

In July, 1572, the adherents of the queen retired from Edinburgh, and on the 17th of August Knox left St. Andrew's to return to that city, on the earnest request of his congregation that "once again his voice might be heard among them." He continued to preach as before till Sunday the 9th of November; but two days after he was seized with a severe cough, which was soon followed by symptoms that left no hope of his recovery. A minute and affecting account of his last days has been preserved by his servant Richard Bannatyne (the same who is called Ballenden by Melville) in a Journal kept by him, which has been printed.* We can only make room for a single short extract:—"The Friday, which was the 14 day [of the month], he rose above [qu. about?] his accustomed diet [hour], and yet when he did rise he could scarce sit in a stool; and then, being demandit what he wald do up, said he wald go to the kirk and preach, for he thought it had been

* Journal of the Transactions in Scotland, 1570–1573. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1806, pp. 414–429.

Sunday. . . . . The Saturday, John Durie and Archibald Stewart came in about twelve hours, not knowing how sick he was; and for their cause [he] came to the table, which was the last time that ever he sat at ony thereafter, for he caused pierce ane hogshead of wine which was in the cellar, and willed the said Archibald send for the same so long as it lasted, for he wald never tarry until it were drunken." He breathed his last about eleven o'clock on the night of Monday the 24th. "There," said the Regent Morton, when he was laid in his grave two days after, in the churchyard of St. Giles's, all the nobility then in Edinburgh and a large concourse of people crowding round, "There lies he who never feared the face of man."

Besides his two sons by his first wife, Knox left three daughters by his second, who was afterwards married to Sir Andrew Ker of Faudonside. The sons were both educated for the English Church at St. John's College, Cambridge; the eldest died in 1580; and the youngest, after becoming vicar of Clacton Magna, in 1591. Of the daughters, Elizabeth, the youngest, became the wife of one of the most distinguished Presbyterian clergymen of the next generation, Mr. John Welch, minister of Ayr, and is famous as the heroine of a story, which we shall give as it is told by Dr. M'Crie. Welch had been banished for his opposition to episcopacy; but, having lost his health while abroad, he ventured in 1622 to come to London, when his wife obtained an audience of James I., and petitioned his Majesty that her husband might be allowed to return to his native country. "His Majesty asked her, who was her father? She replied, 'John Knox.' 'Knox and Welch!' exclaimed he; 'the devil never made such a match as that.' 'It's right like, Sir,' said she, 'for we never speired [asked] his advice.' He asked her how many children her father had left, and if they were lads or lasses. She said three, and they were all lasses. 'God be thanked!' cried the king, lifting up both his hands; 'for, an they had been three lads, I had never bruiked [enjoyed] my three kingdoms in peace.' She again urged her request that

he would give her husband his native air. 'Give him his native air!' replied the king, 'give him the devil!' 'Give that to your hungry courtiers,' said she, offended at his profaneness. He told her at last, that if she would persuade her husband to submit to the bishops, he would allow him to return to Scotland. Mrs. Welch, lifting up her apron and holding it towards the king, replied, in the true spirit of her father, 'Please your Majesty, I'd rather kep [receive] his head there.'"

A list of Knox's published works is given in Dr. M'Crie's Life. They amount to nearly twenty; but the greater number are short tracts. The most important is his 'History of the Reformation of Religion within the Realm of Scotland,' an imperfect edition of which was printed in England in 1586, but which only first appeared in a complete form in 1732. Its authenticity has been questioned; but there can scarcely be a doubt that, of the Five Books of which it consists, the first four, coming down to the close of the year 1564, are by Knox.

THE END.

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THE

CABINET PORTRAIT GALLERY

OF

BRITISH WORTHIES

VOLUME IV.

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1845.

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SIR THOS GRESHAM.

CABINET PORTRAIT GALLERY

OF

BRITISH WORTHIES.

The founder of the Royal Exchange was born in the year 1519; and he lived during the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth. He was descended from a family originally settled in the county of Norfolk, and which had become considerable and wealthy by commerce. James Gresham, his great-grandfather, chiefly resided at Holt, where he had a manor-house and good estate. But he frequently resided in the populous and busy city of Norwich. This James Gresham was succeeded by his son John, and John married a lady who brought him a large fortune, and in due process of time

four sons,—William, Thomas, Richard, and John. Richard, the father of Sir Thomas, the founder of the Royal Exchange and Gresham College, was knighted by Henry VIII., as was also his younger brother John. It appears that three of these four brothers, including William, the eldest, who succeeded to the landed estates, were all engaged in trade. William was a mercer and merchant-adventurer of London, and one of the principal freemen of the Mercers' Company. In 1544 he joined his younger brothers Richard and John in making a loan to Henry VIII.; and at this time he was ranked among the most considerable of the English merchants that traded with the Low Countries. His brother Richard, the father of Sir Thomas, was bred a mercer in the city of London, being apprenticed to Mr. John Middleton, an eminent mercer and merchant of the staple at Calais. As early as the year 1507 Richard was admitted to the freedom of the Mercers' Company. He was so very fortunate in trade that he purchased vast estates in several counties of England. He was frequently absent upon business at Calais and in the Low Countries. During his residence on the continent he was a diligent collector and writer of news; and he corresponded directly with the king's ministers, and with no less a personage than Cardinal Wolsey, to whom he was much devoted. Richard Gresham acted in fact as political or money agent for Henry VIII. in the Netherlands, and resided in this capacity at Antwerp during a part of Henry's capricious and ridiculous wars with France. He was the first of our merchants to discover that foreign loans were precarious and costly, and that money might possibly be raised in the city of London for the service of the king or government without applying to the Dutch and Flemings. His devotion to the government got him into some trouble in the city, but there is good reason to believe that it also obtained for him many preferences and advantages. In the year 1531 Richard became sheriff of London, and received the honour of knighthood from Henry VIII. At this time Sir Richard attempted to do what was afterwards done by his son Sir

Thomas. The merchants of London, having no convenient place of resort, were accustomed to meet at 'change-hours in Lombard Street, where they were exposed to the open air and all injuries of the weather. Sir Richard wrote a letter to Sir Thomas Audeley, Lord Privy Seal, to acquaint him that there were certain houses in Lombard Street belonging to Sir George Monnocks, which, if allowed to be purchased and pulled down, would afford space for building a handsome Bourse or Exchange, such as existed in the Netherlands and in other countries; and he therefore entreated Audeley to move his Majesty, that a letter might be sent to Sir George requiring him to sell those houses to the mayor and commonalty of the city of London "*for such prices as he did purchase them for.*" Sir Richard calculated that two thousand pounds or something more would pay for the new building, which would be very "beautiful to the city, and also for the honour of our sovereign lord the king." The scheme, however, fell to the ground, the fault, it should seem, lying mostly, if not entirely, with the citizens. In the year 1537, Sir Richard became Lord Mayor of London. It appears that he continued to manage various financial matters for the court, and that he obtained the goodwill of the various ministers who succeeded Cardinal Wolsey, and the favour of Henry VIII., even when that once debonnaire King had grown into a gross, capricious, and sanguinary tyrant. The last fact will explain that Sir Richard had a yielding conscience in matters of religion (and this, indeed, appears to have been the case with his son Sir Thomas as with all the other members of the family). While sheriff he had received into his custody and committed to Newgate the accomplished and unfortunate James Bainham, a Protestant gentleman of the Temple, who was charged with heresy by the Popish priests, and who in the end was burned in Smithfield. Many years after this, when Sir Richard was not trammelled by any official duty, as he had been during his shrievalty, he became one of the commissioners to find out heretics and bring them to condign punishment, Henry having declared that, whe-

ther Papists or Protestants, all were heretics who rejected his own unsettled exposition of the faith. Bishop Bonner presided over this commission, and under it cruelties were committed as atrocious as any that were perpetrated in the time of Queen Mary. Sir Richard's brother, Sir John Gresham, was also in this commission. Yet Sir Richard had come early into the market as a purchaser of church and monastic property, and had written letters to Thomas Cromwell, the great agent in the confiscation, to beg him to move the king to give him preference in the market, and let him buy at a price of his own naming, certain church lands in his own native county of Norfolk. He received from the king five successive grants of church lands; and in 1540-1 he was named one of the commission for taking the value of the abbeys, monasteries, &c., in and about London, a most money-making occupation, and which no man performed without looking to himself. Yet if Sir Richard benefited himself by the breaking up of the old institutions, he made some laudable efforts to get something out of the scrambling for the destitute classes, who in former times had depended upon the alms of the Popish clergy, and upon the hospitals and infirmaries attached to the abbeys and monasteries. He petitioned the King "for the aid and comfort of the poor, sick, blind, aged, and impotent persons, being not able to help themselves, nor having no place certain where they may be refreshed or lodged at;" and he prayed his majesty to order that the "three hospitals or spitals within the city, commonly called St. Mary's Spital, St. Bartholomew's Spital, and St. Thomas's Spital, and the new abbey by Tower Hill," should be set apart and endowed for the use of this poor and sick people. The prayer of this petition was in part granted by Henry, and the grant was confirmed under his son Edward VI. And in the grand confiscation of religious houses in the city Sir Richard obtained for the Mercers' Company the house of St. Thomas of Acre, and the Company erected the Mercers' chapel, in Cheapside, on the site. He died in the month of February, 1548, about a year after Henry VIII., at his mansion at Bethnal

Green. His brother John, who was also knighted, was equally successful in the world, being one of the principal merchant adventurers trading with the Levant. He also was sheriff and lord mayor. In 1546 Sir John Gresham bought of his eldest brother, William, the family manor-house at Holt, and converted it into a free grammar-school, and most liberally endowed it with estates in Norfolk, and some lands or houses in London. Like other property bequeathed for the same noble purposes, this endowment has been allowed to be shamefully mismanaged by a City Company, and in part alienated, and instead of being one of the foremost establishments in all England, which it well might have been by this time, the Holt grammar-school educates only some forty or fifty boys, and has only one university exhibition of twenty pounds per annum. The passion for plunder, and extortion, and self-appropriation, did not cease with the remorseless scramble for church property at the dawn of the Reformation; and, unhappily, the good intentions of the Gresham family have been particularly exposed to the mean and selfish passions of those who have lived after them, and who have been unworthily intrusted with the administration of the property they bequeathed for high and ennobling purposes. Sir John joined his brother Sir Richard in imploring Henry VIII. to make over some of the suppressed religious houses in the city for the use of the poor and diseased; and it is said that to him the city was mainly indebted for Bethlehem Hospital as an asylum for lunatics. Sir John, who died in Queen Mary's time, had a very grand and very papistical funeral.

Thomas Gresham, younger son of Sir Richard, it has been said, was born in the year 1519. The place of his birth is somewhat doubtful. Fuller in his Worthies says decidedly that he was born in the county of Norfolk. Others again say that he was born in London. One part of Fuller's account is, that he "was bred a mercer and merchant in the city of London." His mother, the first wife of Sir Richard, was Audrey, daughter of William Lynne, esquire, of Southwick, in Northamptonshire. Son, nephew, grandson, and great-

grandson to opulent merchants, Thomas was destined to trade from his birth. But Sir Richard, although intending that his son should follow his own profession, resolved to give him the advantages of a liberal education at one of the universities. Thomas was sent to Cambridge, and yet was bound apprentice, as mercer, to his uncle John. Whether he went to the university first, and to his uncle's counting-house or warehouse afterwards, or whether he finished his apprenticeship first, and went to the university after that, we do not discover. We learn from Gresham himself that he served eight years' apprenticeship to trade. Probably his stay at Cambridge was but short, and was taken out of these eight years. In the year 1543 Thomas was in the Low Countries, acting by himself as a merchant, and as an agent for Henry VIII. In 1544 he married a rich widow. His wife was daughter to William Ferneley, esquire, of West Creting, in Suffolk, and widow of William Read, whose ancestors were settled at Beccles, in Suffolk. Read had been citizen and mercer of London, and must have lived on terms of intimacy with the Gresham family, for he appointed Sir Richard (the father of Thomas, who married his widow) overseer to his will, and bequeathed him a legacy of ten pounds and a black gown. Read's age is not mentioned. From the great haste of his widow to marry again, it has been conjectured that Read was a good deal older than his wife, or that upon other grounds she did not much lament his loss. He died in 1544, and she married young Thomas Gresham in the course of the same year. She had two sons by her first husband. Her younger sister, Jane Ferneley, was married to Sir Nicholas Bacon, the lord keeper, father to Nathaniel Bacon, and to the great Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam. To Gresham she bore one son who was named after his grandfather, Richard. This marriage did not keep Gresham at home: he was frequently absent for considerable periods of time in the Low Countries, or elsewhere. His head-quarters abroad were at Antwerp, the great centre of commercial and financial operations; but at times he resided at Bruges.

He had acquired a reputation for activity, ability, and stability as a merchant, and was enriched by an hereditary reputation, or by the high consideration to which so many of his family had attained, when the embarrassments of the English government called him fully into employment. Sir William Dansell, financial agent for the crown in the Low Countries, had shown a great lack of financial skill; and through ignorance, or negligence, had so mismanaged matters that the rate of interest was fearfully raised upon the King, and his credit at the same time much injured. He was "revoked from his office of agent by reason of his slackness."*

This happened in the month of April, 1551, in the fourth year of the reign of Edward VI. The court and government, being then entirely ruled by the incapable protector Somerset and his self-seeking and rapacious crew, were deeply in debt, and so discredited abroad that there was but little prospect of their obtaining any fresh loans. In this perplexity their lordships of the council called in several London merchants, to take their advice as to the means of extricating government from the difficulties under which it lay. Among these merchants was Thomas Gresham. He says himself—"I was sent for unto the council, to know my opinion what way, with least charge, his Majesty might grow out of debt. And after my device was declared, the King's highness and the council required me to take the room [business or office] in hand, without my suit or labour for the same."†

At this time the annual interest on the king's foreign bonds amounted to what was for that time an enormous sum. By the management of the foreign exchanges, over which no English merchant had hitherto attempted to exercise any control, the rate of exchange was ruinously adverse to England. Moreover, the continental capitalists drove their trade much in the manner of cer-

* Letters as quoted by J. W. Burgon, in Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham.

† Cottonian MS. as cited by J. W. Burgon.

tain disreputable modern money-lenders, who give to the spendthrifts with whom they deal so much in cash and so much in bad pictures, or in sour wines in the docks, or in bad jewellery, or the like. At every renewal of debt they required their slow and unpunctual creditors to purchase jewels or other wares and merchandise to a large amount, as a consideration for their giving time for the liquidation of the debt. It should appear that neither Henry VIII. nor his son and successor had ever been able to conclude an original loan without agreeing to take at a price fixed by the money-lenders some jewel "marvellous big," or some "fair and great diamond," or some other article of which they had no manner of need. "This," says Gresham, "was to his Majesty's extreme loss and damage."*

Being thus appointed to serve the king, Gresham now carried his wife and family to Antwerp, and established himself in the house of Gaspar Schetz, a rich merchant, with whom he had long been connected. This Gaspar Schetz was the eldest of three brothers, who were all wealthy, and partners with him in his business. Their family motto, or the motto they adopted on a medal which bore the names of Gaspar, Malchior, and Balthazar Schetz, was "Concordia Res Parvæ Crescant"—By union small things increase. All the brothers, like their father before them (Erasmus Schetz), are described as having a taste for letters and for arts. Gaspar, the eldest, filled very high offices, having been successively chief factor to the Emperor Charles V., and treasurer-general of the Low Countries. He was a connoisseur and collector of coins, and enjoyed besides the reputation of a poet. He was the foremost man in all Antwerp, and Antwerp was then the foremost trading city in Europe. The mind of Gresham was evidently cultivated and improved by his long connection with this family. In other respects Antwerp was a pleasant and joyous residence; but during the earlier part of his employment as royal agent, Gresham was not allowed to live there

* Original letters, as quoted by Mr. Burgon.

uninterruptedly. According to his own account, during the first two years of his service to King Edward VI. he posted from Antwerp to the court at Westminster no fewer than forty times, and each time upon short notice. It should appear that whenever there was a money difficulty at court—and such difficulties were constantly occurring during the whole of the reign of Edward VI.—Gresham was called over and taken into council by ministers that were as ignorant and blundering as they were selfish and rapacious. The common process was to discharge, or partially discharge, the interest due upon old debts, by making new debts at Antwerp. And still, goods or useless nicknacks continued to be forced upon the borrower, in the old fashion. More than once we find Gresham perplexed to his wits' end to know how he shall convey over to England scores of bales, the exportation of which is prohibited by the government of the Low Countries, and to devise how his own government are to turn hucksters, and force the immediate sale of commodities for which there is no demand in England. The ingenuity which the perplexed agent exercised in these dilemmas is very amusing, and seems generally to have been attended with success; but it was a system of tricks and expedients, to be excused perhaps in that ignorant, anti-commercial time, but certainly not to be upheld as an exemplar and model to the British merchant of a better, because a more enlightened, age. In many respects Gresham was to the true merchant and financier only what the alchemist and conjurer was to the chemist and true natural philosopher. His errors were indeed those of his age; but beyond his age he never appears to have looked, nor can we discover in him even a germ of those freer and juster ideas of trade which were timidly enounced a century after his death.

The government, and Gresham himself, entertained, in its widest extent, the fallacious notion of the time, that it was a most fatal thing to allow money to be carried out of the country; and, although there was no proper establishment of custom-house officers or coast-guards, no organized police, no suitable organization in any one

department of government, they all fondly fancied they could prevent the exportation of coin and bullion, which could not be prevented even now by all the systematized apparatus we possess. Laws were frequently banded that were terrible in the Statute Book, and that would have been very sanguinary—if *only* they had not been impossible of execution. Neither Gresham, any more than those who employed him, ever appear to have thought that the money's worth in good merchandise was as good as the money, or to have felt that what the great Bacon said a few years afterwards of knowledge was strictly applicable to money—for money, like manure, is meant to be spread, and is of no value when kept idle in heaps. But if they were so chary about coined money, and gold and silver, in bars or in lumps, the wasteful and ever greedy ministers of Edward VI. were not at all scrupulous about sending away bell-metal and other materials plundered from the church. Every English church once had its bell or bells, and the chimes of the great churches, cathedrals, and abbeys, had been famed for their strength and sweetness, and had filled the country with music: but now these were thrown to the ground, were broken to pieces and melted, or in fragments were sent over to Antwerp to help to appease the impatience of the king's creditors, or to procure more money to be absorbed or wasted by the ministers or courtiers, who long kept King Edward all but penniless. Gaspar Schetz had the handling of this bell-metal, and no inconsiderable part of Gresham's business lay in driving the best sales or bargains he could in our fine old English church-bells. It appears that at times Gresham was compelled by his employers to offer cloths and fustians, as well as bell-metal, in lieu of money, and to offer them at a less price than that at which they were being sold by the English merchants in Antwerp. To keep the king's foreign creditors in good humour, he was in the habit of giving them rather frequently dinners or banquets. This cost a great deal of money, and put him otherwise to much inconvenience, for the Dutch and Flemings were deep drinkers, and expected him to drink

glass for glass with them. Gresham and his father Sir Richard had been sworn friends or servants to the Duke of Somerset; but when that protector was overthrown and sent to the scaffold by the Duke of Northumberland, Master Thomas transferred his devotion to the new protector, and continued to flourish under him.

After much toil Gresham got Northumberland to agree to a plan of punctual payment, which would keep up the credit of government and save them from the heavy fee-penny in future. His plan was that the government should pay him weekly 1200*l.* or 1300*l.*, to be secretly received by one individual, so that it might be kept secret: having this money punctually paid, he would take up at Antwerp every day 200*l.* or 300*l.* by exchange. "And thus doing," he continues, "it shall not be perceived, nor shall it be an occasion to make the exchange fall, for that the money shall be taken up in my name. And so by these means, in working by deliberation and time, the merchants' turn also shall be served. And also this should bring all merchants out of suspicion, who do nothing to payment of the king's debts, and will not stick to say that ere the payment of the king's debts be made it will bring down the exchange to 13*s.* 3*d.*; but I trust never to see that day."* In the same letter to the Duke of Northumberland Gresham passionately recommended a measure which must have greatly troubled the English merchants. It was to seize instantly all the lead in the kingdom, to make a staple of it, and prohibit the exportation of any lead for five years to come. This, said Gresham, would make the price of the commodity rise at Antwerp, and the king might feed that market with lead as it was needed from time to time, and at his own price. It was a suggestion worthy of a Turkish pasha; yet it has been applauded by a recent biographer; and Gresham (whose ignorance is more excusable) dwelt upon it with a sort of rapture, telling the Duke of Northumberland that by these combined means, or by all the daily payment of 200*l.*, and

* Letter in Strype.

the seizure and monopoly of all lead. he would keep the money of England within the realm, and extricate the king from the debts in which his father and the Duke of Somerset had involved him. High-handed as he was, Northumberland shrank from the daring and unpopular step of seizing the lead. As for the weekly payments which he agreed to, they were only continued for eight weeks, or rather for less. Yet, by means which have not (*all*) been very clearly shown, Gresham succeeded in raising the rate of exchange in favour of England, and in making the pound sterling, which had passed there for 16*s.*, rise on the bourse of Antwerp to 19*s.* 8*d.* He congratulated himself on his great success; yet some of the means which he says himself he recommended and got adopted for the obtaining of this desirable end are as objectionable in principle, and almost as tyranical, as the lead project could have been. On one occasion his own uncle, Sir John Gresham, was a great loser by these high-handed proceedings: but with the experience and adroitness of the Gresham family, and with Thomas's great power of control over exchanges and the money-market generally, it must have been strange if "my uncle Sir John" did not get good compensation for what he lost or was robbed of by government. In the course of two or three more years the pound sterling was raised at Antwerp to 22*s.*, and at this rate Gresham discharged all or most of King Edward's debts. So high was the opinion now entertained of Gresham that the Duke of Northumberland employed him diplomatically (though without any credentials) to sound the ambassador of Charles V. as to the emperor's views touching a new connection and family alliance with England. He was also employed on other state business, some portions of which were not of a very honourable nature. He acted as a spy and intercepter or purloiner of letters. He is said to have gratified his government by intercepting some correspondence between the French court and those who governed at Edinburgh in the name of the young but already unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots. In the year 1552 Gresham presented to Edward VI. "a pair

of long Spanish silk stockings," and got great favour and fame thereby; for, continueth that honest chronicler and quondam tailor John Stow, "you shall understand that King Henry the Eighth did wear only cloth hose, or hose cut out of ell-broad taffety; or that by great chance there came a pair of Spanish silk stockings from Spain." For his services of all kinds, Gresham certainly received no stinted reward. He came in for some of the spoils of the church, or monastic bodies, which had not yet been swallowed up. These lands were all in Norfolk. Three weeks before his death, Edward conferred upon him other church lands; and by an instrument bearing date only six days before that young king's death, Gresham got a good slice out of the lands of the abbey of Our Lady of Walsingham, also in Norfolk, and out of some other church domains in the same county. It was a sad day for Master Thomas that on which the young King Edward died. His patron, the Duke of Northumberland, after the failure of his insane attempt to place his daughter-in-law the Lady Jane Grey upon the throne, was sent to the same scaffold on Tower Hill to which he had sent Protector Somerset. Queen Mary ascended the throne, completely remodelled the government, and commenced a fierce persecution against the despoilers of the Roman Church and the Protestant party generally. On the 4th of September, 1553, about a month after Mary's accession, Gresham, being at Antwerp, was desired "to make his immediate repair to the court;" but the letter of recall (if such it was meant to be) "was again stayed," and was not sent till the 9th, when the tone of it should appear to have been altered.* In the end, and that too very shortly, the storm blew over Gresham's head, leaving him unscathed, and even in the enjoyment of his now very profitable employment. From the evidence before us, we suspect that our knowing and cunning merchant made great haste to comply with the times, and that afterwards, when Elizabeth came to the

* Minutes of the Council Office, as quoted by J. W. Burgon.

throne to re-establish Protestantism and proscribe Popery, he not only exaggerated the amount of his risk and danger at the accession of Mary, but was also guilty of falsehood or equivocation, hinting that his danger was owing to his steadfastness in religion. Notwithstanding his usefulness and the hereditary and acquired reputation of Gresham, it may most reasonably be doubted whether he would have been left in office and even taken into favour by Mary and her government if he had not given some assurance of that conformity which was exacted from all men holding places. His family, like so many others, had invariably steered with the shifting winds. Almost as soon as the bigoted Queen Mary was firmly seated he wrote a letter, declaring his allegiance and explaining of what use he had been in getting the king her brother out of debt. As Mary very soon wanted to borrow money herself, Gresham very soon became, to all appearance, as great a favourite at court as he had been during the Protestant rule of the Duke of Northumberland or of the Duke of Somerset. He corresponded directly with Secretary Petre, with the Privy Council, and occasionally with the queen herself.

The court stood in urgent need of specie; but the rulers of Flanders, as well as the governments of all Europe, dreaded, equally with the English government, the exportation of specie or bullion, and thought that gold and silver might be kept at home by severe legislative enactments. And, although money could no more be kept in by such means than water can be prevented rom seeking its level and diffusing itself, it was not to be got out without smuggling and an infraction of the laws. Hence we have seen that Gresham in his instructions is ordered to proceed "in the most secret manner." The mistake in principle led to unfairness and treachery in action; and the government which threatened their own subjects with condign punishment for exporting out of their own realms specie and bullion, were ever ready in case of need to tamper with the subjects of other governments, and engage them to infringe these very laws. It is amusing to see the shifts and tricks which our royal

agent was obliged to have recourse to. All the specie or bullion was smuggled, Gresham bribing the custom-house officers to prevent a too searching inquest into his bales and vats and casks. After buying up some gunpowder of which the government of Queen Mary stood in need in consequence of the recent insurrection of Sir Thomas Wyatt, and its apprehension of a great Protestant rising in England, Gresham sent to Spain to get more specie. His operations there caused one of the oldest banking-houses in Seville to stop payment, and he said he greatly feared he should be the occasion of making bankrupts of all the bankers of that city. He was detained in Spain by this business nearly five months; during which time he was more than once rather ungraciously reprimanded by the English government. Shortly after his return to England he went over to his post at Antwerp, and there continued to transact the business of queen's agent, as well as other more private commercial affairs as a mercer and merchant-adventurer. A courtier warned him that the best way to continue in favour with Queen Mary was to court the goodwill, and write often about her husband King Philip, who went over to his father's states in Flanders not long after his marriage with the English Queen. The hint was not lost upon Gresham, who, like a good courtier himself, wrote frequently to the queen about the "right good health" and marvellous good looks of King Philip, and thanking and praising God that it should be so, and praying God that so it might continue to be. On the other side, Philip aided our royal agent in getting specie sent out of Flanders and Holland into England, only strictly charging him to convey the money "with as much secrecy and as small bruit" as he could. In other words, Philip himself turned smuggler, and contravened his own or his father's laws. The queen frequently answered Gresham's letters with her own hand, and the correspondence became very friendly and unceremonious on both sides. Now and then Mary's conscience was startled at her agent's bold proceedings, as when Gresham built himself at Antwerp a furnace wherewith to

melt down the Spanish coin, a thing heinous in the eyes of the law of the country. His house at Antwerp was the occasional lodging of all the ministers and superior officers of Mary's government who passed that way; and ambassadors and diplomatic agents residing abroad seem frequently to have received their pay through him or his correspondents. He had, in the principal kingdoms of Europe, paid native agents, who sent him regular intelligence in politics as well as in trade. He organized this intelligence system in the time of Edward VI.; but he continued it under Queen Mary, and extended it under Elizabeth. He witnessed at Brussels the abdication of the Emperor Charles V. in favour of his son Philip II., the unloving and disappointed husband of our queen. But he was now frequently and for long periods resident in London. In 1555 he was among those who presented new year's gifts to her majesty. At this time he was in the very highest favour at court, obtaining from Queen Mary a grant of more lands. But court favour and great prosperity, particularly in a city merchant, were, in those days, likely to excite envy and malice; and in 1556 Gresham was rather severely handled by the Marquess of Winchester, the old lord treasurer, who taxed him with not being quite so honest as he ought to be. Yet the cloud must have soon passed over, for Gresham was soon again busily employed in the queen's affairs in the Low Countries, making fresh loans, buying gunpowder, arms, armour, &c. In November, shortly after receiving a letter from Gresham, in which he prayed God "to preserve her noble majesty in health and long life, and long to reign over us with increase of honour," Queen Mary died. This event rendered necessary in public men another and entire change of principle or profession. But it was not probable that Thomas Gresham, who had been a strenuous Protestant under Edward VI., and then a thorough Papist under Queen Mary, would have any difficulty in becoming again a Protestant under Queen Elizabeth. He hastened to London, and was among the first to be presented to the virgin queen at Hatfield, where she was preparing to

make her triumphal entrance into the capital. As she had already appointed William Cecil her principal secretary of state, and as Cecil was the old ally of our merchant, Gresham came before Elizabeth under very favourable auspices. She promised him by the faith of a queen that she would ever deal fairly with him, and that she would give as much lands as ever had been given to him by King Edward her late brother, and Queen Mary her late sister; "which two promises," adds Gresham, "made me a young man again." At the end of the audience her majesty gave him her hand to kiss, and confirmed him in his place. Mary had left an empty treasury; Elizabeth was in immediate want of money, and who could negotiate the foreign loans so well as the long practised Gresham? Before departing for Flanders, the royal agent wrote a letter of advice to the queen to explain to her majesty how the nation had fallen into debt, and how all her fine gold had been conveyed out of the realm. Some of the remedies he suggested were excellent. Henry VIII. had sadly debased the coin: he advised the queen to bring it back to its purity; he advised her to contract as little debt as possible in foreign countries, and to be scrupulous in keeping up her good credit; and "*specially*, said he, "*with your own merchants; for it is they must stand by you at all events in your necessity.*" Yet shortly after offering this good counsel, he again recommended the government to stop the fleet of merchant ships loaded and bound for Antwerp, and so bring the merchants to their own terms, and keep up the rate of exchange abroad. He told Cecil that he must lie in wait until he was quite sure that all the cloths and kerseys were entered and shipped; and that then he must pounce upon the fleet, declaring that none should depart till the queen's further pleasure were known. The measure, which is characteristic of the mixed cunning and violence of the times, appears to have been carried into effect as Gresham recommended, and with the immediate success that he anticipated from it. But such measures could not make the name of Gresham a popular one among the merchants of London. Besides

his money-dealings at Antwerp, the royal agent was charged with the purchase of saltpetre, ammunition, and arms, as he had been in Queen Mary's days; the difference being, that Mary had wanted the arms and gunpowder to keep down her Protestant subjects, and that Elizabeth wanted them to be employed against her Catholic subjects in case they should attempt any insurrection, and against the Catholic party of Mary Queen of Scots in Scotland. But it was now much more difficult to smuggle these things from the Netherlands than it had been when Philip was husband to the living Catholic Queen of England. Gresham's cunning and address, however, increased with his difficulties; and while there were many zealous Protestants at Antwerp disposed to do the will of the virgin queen, the custom-house officers continued to be as bribable as ever. At the same time Gresham increased his diligence in collecting and remitting to Cecil all sorts of political information, a good part of which was obtained by men who cannot be designated otherwise than as spies. At the end of the year 1560 Gresham attained to still higher honours, being appointed ambassador or temporary minister at the court of the Duchess of Parma, now regent of the Netherlands, and receiving thereupon the honour of knighthood. Notwithstanding this promotion, he continued in business as a merchant-adventurer, and kept his shop open in Lombard Street, with a great grasshopper (his family crest) over the door as a sign. He was one of the first to announce the coming of the great Protestant revolution in the Low Countries, and to tell Cecil that the people were so dissatisfied with their intolerant government, that if it came to a war, Elizabeth would have more assured friends among them than Philip. Well knowing how the queen's heart stood affected, Gresham paid great court to Lord Robert Dudley, who was youngest son of his once great protector, the late Duke of Northumberland, and who soon became Earl of Leicester and the most potent and profligate of court favourites. During his embassy at Brussels, he nursed for Lord Robert a little palfrey, which was destined to carry the

queen. He also purchased for her majesty a Turkish horse which he warranted as "a very fair beast," as "one of the readiest horses that is in all Christendom, and that runs the best." He had, indeed, constantly to attend to purchases for the queen's highness, the lords of the council, and the gallants about court—to buy pairs of Spanish silk hose, curling-irons, iron chests and locks, little nags, well-going clocks, black buttons, white and grey beavers, and in short, all manner of commodities. Most of what he sent to Secretary Cecil appears to have been in the shape of presents or bribes. On one occasion he despatched him one hundred shirts made in Germany, and a warm gown or cloak made of wolf-skin. There were occasional rubs and impediments, and serious apprehensions of the court's displeasure; for we find Gresham writing to Cecil to implore him to stand his friend, and to befriend his poor wife, and to be a suitor to the queen for the getting out his pardon. During the absence of Cecil in Scotland, the lord treasurer—the same old Marquess of Winchester who had brought him before into trouble—accused Gresham of having made his public employment subservient to his private advantage (which no doubt he had done), and of keeping in his strong box a balance of 40,000*l.* of the queen's money. Concurrent with these accusations were various complaints from English merchants as well at home as in the Netherlands. Gresham, who seems to have been for some time in an agony of fear, trusted in God that the queen would remember her promise to keep one ear to hear him when his accusers had possession of the other ear. He protested his innocence of all the charges brought against him, although it might have been more difficult to disprove some of them than it was to prove by his account-book that he had at that time only a small balance of the queen's money in his hands. But Sir Thomas Parry stood his friend, Cecil soon returned from Scotland, and this tempest also blew over. Against the complaining merchants Gresham appears to have speedily obtained some vengeance; for he forthwith recommended Cecil to have again recourse to his sudden surprises and

high-handed practices with the merchant-adventurers, and to extract money from them by way of forced loans.

As a much greater storm was brewing on the continent, Gresham had many journeys to make in Flanders upon state business. In one of these his horse fell with him, and his leg was broken. The leg was set, but he is said to have continued lame for the rest of his life. He returned to England in March 1561. In the month of July of that year, he begged Cecil to appoint a day for the meeting of the commissioners, who, with the friendly Cecil at their head, were to examine his accounts. The accounts appear to have been pleasantly passed by the commissioners; and in August Gresham was sent back to Flanders to get 30,000*l.* out of the English merchants, to pay therewith part of the queen's debts, and to ask time of her creditors for the rest. The commotions in the Low Countries had by this time greatly increased, and Count Egmont and the powerful Prince of Orange had placed themselves at the head of the malcontents. These people wanted arms and ammunition for themselves; yet Gresham succeeded in obtaining a good supply of saltpetre, some armour and guns, with which he returned to England. During his now very frequent absences from his post his duties as queen's agent at Antwerp were intrusted to his old and faithful servant Richard Clough, a Welshman, one of the most laborious and minutest of correspondents. Gresham was of opinion that the custom-house at Antwerp was a much more efficient establishment for the collecting of duties than that of her majesty Queen Elizabeth at London; and he wrote to Richard Clough to desire him to get and send him full information as to its constitution and management, with all the details connected with it. Honest Richard, who delighted in details, went to work *con amore*, and soon filled twenty folio pages. He not only ran down the London custom-house, but he also abused the London merchants and the rulers of the city, as a company "that do study for nothing else but for their own profits." "As, for ensample," says Richard, "considering what city London is, and that in so many

years they have not found the means to make a Bourse! but must walk in the rain, when it raineth, more liker pedlars than merchants; and in this country and all other, there is no kind of people that have occasion to meet but they have a place meet for that purpose. Indeed, and if your business were done, and that I might have the leisure to go about it, and that you will be a means to Mr. Secretary [Cecil] to have his favour therein, I will not doubt but to make so fair a Bourse in London as the great Bourse is in Antwerp, without molesting of any man more than he should be well disposed to give." Gresham, as we have seen, inherited the notion of a London Bourse or Exchange from his father Sir Richard; but Richard Clough, no doubt, had a good deal to do in maturing the idea, and in aiding him in the execution of it.

By this time Sir Thomas was busily employed in building his new and spacious house in Bishopsgate Street, which afterwards became Gresham College, and which Stow describes as being "the most spacious of all other thereabout; builded of brick and timber." The house was surrounded by open grounds—convertible into pleasant gardens—which extended from Bishopsgate Street to Broad Street. His foreign agents and correspondents in the Low Countries shipped for him such materials as could not easily be had in England. The large sums he was expending on this vast building were a proof of his wealth, and a fresh provocation to envy.

Sir Thomas, being on the continent in 1562, told Cecil that for a certainty there would shortly be a great league for religion's sake against Elizabeth: and partly because the Catholic party in France were so very poor at the time, he earnestly recommended the queen to support and join the French Huguenots, and thereby regain possession of Calais and the other strips of English territory in France which had been lost under her sister Mary. Soon an English army was sent over to Havre de Grace under Sir Edward Poynings; and thus was begun a system which never ceased during Elizabeth's

reign, she succouring and leaguing herself with the revolted subjects of the Catholic powers, and those powers sending their succours to her disaffected Catholic subjects in England, and sending troops to act with her rebels the Papists of Ireland. In the year 1564 Gresham entered largely into some home manufactures. By an act of parliament, followed by a royal proclamation, England prohibited the importation of cutlery, pins, hats, girdles, ribands, and other articles. These things had hitherto been chiefly imported from the Low Countries, but now Gresham and others had entered upon the speculation of manufacturing them at home. The proclamation was therefore to act as a protection to the speculation of the queen's agent and friends.

In the summer of 1566, the war of religion and independence, which was to last more than half a century, was begun in earnest at Antwerp. His occupation in that country being now almost gone, Gresham busied himself in England about other matters. At the beginning of the year 1565 he had made a proposal to the court of aldermen, that if they would purchase and give him a piece of ground in a proper place, and large enough for the purpose, he would build upon it a Bourse or Exchange, with large and covered walks, where the merchants and traders of all sorts might daily assemble, converse together, and transact business with one another, at all seasons, without any interruption from the weather, or other impediments of any kind. The merchants and citizens had recently had many meetings and consultations upon this subject; for the inconveniences attending the meeting in the open air in Lombard Street were now seriously felt. The court of aldermen accepted the proposal made to them by Sir Thomas, and the subscription was set on foot to raise money for purchasing the land. No fewer than seven hundred and fifty citizens subscribed in small sums, the total sum immediately wanted being short of 4000*l.* The subscription commenced in March 1565, and ended in October 1566. The bargain for the land was concluded in the month of September; but the ground was cleared and the first

stone laid some months earlier. The citizens, in conveying the ground to Sir Thomas Gresham, entered into certain covenants with him, and they afterwards complained that these covenants were broken. They also affirmed that the ground cost them more than the sum originally stipulated. It has not been discovered how much the materials and building cost Sir Thomas; but as he derived the then large sum of 700*l.* a year as rent from the Exchange, and as labour was then cheap, and much of the building material furnished by his own estates, he no doubt got something like good interest for his outlay. His architect was one Heinrick, a Fleming. Many of the bricklayers and other workmen came also from the Low Countries; and the statues which decorated the edifice seem in all probability to have been made in Flanders. In short, the building and everything about it had a Flemish character, the design itself being an imitation of the great Bourse or Exchange of Antwerp. According to an engraving, executed most probably at Gresham's own order, the edifice was "full ended" in the year 1569. It consisted of two portions, an upper and a lower: the upper portion was laid out in shops, 100 in number, and the lower into walks and rooms for the merchants, with shops on the exterior. It was to increase the reputation of the place, and especially to get tenants for these shops, and not to open the Exchange, which had been finished and opened long before, that Queen Elizabeth was induced by Gresham to pay her much celebrated visit to the spot in the year 1571. The manœuvre was very ingenious and characteristic of the man. For more than a year after the completion of the Exchange, the shops remained almost empty, thus causing much disappointment to the founder, who had anticipated a handsome income from them in the shape of rent. Gresham's imagination went to work, and hit upon a new "device." It was noised abroad that the queen was coming in state to visit the Bourse, and Gresham "went twice in one day, round about he upper part, and besought those few shopkeeper. then present that they would furnish and adorn

with wares and wax lights as many shops as they either could or would, and that they should have all those shops so furnished rent-free that year, which otherwise at that time was forty shillings the shop by the year."* All things being prepared, and all the city bells ringing, on the 23rd January 1571 "the queen's majesty, attended with her nobility, came from her house at the Strand, called Somerset House, and entered the city by Temple Bar, through Fleet Street, Cheap, and so by the north side of the Bourse to Sir Thomas Gresham's in Bishopsgate Street, where she dined. After dinner her majesty, returning through Cornhill, entered the Burse on the south side; and after that she had viewed every part thereof above the ground, especially the Pawne [the upper part of the building wherein were the hundred shops or stalls], which was richly furnished with all sorts of the finest wares in the city, she caused the same Burse, by an herald and trumpet, to be proclaimed the Royal Exchange, and so to be called from thenceforth, and not otherwise."†

After this grand celebration, Gresham's bazaar or shops began to be filled and the rents to be raised! "And within two years after, he raised that rent unto four marks a year; and within a while after that he raised his rent of every shop unto four pounds ten shillings a year, and then all shops were well furnished according to that time; for then the milliners or haberdashers in that place sold mouse-traps, birdcages, shoeing horns, lanthorns, Jew's trumpets, &c. There were also at that time that kept shops in the upper Pawne of the Royal Exchange, armourers that sold both old and new armour, apothecaries, booksellers, goldsmiths, and glass-sellers: although now it is as plenteously stored with all kinds of rich wares and fine commodities as any particular place in Europe, unto which place many foreign princes daily send, to be served of the best sort."‡

But great fame as well as great profit was derived by Gresham from this royal visit. Dramatists and poets

* Stow. † Id. ‡ Id.

took up the subject and treated it not only in English, but also in Latin. Old Thomas Heywood, in celebrating the queen's visit and Gresham's wealth and glory and loyalty, became rather rhapsodical, making the cool and cautious Gresham perform the extravagant feat which is related of Cleopatra. He makes Gresham reduce a costly pearl to powder, put the powder into a cup of wine, and then swallow wine and pearl-powder together with these words:—

> "Here fifteen hundred pound at one clap goes!
> Instead of sugar, Gresham drinks the pearl
> Unto his queen and mistress: Pledge it, lords!"

It appears from various complaints of the citizens, that parts, at least, of the Exchange had been run up with too much haste, or had been built of bad materials. On the ground-floor there were said to be holes in the walls, and indications which seemed to threaten the passers by with a tumble down of the upper stories. Gresham's building did not exist quite a century, being burned to the ground in the great fire of London in the year 1666. The statues of kings and queens fell to the ground upon their faces, and the greater part of the building fell upon them. "But Sir Thomas Gresham's statue," says Evelyn, "though fallen from its niche, remained entire, when all those of the kings since the conquest were broken to pieces." Sir Christopher Wren, who had the glory, at a later period, of building St. Paul's, and so many other splendid churches in London, presented a magnificent plan for rebuilding the Exchange; but the Gresham committee and the other city magnates preferred employing a Mr. Jerman, one of the city surveyors. Jerman's design did not differ materially from Gresham's or Heinrick's copy of the Bourse of Antwerp. The first foundation stone was laid on the 6th of May, 1667, in the time of Charles the Second. Old Cibber, the sculptor, father to the dramatist, and Gibbons the carver and sculptor, were employed to decorate the interior of the new building with statues of kings, carvings, &c. In the midst of the uncovered quadrangle was placed the statue

of Charles II.; but the statue of the original founder was placed in an obscure corner of the Exchange, where it was commonly shrouded with placards, shop bills, and advertisements. It would have been well if the citizens had not shrouded more of Gresham than this stone effigies. The recent history of the great centre of the commerce of the World is familiar to all. The edifice erected in the time of Charles II. was burned down on the night of Wednesday, the 10th of January 1838. The foundation of the present building was laid shortly after, and the new Exchange was opened by her Majesty Queen Victoria on the 28th of October 1844.

The vast mansion or city palace which Gresham built for his own habitation, in Bishopsgate Street, or rather on the ground which lies between that street and Broad Street, had been finished as early as the year 1562. To speak critically of the building, from the engravings of it which remain (and the mean-spirited barbarism of our grandfathers has left us nothing else), we should say that the building was noticeable rather from its extent than from any beauty in its architecture. Like the Exchange, it was built after a Flemish model. A quadrilateral range of building, one story high, with attics above, enclosed a large open square, which was ornamented by a row of trees on each of its sides. But the building, the quadrangle, with nearly everything about it, had a quiet, collegiate air; and when two hundred years had made it venerable, it must, with its associations, have been an interesting place to all persons of taste and feeling. It was here that Gresham feasted the great Elizabeth the day she went to the Exchange, and it was here that, by her command and in order to save her money, he kept in captivity as a state-prisoner the sister of the beheaded Lady Jane, the poor little Mary Grey, who must oft times have looked out from the windows upon the quiet quadrangle or upon the busy street beyond, envying the condition of the poorest woman that passed through them toiling for her daily bread. But Gresham House had some pleasanter associations than these. Although our city knight liked to get, and to keep what he got so long

as he lived, yet after the death of his only son, which happened before he began to build the Exchange, Gresham was quite capable of a posthumous generosity and munificence. His Cambridge studies, his long residences abroad, and his intimate connection with some of the best educated men at home, had given him a respect and love for the liberal arts, and, with the means, he had the ambition of doing something important for their promulgation. He therefore resolved that, after his own death, and the death of his wife, his stately London house should be converted into a college, or seat of learning, and be endowed with the rents derivable from the Royal Exchange. The edifice seemed as if it had been built for such a purpose. It is thought that it was about the year 1575 that he had sufficiently matured his plan to announce his intention of founding this college for the gratuitous instruction of young citizens and of all who might choose to go and attend the lectures. The university of Cambridge, his own Alma Mater, conjured him to abandon this project and to endow a new college at Cambridge instead. Seeing how shamefully that part of his will has been administered in London, we may wish that the property had really gone to his own Alma Mater; for if it had been left to Cambridge, Cambridge would have known how to keep it. But Gresham kept steadily to his London design. By his last will and testament, dated the 5th day of July, 1575, he ordained that the Lady Gresham should enjoy his now dwelling-house in Bishopsgate Street, as well as all the rents arising from the Royal Exchange, during her lifetime, in case she should survive him; but that from the period of her death both these properties should be vested in the hands of the Corporation of London and the Mercers' Company. These two bodies corporate were conjointly to nominate seven competent professors to read lectures successively, one on every day of the week, on the seven sciences of divinity, astronomy, music, geometry, law, medicine and rhetoric. The lectures were to be delivered in Gresham House or College, and the professors were to be comfortably lodged

therein. The salaries of the lecturers, which were far more than defrayed by the rents arising from the Royal Exchange, were fixed at 50*l.* per annum each, a sum equivalent to at least 400*l.* or 500*l.* a year at the present day. It might have been expected from a financier and man of business like Gresham, that he would have foreseen that the increasing trade, industry, and ingenuity of the country would rapidly bring in money, and decrease the representative value of the pound sterling and of all other coin; that the rents derivable from the Royal Exchange must be rapidly raised in proportion; and that with this foresight he would have abstained from fixing the salaries according to the value of money and of the rents derivable from the Exchange in his day. But, in cases like this, an enlightened and high-minded legislature would so far interfere with the mere letter of a will as to alter it into the intention of the donor; and the real intention of Gresham could only have been that the seven professors should have and enjoy in all time to come what should be equivalent to the fifty pounds per annum of his own time, and the amount of which would be defrayed by the rising rents of the Exchange. Nothing could be more earnestly worded than all these portions of his will. He conjures the parties charged with the administration of his will to see his intentions carried out, "*as they will answer the same before Almighty God;*" and he tells them that the default thereof "*shall be to the reproach and condemnation of the said corporations afore God.*"*

As such bequests have been most rare among us, it is the more lamentable that the good example set by Gresham should have been in a manner destroyed by those corporate bodies whose bounden duty it was to uphold it, and diffuse the benefits which might have resulted from it. In his great scheme of education the mind of our royal merchant took a high flight. His notion was that the citizens of London, who were all to

* Sir Thomas Gresham's will, as given in Dr. Ward's 'Lives of the Gresham Professors.'

have free access to the lectures, would be quite capable of learning the higher sciences and the elegant arts. He instituted a lectureship upon astronomy at a time when the science was not taught in any school or university in this country, and when its rudiments were almost unknown. Ever since the destruction of the Chantries under Henry VIII. and Edward VI., the taste for music had been on the decline. Gresham included music among his endowed lectures, intending to give a new impulse to that delightful science in the capital of the empire. And, upon the whole, though subjected to disheartening inconveniences and long interruptions, the musical class of Gresham College appears to have conferred more benefit upon society than any of the other classes, or than all the others put together. If from the first there had been in each class or faculty a succession of professors like Mr. Taylor, the present excellent Gresham professor of music, Gresham College would never have become a nonentity or a laughing-stock, and a taste for the arts which civilize, adorn, and cheer the life of man would not have been allowed to perish or decline as it long did among those "in populous cities pent."

Nor did Sir Thomas Gresham forget in his will charities and pious uses. In his lifetime he had built at the back of his London mansion eight substantial alms-houses, and to the inmates of each of these houses he bequeathed the annual sum of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Furthermore he left 50*l.* a year to be distributed among the poor prisoners for debt in the London jails. These and other sums for charitable purposes were to be paid by the Corporation and the Mercers' Company, out of the revenues derived from the Exchange, for those rents amounted to more than 700*l.* per annum, and the salaries of the seven Gresham professorships came only to 350*l.* per annum. He left 100*l.* a-year to his Company for four dinners in the course of a year; and no doubt the worshipful Mercers, however careless as to other parts of his last will and testament, have taken especial care to keep up these celebrations, and to eat the dinners thus provided

for them, taking also into account the difference between the costs of a civic feast in the seventeenth and in the nineteenth century.

Gresham had an illegitimate daughter by a Flemish woman, whom he brought up in his own house in England. He is said to have given her a good education and a good dower. The last fact, at least, seems to be proved by the importance of the family into which she married. This Anne Gresham could call the great Lord Bacon brother-in-law: her husband was Sir Nathaniel Bacon, second son of Sir Nicholas, the Lord Keeper, by his first wife Jane Ferneley, sister to Lady Gresham. As her name does not occur in his will it is supposed that Gresham's daughter died before the year 1575, when that will was made.

Sir Thomas had no fewer than four or five stately mansions in the county of Norfolk, his favourite house in that county being at Intwood. Besides these he had a fine seat (Osterley) in the county of Middlesex, not far from Brentford; a magnificent old place (Mayfield) in Sussex, and apparently one or two houses in other parts of the kingdom, in which he occasionally resided. Osterley Park (now the property of the Countess of Jersey) came into the possession of our splendid merchant before the year 1562. It is believed that he knocked down an old house and built a new one upon the site. Norden, who wrote in 1593, describes the house as being a stately building of brick, and the park as being extensive, and "garnished with many fair ponds, which afforded not only fish and fowl and swans, and other water-fowl, but also great use for mills,—as paper-mills, oil-mills, and corn-mills." Here Queen Elizabeth paid Gresham a visit in the year 1570. It is quaint old Fuller that tells this pleasant and well-known story:—

"Her majesty found fault with the court of the house, as too great, affirming that it would appear more handsome if divided with a wall in the middle. What doth Sir Thomas, but, in the night-time, send for workmen to London (*money commands all things*), who so speedily and silently apply their business, that the next morning

discovered that court double which the night had left single before. It is questionable whether the queen next day was more contented with the conformity to her fancy, or more pleased with the surprise and sudden performance thereof: whilst her courtiers disported themselves with their several expressions; some avowing it was no wonder he could so soon change a building who could build a 'Change, others (reflecting on some known differences in the knight's family) affirmed that 'any house is easier divided than united.'"* It is not wealth that always makes the best temple for the household gods. It has been conjectured that many of our merchant's family differences arose out of his affection for his natural daughter; but it should appear that his wife was, on other matters, an irritable sour-tempered woman.

Old and wealthy as he was, the last moments of Sir Thomas's life were devoted to business. "On Saturday the 21st of November, 1579, between six and seven of the clock in the evening, coming from the Exchange to his house (which he had sumptuously builded) in Bishopsgate Street, he suddenly fell down in his kitchen, and being taken up, was found speechless, and presently dead."† By his death many large estates in several counties of England, amounting at that time to the yearly value of two thousand three hundred pounds and upwards, came to his lady, who survived him many years. He, in fact, took nothing from her; for neither Gresham House nor the rents of the Exchange were to be appropriated to the college until after her decease, and yet she begrudged those two well-intended donations, and quarrelled and litigated with the corporation about insignificant sums; and it is quite clear that if she could have annulled the will she would have done so in order to add Gresham House and the rents derived from the Exchange to the great estates which she left to her son by her first marriage. On the 15th of December, the remains of our great merchant were deposited in St.

* Fuller, Worthies, vol. ii.
† Holinshed. Chronicle.

Helen's Church, Bishopsgate Street, close to his own house, and the resting-place of his son Richard. He had prepared for himself a sumptuous tomb or monument during his life-time: but neither his widow, nor his step-son William Read, who, after her, came into possession of the mass of his splendid fortune, ever went to the expense of putting an inscription on the tomb, and it remained without a date and without a name until the year 1736, when the following brief inscription was cut on the solid black marble slab which covers the alabaster tomb, by order of the churchwardens:

SIR THOMAS GRESHAM, KNIGHT,

Bury'd. Decembr. the 15th 1579.

Lady Gresham twice attempted to act contrary to her husband's will; and wealthy as she was (being reputed the richest widow of those days) she tried hard to derive unfair advantages from that small portion of property, the rent derivable from the Exchange, &c., which was entrusted to her for her life-time only. And these things she did in spite of the solemn trust and confidence which her husband in his will said he placed in her as his faithful loving wife. Parliament was obliged to interfere. In the year 1581 an act was passed, confirming all the good uses and intents of the will of Sir Thomas, and sanctioning and guaranteeing not only the private appointments of his will, but likewise his public benefactions (as the college and professorships) and his charities to the poor. Yet still begrudging her husband's bequest for the promotion of learning, not contented with the *usufructu*, and looking beyond the natural term of her own life and to the further enriching of her already wealthy son William Read, Lady Gresham, in the year 1592, endeavoured to get an act of Parliament to empower her and her heirs to make leases from time to time of twenty-one years of the shops in the Exchange, reserving the fines to herself and her heirs. In petitioning the Privy Council she suggested, or insisted, that she ought to have what she asked for, inas-

much as the two corporations (the Mercers' Company and the City Corporation) would assuredly not employ the profits thereof according to the will of Sir Thomas Gresham in paying the seven professors. It is to be deplored that the greedy old lady was but too true a prophet. But the Lord Mayor and aldermen of the day met her petition with a spirited and convincing answer, which set the question at rest for that time. Nevertheless, the leases of twenty-one years, which had been granted by Sir Thomas to the tenants upon the Royal Exchange, being nearly expired in the year 1596, his widow prevailed upon them to take fresh leases of her for the like term of twenty-one years at the old rent, together with the addition of a fine amounting to 4000*l*. The greater part of the fine was paid to her ladyship not many months before the estate, in conformity with Sir Thomas's will, came into possession of the Corporation of London and the Mercers' Company. Thus, the widow made it quite evident, that regardless of the solemn injunctions of her husband's will, she was more anxious to get money for herself and her son and heir, William Read, Esq., than to settle Gresham College, or to give to it that which Sir Thomas had bequeathed. When a party so near to the testator could thus disregard his intentions, it is less surprising, though still lamentable, that others at a distant period of time should heap dirt upon the last testament. The reader will be indifferent about the fact (perhaps he may believe that the old woman is still alive, and presiding with an undiminished selfishness over some of the civic incorporations), but she died, at a very old age, on the 23rd of November, 1596, at Osterley Park. Her son, and the heir to her vast property, William Read, Esquire, was a genial successor. He must have been a grasping and a very litigious man, for the little that is known of his history is known through lawsuits. He stirred not a step nor moved a finger for the execution of Gresham's liberal intentions.

In the year 1614, the twelfth of King James I., and eighteen years after the death of Gresham's widow—and not earlier—the two corporations entrusted with the

management of Gresham College obtained a patent from the crown to hold for ever the rents of the Royal Exchange and the mansion-house in Bishopsgate Street, upon the terms and conditions expressed in the last will of the donor. But before this time they had put themselves in possession of the property, and after consulting the universities, had appointed persons "meet to read the several lectures." They took possession of the property in the month of December, 1596, just after the funeral of the old widow. The trustees drew up a set of rules to direct the professors as to the manner in which they should manage their lectures. If these rules had been adhered to, Gresham College would have been of inestimable value to the community. These citizens clearly understood that the lectures were meant, and ought to be, practical, popular, and attractive; and that to deliver them in Latin, or to make them difficult, abstruse, and drily theoretical, would be a defeating of the end proposed by Gresham. Under these good rules and other good regulations, which seem for a time to have been carefully attended to by the trustees and by the professors they appointed, Gresham College rose into celebrity, and attained to much of the usefulness contemplated by its founder, who had taught the citizens by example "that commercial activity is not of necessity dissociated from the love of science and literature, and that commercial success may be obtained without an abandonment of mental cultivation."* The college being the fixed abode of several men of high attainments, attracted many congenial minds, and became a centre of union for men of letters and science. It appears to have been under the old sloping roof of the mansion in Bishopsgate Street that the first foundation was laid for that scientific association which afterwards took the name of the "Royal Society;" while it is quite certain that it

* Gresham College. Three Inaugural Lectures, delivered in the Theatre of the City of London School, January 29th and 31st, and February 1st, 1838. By Edward Taylor, Gresham Professor of Music.

was within the walls of that house that the members of that Society first congregated and tried their experiments in physic. After the great fire of London which destroyed the Exchange, the Gresham professors placed their rooms for a time at the disposal of their fellow-citizens. The building became a temporary mansion-house as well as a temporary Exchange; some of the spacious rooms were converted into courts of law, and others were fitted up as a residence for the Lord Mayor; shops were erected in the piazzas and galleries, and the merchants assembled at 'Change hours in the quadrangle.

During the seventeenth century we find a good many eminent names among the Gresham professors, as Dr. Barrow, Sir William Petty, Sir Christopher Wren, Briggs, Hooke, Greaves, Bull the Music Doctor, &c. But as early as the year 1701, the trustees of the Gresham property entirely fell off from their duty, and having already made extensive innovations, and suspended for two years all payments to the professors, they petitioned Parliament to allow them to make great and lasting changes. Parliament refused its assent to the prayer of the petition; but from this moment the college, the building, and everything connected with it, appear to have been shamefully neglected; the two wealthy trustee corporations pleading poverty, and feasting away more sumptuously and gluttonously than ever. As the auditory fell off, the city magnates thought that any man was good enough for a dumb or a non-lecturing professor; and in some instances they put broken-down tradesmen, or connexions, or dependants, or mere lacqueys of their own into the college, in order that they might draw the annual salaries which the founder had intended for the support of competent and eminent men. The institution became contemptible in the eyes of the citizens, and the citizens had not taste and spirit enough to take any steps or to raise any reproach against the two trustee corporations. In the year 1706, however, some citizens of a higher and more intellectual order made strenuous efforts for obtaining the revival and restitution of the lectures. But the city magnates were not to be

moved; and so nothing was done of the least consequence. The two trustee corporations were thinking much less about keeping up the lectures than of knocking down the great house in which they were given and making large sums by letting out the ground upon building leases. In the year 1717 they again petitioned Parliament for leave to knock down the college, &c. Still, however, they had the conscience or decency to state, that if this permission were granted by the legislature, they would erect upon part of the site another building capable of accommodating the professors and such as went to hear them. Their petition was again rejected. Thus did the government and Parliament of King William III. and George I. show more reverence for the will of Sir Thomas Gresham, and more regard for an institution intended for the enlightenment of the citizens of London than were shown afterwards by a government and a Parliament of George III.

As the value of the ground-plot continued to rise rapidly, the trustees became proportionably more eager to carry out their old scheme. Their exceeding eagerness drove them in the end into a very bad bargain, even for themselves. Their greed, like other men's ambition, over-leaped itself. For some time the government and Parliament turned a deaf ear to the impatient wishes of the two bodies corporate. But in the year 1767, government wanted a place whereon to build a new Excise-office, and thereupon they resolved that Gresham College should be pulled down. This could not be done without an Act of Parliament; but the Parliament then sitting was quite ready to give the power to the crown, and a bill was carried through without loss of time, and apparently without the slightest murmur or opposition: its progress being facilitated by the very trustees of the Gresham property, who were bound, as they would answer for it before God, to maintain the college. The bill ran as smoothly as a common turnpike act; and for the miserable sum of 500*l.* a-year, the city trustees agreed to demolish the building, and to alienate for ever from the public (whose property it

really was) the whole of the ground on which Gresham College stood! Nor was this all. By the Act of Parliament the City Corporation and the Mercers' Company, the joint trustees and guardians of this property, were bound "to pay the sum of 1800*l.* within the space of one month from the passing of the Act, for and towards the expense of pulling down the same." "That is," says the excellent living Gresham professor of music, "they were constrained by an especial law, framed for the purpose, to commit a gross and flagrant violation of their trust, and to employ those very funds which Sir Thomas Gresham had vested in them for the support and maintenance of his college, in demolishing and destroying it!"*

The work of demolition was begun on the 8th of August, 1768; and in brief space of time the Excise Office began to show its shameless face on the spot where the college had once been. If the citizens of London alone had felt as they ought, the corporation of London and the mystery of mercers would not have trafficked away their rights and the rights of their posterity, and the legislature would no more have dared to demolish Gresham College than it would have dared to knock down the cathedral of St. Paul's. But the citizens had become gross and unintellectual, were indifferent to the reading of lectures, which had been allowed to become ridiculous, and careless about the preservation of rights and emoluments which had been so shamelessly abused by trustees and professors. It was because the city cared nothing about Gresham College that Gresham College was destroyed. It was only known to them as a place where a few prosing men, at very inconvenient hours for men of business and of feasts, read or spoke about astronomy, mathematics, law, medicine, and music. It does not appear, either from the newspapers or from the other publications of the day, that any effort whatsoever was made by the citizens of London to perpetuate the existence of their only college.

* Edward Taylor. Inaugural Lectures.

To compensate the worthless or neglectful Gresham professors for the loss of their apartments in the old college, their salaries were raised from 50*l.* to 100*l.* a year. A small, dirty, dusky room in an upper story of the old or second Royal Exchange was selected by the liberal and enlightened trustees of the Gresham property, as "a proper and convenient room for the public exhibition of the lectures:" and there, at very inconvenient hours, during Term time, certain of the Gresham professors drawled out vapid nonsense to a thin and sneering auditory until that edifice was consumed by fire. After that catastrophe the learned body met occasionally in the City of London School; and there Mr. Taylor delivered those inaugural lectures from which we have repeatedly quoted. This gentleman has done more than any one else, or than all other persons put together, to awake an interest in the public mind for the shipwrecked institution to which he belongs. The joint trustees have recently built a lecture-room in Gresham Street; but they must do more than this ere they can be relieved from the weight of the odium accumulated by their predecessors and themselves.

BUCHANAN.

George Buchanan was born in February, 1506, at a small village called Killearn, on the borders of Stirlingshire and Dumbartonshire, and received his early education, it is said, in the school of that parish. He came, as he says, "of a family more gentle and ancient than wealthy." His father dying, left a wife and eight children in a state of poverty. George, one of the youngest, was befriended, and, perhaps, saved from want and obscurity, by the kindness of his mother's brother, James Heriot, who had early remarked his nephew's talents, and determined to foster them by a good education. The ancient friendship between France and Scotland, cemented by their mutual hate of England, was then in full force. The Scotch respected the superiority of the French in manners, arts, and learning; and very commonly sent the wealthier and more promising of their youth to be educated by their more polished neighbours. Accordingly Buchanan, at the age of fourteen, was sent

by his uncle to the University of Paris. Here he applied himself most diligently to the prescribed course of study, which consisted principally in a careful perusal of the best Latin authors, especially the poets. This kind of learning was peculiarly suited to his taste and genius; and he made such progress, as not only to become a sound scholar, but one of the most graceful Latin writers of modern times.

After having remained in Paris for the space of two years, which he must have employed to much better purpose than most youths of his age, the death of his kind uncle reduced him again to poverty. Partly on this account, partly from ill health, he returned to his own country, and spent a year at home. After having recruited his strength, he entered as a common soldier into a body of troops that was brought over from France by John duke of Albany, then regent of Scotland, for the purpose of opposing the English. Buchanan himself says that he went into the army "to learn the art of war;" it is probable that his needy circumstances were of more weight than this reason. During this campaign he was subjected to great hardships from severe falls of snow; in consequence of which he relapsed into his former illness; and was obliged to return home a second time, where he was confined to his bed a great part of the winter. But on his recovery, in the spring of 1524, when he was just entering upon his eighteenth year, he again took to his studies, and pursued them with great ardour. He seems to have found friends at this time rich enough to send him to the University of St. Andrew's, on which foundation he was entered as a *pauper*, a term which corresponds to the servitor and sizar of the English universities. John Mair, better known (through Buchanan) by his Latinized name of Major, was then reading lectures at St. Andrew's on grammar and logic. He soon heard of the superior accomplishments of the poor student, and immediately took him under his protection. Buchanan, notwithstanding his avowed contempt for his old tutor, must have imbibed from Major many of his opinions. He was of an ardent temper, and easy, as his

contemporaries tell us, to lead whichever way his friend desired him to go; he was also of inquiring disposition, and never could endure absurdities of any kind. This sort of mind must have found great delight in the doctrines which Major taught. He affirmed the superiority of general councils over the papacy, even to the depriving a pope of his spiritual authority in case of misdemeanour; he denied the lawfulness of the pope's temporal sway; he held that tithes were an institution of mere human appointment, which might be dropped or changed at the pleasure of the people; he railed bitterly against the immoralities and abominations of the Romish priesthood. In political matters his creed coincides exactly with Buchanan's published opinions,—that the authority of kings was not of divine right, but was solely through the people, for the people; that by a lawful convention of states, any king, in case of tyranny or misgovernment, might be controlled, divested of his power, or capitally executed according to circumstances. But if Major, who was a weak man and a bad arguer, had such weight with Buchanan, John Knox, the celebrated Scotch reformer, who was a fellow-student with him at St. Andrew's, must have had still more. They began a strict friendship at this place, which only ended with their lives. Knox speaks very highly of him at a late period of his own life: "That notabil man, Mr. George Bucquhanane, remainis alyve to this day, in the yeir of God, 1566 yeares, to the glory of God, to the gret honor of this natioun, and to the comfort of thame that delyte in letters and vertew. That singular work of David's Psalmes, in Latin meetere and poesie, besyd many uther, can witness the rare graices of God gevin to that man." These two men speedily discovered the absurdity of the art of logic, as it was then taught. Buchanan tell us that its *proper* name was the art of sophistry. Their mutual longings for better reasonings, and better thoughts to reason upon, produced great effects in the reformation of their native country.

After Buchanan had finished his studies at St. Andrew's, and taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, he accompanied Major to Paris, where his attention was more seri-

ously turned towards the doctrines of the Reformation, which at that time were eagerly and warmly discussed; but whether from fear of the consequences, or from other motives, he did not then declare himself to be a Lutheran. For five years he remained abroad, sometimes employed, sometimes in considerable want; at the end of which time he returned to Scotland with the young Earl of Cassilis, by whom he had been engaged as a travelling companion. His noble patron introduced him at the court of James V. the father of Mary Stuart. James retained him as tutor to his natural son, James Stuart, afterwards Abbot of Kelso. It has been proved that he was *not* tutor to the king's other natural son, James Stuart, afterwards Earl of Murray and regent of Scotland, whose first title was Prior of St. Andrew's.

While he was at court, or perhaps while residing with the Earl of Cassilis, having a good deal of leisure, he amused himself with writing a pretty severe satire on the monks, to which he gives the name of 'Somnium.' He feigns in this piece that Saint Francis d'Assize had appeared to him in a dream, and besought him to become a monk of his order. The poet answers, "that he is nowise fit for the purpose; because he could not find in his heart to become slavish, impudent, deceitful, or beggarly, and that moreover very few monks had the good fortune, as he understood, to reach even the gates of paradise." This short satire was too well written, and too bitter, to pass unnoticed, and the sufferers laid their complaint before the king: but as Buchanan's name had not been put to it, they had no proof against him, and the matter dropped. Soon after the Franciscans fell into disgrace at Court; and James himself instigated the poet to renew the attack. He obeyed, but did not half satisfy the king's anger in the light and playful piece, the 'Palinodia,' which he produced. On a second command to be still more severe, he produced his famous satire 'Franciscanus,' in which he brings all his powers of wit and poetry to bear upon the unfortunate brotherhood. The argument of the poem is as follows:—he supposes that a friend of his is earnestly desirous to be-

come a Cordelier, upon which he tells him that he also had had a similar intention, but had been dissuaded from it by a third person, whose reasons he proceeds to relate. They turn upon the wretched morals and conduct of those who belonged to the order, as exhibited in the abominable lessons which he puts in the mouth of an ancient monk, the instructor of the novices. He does not give this man the character of a rough and ignorant priest, but makes him tell his tale cleverly, giving free vent to every refinement in evil which the age was acquainted with, and speaking the most home truths of his brethren without fear or scruple. The Latin is pure, and free from the barbarisms of the time.

After such a caustic production, it is no wonder that the party assailed made use of every means to destroy its author. The king, who was a weak and variable man, after much importunity on their part, allowed them to have Buchanan arrested in the year 1539, on the plea of heresy, along with many others who held his opinions about the state of the Scottish church. Cardinal Beatoun, above all others, used his best endeavours to procure sentence against him ; he even bribed the king to effect his purpose. But Buchanan's friends gave him timely warning of the prelate's exertions, and, as he was not very carefully guarded, he made his escape out of the window of his prison, and fled to England. He found, however, that England was no safe place for him, for at that time Henry VIII. was burning, on the same day and at the same stake, both Protestant and Papist, with the most unflinching impartiality. He went over, therefore, for the third time into France; but on his arrival at Paris, finding his old enemy the Cardinal Beatoun ambassador at the French court, and being fearful that means might be taken to have him arrested, he closed with the offer of a learned Portuguese, Andrea di Govea, to become a tutor at the new college at Bordeaux. During his residence there he composed his famous Latin Tragedies, 'Jephthes' and 'Joannes Baptistes,' and translated the Medea of Euripides into Latin metre, for the youth of his college. The last shows that his ac-

quaintance with the Greek language was by no means superficial. But being continually harassed by the clergy under letters from Cardinal Beatoun, who had traced his retreat, he removed to Paris, and from the year 1544 till about 1547 taught Latin in the college of the Cardinal de la Moine, along with the learned philologists Turnebus and Muretus.

After holding this situation for about three years, Buchanan went with Govea, in 1547, at the instance of the King of Portugal, to a lately established school at Coimbra, in which he subsequently became regent. Before he ventured into Portugal, however, he took care to let the king know that his Franciscanus was undertaken at the command of his sovereign, and therefore ought nowise to endanger his safety in Portugal. The king promised him his protection. But he had not been at Coimbra long, before he was accused by the monks of heresy, and the king, forgetting his promise, allowed them to keep Buchanan prisoner in a convent, as they declared, for the purpose of reclaiming him. They gave him as a penance the task of translating the Psalms of David from the Vulgate into Latin verse This he accomplished to admiration; and his production is acknowledged to surpass all works of the like sort. The metres are chiefly lyrical. He was soon after dismissed from prison, and took ship for England, and staying there but a short time, he returned again to France. Here he was almost immediately appointed regent in the college of Boncourt, which appointment he resigned in 1555, on being intrusted by the Maréchal de Brissac with the education of his son Timoleon de Cossé. While thus employed he studied, more particularly than he had hitherto done, the controversies of the day with regard to religion, and became most probably a confirmed Protestant, though he did not openly renounce Catholicism till some time afterwards. He wrote, and dedicated to his pupil, a much admired piece, entitled 'Sphœra,' during his tutorship, and also published several poetical works, among others his translation of the Alcestis of Euripides. In the year 1560 he returned again to

Scotland, the reformed religion being then prevalent there, and became publicly a member of the Protestant Kirk.

The most important, because the most public part of Buchanan's life now begins. Such a man could not long remain unnoticed by the great in Scotland, and Mary Stuart herself became one of his best friends. He had written for her two epithalamia, one on her marriage with the Dauphin, and one on her marriage with Lord Darnley, and we find him in the beginning of the year 1562 classical tutor to the young queen. For his services in that capacity she gave him a pension of 500*l.* Scots a-year for life out of the temporalities of the abbey of Crossragwell; and in the year 1566 the Earl of Murray, her brother, to whom he had dedicated a new edition of his 'Franciscanus,' presented him with the place of principal of St. Leonard's College at St. Andrew's. The following year he was chosen Moderator of the General Assembly of the church of Scotland, which was a still more extraordinary homage to his character and various abilities.

In 1570 he resigned the office of principal of St. Leonard's college, having been appointed one of the preceptors to the young King James, then in the fourth year of his age.

It is a matter of no small wonder, that Buchanan, who was James's most influential tutor, for the three others, who were joined in the commission with him, were under his superintendence, should have educated him as he did, or make him what he was. A book which Buchanan published, and which is among the most famous of his works, 'De Jure Regni apud Scotos,' being a conversation between himself and Maitland the Queen's secretary, contains (though dedicated to his royal pupil) sentiments totally at variance with all the notions of James. In it Buchanan follows the ancient models of what was thought a perfect state of policy. He proves that men were born to live socially,—that they elected kings to protect the laws which bind them together,—that if new laws are made by kings, they must be also subjected to the opinion of the states of the nation,—that

a king is the father of his people for good, not for evil, —that this was the original intention in the choice of Scottish kings,—that the crown is not necessarily hereditary, and that its transmission by natural descent but for its certainty is not defensible,—that a violation of the laws by the monarch may be punished even to death according to the enormity of it,—that when St. Paul talks of obedience to authorities he spoke to a low condition of persons and to a minority in the various countries in which they were,—that it is not necessary that a king should be tried by his peers. He concludes by saying, "that if in other countries the people chose to exalt their kings above the laws, it seems to have been the evident intention of Scotland to make her kings inferior to them." In matters of religion he rails against episcopal authority of all kinds. Now nothing can be more opposed than all this to the opinions of James, who most strongly upheld the divine right of kings, and episcopal authority. Buchanan, when he was accused of making James a pedant, declared it to be "because he was fit for nothing else." He was a stern and unyielding master, and no sparer of the rod, even though applied to the back of royalty; and this may in some measure account for the want of influence which he had over the king's mind. James advises his son, in his Βασίλικον Δῶρον, not to attend to the abominable scandals of such men as Buchanan and Knox, "who are persons of seditious spirit, and all who hold their opinions."

It might have been well, however, for the unfortunate Charles if he had been rather more swayed by the opinions of the tutor, and less by the lessons of the pupil. In the early part of Buchanan's tutorship he attached himself strongly to the interests of the Regent, Murray; and as the patron fell off from the interests of Mary, so did the historian, till at last he became the bitterest of her enemies. He alone has ventured to assert in print his belief of her criminal connexion with David Rizzio, in his 'Detectio Mariæ Reginæ,' published in 1571; and he was her great accuser at the court of Elizabeth,

when appointed one of the commissioners to inquire into Mary's conduct, she being a prisoner in England. Buchanan too lies under the serious charge of having forged the controverted letters, supposed to have passed between Mary and her third husband Bothwell, while she was yet the wife of Earl Darnley, from which documents it was made to appear that she was art and part in the murder of her royal consort. Whether he really forged these letters or not, is a question perhaps too deeply buried in the dust of antiquity to admit of proof. He offered to swear to their genuineness, however, which was an ill return, if that were all his fault, to the kindness he had received from her. His friendship for Murray continued firm all his life; this man was one of the few persons he seems to have been really attached to. Through the Earl's interest, Buchanan, in 1570, had the place of Director of the Chancery for his services conferred upon him, and soon afterwards those of Lord Privy Seal and Lord of Session. The office of keeper of the Scottish seals was a highly honourable and lucrative office, and entitled its holder to a seat in parliament. He retained it till at least 1578, when he nominally resigned it in favour of his nephew, Thomas Buchanan, of Ibbert. In the same year, 1578, he was joined in several parliamentary commissions, legal and ecclesiastical; and particularly in a commission issued to visit and reform the universities and colleges of the kingdom. The scheme of reformation suggested, and afterwards approved of by parliament, was drawn up by him. The same year also he brought forth his celebrated treatise 'De Jure Regni apud Scotos.' Nothing is told us of his abilities as a practical politician, but it may be supposed that he was fitted for the office he held, for Murray was very careful in the choice of his public servants.

Buchanan's last work, on which he spent the remaining fourteen years of his life, is yet to be spoken of,—his 'History of Scotland.' In this, which like the rest of his productions was written in Latin, he has been said to unite the elegance of Livy with the brevity of Sallust. With this praise, however, and with that which is due

to his lively and interesting way of relating a story, our commendations of this work must begin and end. As a history, it is valueless. The early part is a tissue of fable, without dates or authorities, as indeed he had none to give; the latter is the work of an acrimonious and able partisan, not of a calm inquirer and observer of the times in which he lived. The work is divided into four books. The first three contain a long dissertation on the derivation of the name of Britain,—a geographical description of Scotland, with some poetical accounts of its ancient manners and customs,—a treatise on the ancient inhabitants of Britain, chiefly taken from the traditionary accounts of the bards, and the fables of the monks engrafted on them, on the vestiges of ancient religions, and on the resemblances of the various languages of different parts of the island. The real history of Scotland does not begin till the fourth book; it consists of an account of a regular succession of one hundred and eight kings, from Fergus I. to James VI., a space extending from the beginning of the sixth century to the end of the sixteenth. The apocryphal nature of the greater part of these monarchs is now so fully admitted, that it is unnecessary to dilate upon them. Edward I., as is well known, destroyed all the genuine records of Scottish history which he could find. Buchanan, instead of rejecting the absurd traditionary tales of bards and monks, has merely laboured to dress up a creditable history for the honour of Scotland, and to "clothe with all the beauties and graces of fiction, those legends which formerly had only its wildness and extravagance."

This work, and his 'De Jure Regni apud Scotos,' he published at the same time, very shortly before his death; and, while he was on his death-bed, the Scottish Parliament condemned them both as false and seditious books. We may lay part of this condemnation to James's account. It is not probable that he would allow so much abuse of his mother as they contained, directly or indirectly to pass without some public stigma. There remain to be noticed only two small pieces of this author in the Scottish language, one a grievous complaint to the

Scottish peers, arising from the assassination of the Earl of Murray; the other, a severe satire against Secretary Maitland, for the readiness with which he changed from party to party: this has the title of 'Chameleon.'

Buchanan died at the good old age of seventy-four, in his dotage as his enemies said, but in full vigour of mind, as his last great work, his History, has proved. Much has been said in his dispraise by enemies of every class, his chief detractors being the partisans of Mary Stuart and the Romish priesthood. The first of these accuse him of ingratitude to Major, Mary, Morton, Maitland, and to others of his benefactors; of forging the letters above mentioned, and of perjury in offering to swear to them. The latter accuses him of licentiousness, of drunkenness, and falsehood; and one of them has descended so far as to quarrel with his personal ugliness. Of these charges many are, to say the least, unproved; many appear to be altogether untrue. But his fame rests rather on his persevering industry, his excellent scholarship, and his fine genius, than upon his moral qualities. Buchanan wrote his own Life in Latin two years before his death. To this work, to Mackenzie's 'Lives and Characters of the most Eminent Writers of the Scots Nation,' to David Irving's 'Memoirs of his Life,' to the 'Biographia Britannica,' and the numerous authorities on insulated points there quoted, we may refer those who wish to pursue this subject.

There are two collective editions of the works of Buchanan. One is by Ruddiman, published at Edinburgh in 1715, in two vols. folio. The other is by Peter Burman, Lug.-Bat., 1725, in two vols. 4to. In this the editor has, besides his own critical annotations, incorporated the notes, dissertations, &c. of his predecessor.

In judging of the characters of eminent men it is an excellent practical rule to put aside the opinions that others have expressed of them, and endeavour to form independent ones of our own, by obtaining a plain answer to a plain question—What have they *done?* Thus only can we guard ourselves from the danger of being misled by the mists that men's predilections or dislikes may have raised, and through which, according as the point of sight we choose makes us look upwards or downwards, are the figures we gaze upon apt to appear unduly magnified or diminished. But this rule cannot be always acted upon alone. Peculiar circumstances, such as the sudden and unlooked for termination of an important career, may render it only an act of justice to consider whither that career tended. The light that still casts such a trail of glory behind, extended equally far before —until eclipsed by the impenetrable shadow.

It is thus then we must study the life and character

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

of Sir Philip Sidney. We ought not to take them upon trust from contemporary opinion, or from the opinion, scarcely less unanimous and enthusiastic, of posterity. To borrow a phrase from his gracious mistress, Sidney would have been the first to express his "foul scorn" of such treatment; but undoubtedly it *is* necessary, after weighing carefully all that he did, to judge what he would have done had the ordinary term of man's life been granted. But alas! as he says, it too often happens that the

> "noble gold down to the bottom goes,
> When worthless cork, aloft, doth floating lie.

Sidney died in his *thirty-third* year. A brief life; yet let us see what he accomplished in it: the facts are among the most instructive lessons ever bequeathed to the world.

Sidney himself in the 'Arcadia,' and Ben Jonson in one of his poems, have given us delightful pictures of an old and noticeable manor-house. The former says the house "was built of fair and strong stone, not affecting so much any extraordinary kind of fineness as an honorable representing of a firm stateliness. The lights, doors, and windows, rather directed to the use of the guest than to the eye of the artificer, and yet as the one [was] chiefly heeded, so [was] the other not neglected; each place, handsome without curiosity, and homely without loathsomeness; not so dainty as not to be trod upon, nor yet slubbered up with good fellowship; all more lasting than beautiful, but that the consideration of the exceeding lastingness made the eye believe it was exceedingly beautiful." There can be no doubt that this is the same place as the one described by Jonson; which was not

> "built to envious show
> Of touch or marble,"

but an ancient and revered pile, whose beauty consisted in its surrounding soil, air, wood, and water, which had its walks for health as well as sport, and the mount where the Dryads resorted, and

"Where Pan and Bacchus their high feasts have made,
Beneath the broad beech and the chesnut shade."

The attractive character of the scenery without was but a type of the hospitality within. In that mansion they "knew," says Sidney, "that *provision* is the foundation of *hospitality*, and *thrift* the fuel of *magnificence*;" hence the extent of the buildings, and the grand scale of all the arrangements; hence the admirable system of management, that knew no waste. And here every guest might feel himself at home—might eat and drink and enjoy himself, without fear. Here too old customs were preserved in all their simplicity and kindliness. Here, for instance, the tenants, according to Jonson, would come in, the farmer and the clown,

"And no one empty handed, to salute
The lord and lady, though they have no suit.
Some bring a capon, some a rural cake,
Some nuts, some apples; some that think they make
The better cheeses bring 'em;—or else send
By their ripe daughters, whom they would commend
This way to husbands, and whose baskets bear
An emblem of themselves, in plum or pear."

In that mansion too all its numerous residents were bound together, high and low, by the faith and practice of a common creed. Thus the poet says of the children of its lord,

"They are and have been taught religion; thence
Their gentler spirits have suck'd innocence:
Each morn and even they are taught to pray
With the whole household."

And that was the mansion in which Philip Sidney was born, on the 29th of November, 1554; that was the household and the kind of life amid which his earlier years were passed, and by which, to a certain extent, his character was moulded. It is Penshurst of which Jonson and himself both speak.

To be born in the midst of such genial influences was an advantage of no ordinary character: but it was much more to have such a father as the then lord of Penshurst,

Sir Henry Sidney, a man of "excellent natural wit, large heart, and sweet conversation:" and whose ability as a statesman was put to the severest possible test by Elizabeth when she conferred upon him the government of Ireland, and he passed honourably through the ordeal: Edmund Spenser was but one among the many who bore testimony to the wisdom of his rule. Add, to the qualifications here evidenced, the deepest love for and pride in his son, and we may judge how unwearied must have been the care and how potential the guidance that Sir Henry Sidney exercised over the future poet-hero of England. A letter of his still exists that was written to Philip in 1566, whilst he was at school at Shrewsbury, which is admirable for the spirit and the sterling character of its advice. And if ever father had his reward, he had it. The seed fell upon no barren soil. Already the boy of twelve years old was distinguished for his intelligence and for a gravity beyond his years; and from this time we shall find him constantly addressing himself, step by step, to the great business of self-culture, and of worldly duty and occupation; seduced by no temptations, deterred by no difficulties, enduring with cheerful patience the utmost severities of intellectual or physical toil. Of course, the first step is to master what other men have already mastered, and can usefully teach. He goes to the University in 1569; he becomes a member of Christ Church, Oxford, and begins immediately to "cultivate the whole circle of arts and sciences; his capacious and comprehensive mind aspiring to pre-eminence in every part of knowledge attainable by human industry or genius." And the gigantic character of the attempt was triumphantly justified by the result. An interesting glimpse of Sidney at the University has been given us by Carew, the historian of Cornwall, who says, "being a scholar at Oxford, of fourteen years of age, and three years' standing, upon a wrong conceived opinion touching my sufficiency, I was then called to dispute *extempore* with the matchless Sir Philip Sidney, in presence of the Earls of Leicester and Warwick, and divers other great personages." The Earl of Leicester, who

was the High Chancellor of the University, was Philip's uncle. Three years soon passed, and Philip Sidney had then nothing more to learn that colleges could teach him.

What next?—The continental tour, of course. He must see personally the countries and the people with whom he may in after life have so much to do, whether in peace or in war. He would see, too, the great men of whom he had heard as the chief continental ornaments of letters. Above all, he would learn whatever there may be to learn, by moving among persons of different religious, political, and social views and customs; and so modify, at least, by the larger experience of the man of the world, the narrow and self-sufficient ideas that are apt to occupy the mind and guide the conduct of "home-keeping youth." Sidney set out for the Continent at a critical and dangerous time. Whilst he was at Paris the great massacre of St. Bartholomew took place; and he was compelled, as a Protestant, to seek the shelter of the house of the English ambassador, Sir Francis Walsingham, a gentleman to whom he had been introduced by the Earl of Leicester, and whose daughter he subsequently married. As yet, however, that connection was undreamt of. Another, and more absorbing and eventful one, was to be first formed and broken, and the poet's peace of mind well-nigh shipwrecked in the severance. From France he proceeded to Belgium, Germany, Hungary, and Italy, making friends everywhere he went, among whom may be named Hubert Languet, who addressed a volume of letters to him; the brother of Sir Edward Wotton; and above all, if some writers whose authority is not very highly estimated are to be believed, Tasso.

During this tour he prepared himself for the development of another phase of his many-sided character. Whilst at Vienna he studied and practised all those personal exercises that were requisite for success in the tilt-yard or in the battle-field. We learn from the commencement of his 'Defence of Poesy,' that he met with an enthusiast in these matters at the emperor's court, one Gio. Pietro Pugliano, an equerry of the

royal household, who taught Sidney and Edward Wotton horsemanship; "and he, according to the fertileness of the Italian wit, did not only afford us the demonstration of his practice, but sought to enrich our minds with the contemplation therein, which he thought most precious. But with none, I remember, mine ears were at any time more loaden, than when (either angered with slow payment or moved with our learner-like admiration) he exercised his speech in the praise of his faculty. He said, soldiers were the noblest estate of mankind, and horsemen the noblest of soldiers. He said they were the masters of war and ornaments of peace, speedy goers and strong abiders, triumphers both in camp and courts: nay, to so unbelieved a point he proceeded, as that no earthly thing had such wonder to a prince as to be a good horseman; skill of government was but a *Pedanteria* in comparison. Then would he add certain praises by telling what a fearless beast the horse was, the only serviceable courtier, without flattery, the beast of most beauty, faithfulness, courage, and much more, that if I had not been a piece of a logician before I came to him, I think he would have persuaded me to have wished myself a horse." Sidney however did not do that,—he did not even take into his heart his teacher's notions of the soldier's inestimable and transcendent value; what he did was this—he made himself a perfect horseman and soldier, as he knew such accomplishments were indispensably necessary; but for the rest of Gio. Pietro Pugliano's many "words," their only effect was to teach Sidney that "self-love is better than any gilding, to make that seem gorgeous wherein ourselves be parties." Altogether, it is evident, Sidney had good reason to be satisfied with his continental journey; and thus three years more passed over; and he returned to England in 1575. It was probably not very long after this, that Sir Henry had occasion to write another of his letters of advice; but it was a younger brother of Philip, Henry, who was the recipient. And how does the father direct this son into the best paths for the attainment of knowledge and virtue? "Follow," he writes, "the advice of

your most loving brother, who in loving you is comparable with me, or exceedeth me. Imitate his virtues, exercises, studies, and actions. He is a rare ornament of his age; the very formula that all well-disposed young gentlemen of the court do form also their manners and life by. In truth I speak it without flattery of him, or myself, he hath the most virtues that I ever found in any man." This is, we presume, without known exception, the most striking testimony ever given by a father to the excellences of a son. And it may show us what the character and attainments of Philip Sidney were, before any sufficient earnest of them were given to the world; before, in short, he had *done* anything that would be thought of, by the men of a later generation. In connection with the subject of the letter just mentioned, we may observe in passing, that there is preserved at Penshurst, a picture by Gerard, of an exceedingly interesting kind, representing Philip and Robert Sidney standing side by side, their arms linked together; the former looking the Protector, and the latter the Protected, to the very life.

And now, as this letter shows us, Sidney had, after most comprehensive preparations, plunged into the world, and was already a courtier, winning the same kind of golden opinions that had everywhere followed him before, and which had even preceded him to the court of Elizabeth; where it was seen with surprise that the young Atlas of learning did not stoop with his burden, but was, on the contrary, one of the most airy, graceful, and in every way accomplished persons that had ever graced a court, or turned all the heads of the gentlemen with envy or jealousy, and of the ladies with admiration, near akin to love. He was soon the "My Philip" of the virgin queen, that being the mode Elizabeth adopted to distinguish him from a very different personage, Philip of Spain, the husband of her deceased sister Queen Mary.

In a single touch Sidney has described himself in the 'Arcadia,' while aiming to describe another, whom he characterises as possessing "high erected thought, seated

in a heart of courtesy." The court could best appreciate the "heart of courtesy;" but what Sidney desired was worthy employment for the "high erected thought:" so he was speedily employed. He was sent to Vienna upon an honourable but not very important mission; then returned, and presently astonished every one, from the queen downwards, by his remonstrance against the proposed marriage of Elizabeth with the Duke of Anjou,—a measure that Catherine de Medicis of France was very anxious to carry into effect, but which was looked upon with dread and horror by the Protestant people of this country.

The remonstrance has been admired for its unusual elegance of expression, as well as for its force of reasoning, by one who was a consummate master in both qualities—Hume. But the patriotic character of the act itself is the grand thing to reflect upon. For expressing such views many persons were imprisoned, and some mutilated; and, if Sidney had no reason to fear that matters would be carried to such extremities with him, he had, what men generally would call, overwhelming motives for holding his peace: to mention but one, it was exceedingly probable that he was closing for ever against him the palace doors, and all that lay beyond, as state honours, public employment, reputation. Nevertheless the remonstrance was made; and such was the respect, love, and admiration that the queen seems to have felt for him, that she received it patiently, as though coming from one who could not have intended to wound or to injure her. Sidney has said in the 'Arcadia,' "Men are loving creatures, when injuries put them not from their natural course." Assuredly he at least (perhaps because of his own love) almost ever found it so. It will be acknowledged that something had now been done; but it was to be speedily followed by a much more important achievement.

Sidney, it appears, had never learnt, among all his acquirements, that there was any essential difference between a mere gentleman like himself, and one who might happen to have his gentility crowned by the coronet of the

nobleman; so one day, whilst playing at tennis in the palace court, not liking the behaviour of the Earl of Oxford, he resented it in a very spirited and fearless manner. The quarrel grew violent, and Elizabeth was obliged to interfere in order to prevent a recourse to arms; but as Sidney did not receive the satisfaction he thought he had a right to expect, and was deaf to all that his royal mistress could urge as to difference of rank, he withdrew from the court, buried himself in the delightful solitudes of Wilton, the seat of the Earl of Pembroke, and began the 'Arcadia.' He has himself narrated who it was that advised him to undertake this task, and in what manner it was executed. In the dedication of the 'Arcadia' to his sister, the Countess of Pembroke, the subject of Jonson's famous epitaph, he says—

"Here now have you (most dear, and most worthy to be dear, lady!) this idle work of mine, which I fear, like the spider's web, will be thought fitter to be swept away, than worn to any other purpose. For my part, in very truth (as the cruel fathers among the Greeks were wont to do to the babes they would not foster), I could well find in my heart to cast out in some desert of forgetfulness this child, which I am loth to father. But you desired me to do it, and your desire to my heart is an absolute commandment. Now, it is done only for you, only to you: if you keep it to yourself, or commend it to such friends who will weigh errors in the balance of good will, I hope, for the father's sake, it will be pardoned, perchance made much of, though in itself it have deformities. For, indeed, for severer eyes it is not; being but a trifle, and that triflingly handled. Your dear self can best witness the manner, being done in loose sheets of paper, most of it in your presence, the rest by sheets sent unto you as fast as they were done."

And how shall we describe the nature of the work thus written – this most popular of all romances, in its day, and which, though now neglected, better deserves attention than nineteen out of every twenty of the works of fiction that are read and called popular for a brief time, then die, and are forgotten? The happiest description

of it we have met with is that given by the author of the Life of Sidney, that is prefixed to his works (fourteenth edition, 1725), who says, "the 'Arcadia' is a continual *grove* of morality, shadowing moral and politick results under the plain and easy emblems of lovers;" who are for ever wandering to and fro in this "grove," experiencing all sorts of adventures. The 'Arcadia' is, in short, a prose pastoral, with a latent—and, on the whole, perhaps, much too latent—application to the affairs of the world, and especially to that portion of it which Sidney most desired to see become Arcadian in simplicity, virtue, and happiness. It is tedious to read as a whole; all pastorals are (unless it be that pretty "Newgate pastoral"—'The Beggar's Opera,' of which Swift speaks), and much of it, indeed, seems written as an exercise. Thus we have poetical pieces interspersed, of every different species—eclogues—songs—sapphics—epitaphs—and one epithalamium—tales; thus we have verses of all possible diversity as to length of feet and number of lines. But through the whole run veins of the purest ores of poesy, wisdom, and a truly startling knowledge of man and men, considering the youth of the author. You cannot glance over the pages in the most hurried manner, but you see them rising at frequent intervals to the surface, and presenting some bright and beautiful fancy, or some weighty and elevated thought, calculated at once to gladden and to enrich the wayfarer. A coward is one "whose faith could never comprehend the mysteries of courage." On the same subject he has in verse,

"Pain is more pain than is the pain it fears."

A certain governor is "not of the modern minds, who made suitors magistrates; but did ever think the *unwilling worthy man* were fitter than the *undeserving desirer*." We may learn from this remark, in what spirit Sidney was prepared to govern, should opportunity be ever afforded to him. In the following passages we may discover something of the principles that actuated him through life, and made him an illustrious and a happy man: "Whoever in great things will think to prevent all ob-

jections, must lie still and do nothing." Elsewhere he observes the "highest point outward things can bring us unto, is the contentment of the mind; with which, no estate—without which, all estates—be miserable." And yet again—"They are never alone, said I, that are accompanied with noble thoughts." As to his knowledge of the world, let a couple of touches suffice:—"Who prayeth his servants, shall never be well obeyed." There is "nothing more terrible to a guilty heart, than the eye of a respected friend."

It might be said of the 'Arcadia,' that for the most part the prose is poetry, and the poetry prose; but there are, notwithstanding, exquisite things among the verses, as for example,

> "If the spheres senseless do yet hold a music,
> If the swan's voice be not heard but as death,
> If the mute timber when it hath the life lost
> Yieldeth a lute's tone."

Do not the following passages recall to the reader's mind a strain of well-known poetic music, that seems to half repeat and wholly to have been suggested by them? "Her breath is more sweet than a gentle *south-west wind*, which comes creeping over *flowery fields*, and shadowed waters in the extreme heat of summer." Her "jacinth hair, curled by nature but intercurled by art, like a fine brook through golden sands, had a rope of fine pearl, which now hiding, now hidden by the hair, did as it were play at fast and loose each with other, mutually *giving and receiving richness*."

But of all the contents of the 'Arcadia,' the most extraordinary is the prayer put into the mouth of one of the characters, which we know not how otherwise to describe than by saying that it is perhaps the noblest appeal ever made by man unto his Maker, and from its very earnestness, solemnity, and grandeur, strangely out of place in such an unreal atmosphere. Milton said the prayer in the book attributed to Charles I., the 'Eikon Basilike,' was stolen from it.

But there was probably an object dearer to the heart

of Sidney than any we have yet mentioned, when he sat down to write the 'Arcadia;' and that was to embody in the discourses of the lovers the ebbings and flowings of his own passion for the lady whom he has immortalized in a series of beautiful poems, under the name of Stella, and who appears in the 'Arcadia' as Philoclea. This was Lady Penelope Devereux. She has been painted by Sidney in colours that belong only to the poet-lover. Of "her hair," for instance, he says, "alas! too poor a word, why should I not rather call them her beams?" And in another part he thus playfully describes the condition in which the lover of Philoclea is placed:—"The force of love to these poor folk, that feel it, is many ways very strange, but no way stranger than that it doth so enchain the lover's judgment upon her that holds the reins of his mind, that whatsoever she doth is ever in his eyes the best. . . . . If she sits still, that is best, for so is the conspiracy of her several graces held best together to make one perfect figure of beauty. If she walk, no doubt that is best, for, besides she making happy the more places by her steps, the very stirring adds a pleasing life to her native perfections. If she be silent, that without comparison is best, since by that means the untroubled eye most freely may devour the sweetness of his object. But if she speak, he will take it upon his death that is best, the quintessence of each word being distilled down into his affected soul." But whilst there are many indications of Sidney's position as a lover to be found in the 'Arcadia,' they are too distant and uncertain to be much relied on; it is in that charming collection of sonnets entitled 'Astrophel and Stella' that we must look for the means to trace the entire progress and issue of this passion; and for what has since become of infinitely greater importance—the materials with which to determine the true height and breadth of Sidney's poetic reputation. A kindred spirit has written,

"Poets are cradled into wrong;
They learn in sufferance what they teach in song;"

and there can be little doubt that, though in the progress of this connection Sidney knew all the usual alternations of the lover—now raised in his hopes to the stars, now sunk to the deepest abysses of gloom—there was on the whole a sad preponderance of "sufferance." Throughout these sonnets he assumes a more earnest, as well as in every way a more powerful and elevated tone. The first sonnet expresses his own consciousness of this in a very charming manner; it also shows the lover-like object he had in view in the composition of the series:—

"Loving in truth, and fain in verse my love to show,
That she, dear she, might take some pleasure of my pain,
Pleasure might cause her read, reading might make her know,
Knowledge might pity win, and pity grace obtain:
I sought fit words to paint the blackest face of woe,
Studying inventions fine, her wits to entertain—
Oft turning others' leaves, to see if thence would flow
Some fresh and fruitful showers upon my sun-burn'd brain:
But words came halting forth, wanting invention's stay,
Invention, Nature's child, fled step-dame Study's blows·
And others' feet still seem'd but strangers in my way.
Thus great with child to speak, and helpless in my throes,
Biting my truant pen, beating myself for spite;—
Fool! said my Muse to me, look in thy heart, and write."

He did so; and England in consequence received a precious storehouse of the most exquisite thoughts and fancies, set in verse, that is for the most part of unsurpassable excellence. What was the true character of the obstacles that beset the course of the poet's love, is buried to a certain extent in obscurity; but it is hardly more than the lady's subsequent history warrants to say,—that they must have chiefly consisted in her inability to appreciate as he deserved the man who, enjoying universal admiration, made it his utmost ambition to throw himself at her feet. Not but what she could see the grace and beauty of his person—hear and be pleased with the continual voice of praise that was raised in his favour—nay, she could hardly even avoid some

consciousness of his lofty excellences of mind and character, were it only by seeing them everywhere reflected back upon her by the opinions of others who were the most worthy to give an opinion; but there seems to have ended all Lady Devereux's sympathy with or understanding of the man, whose love might have made the noblest of earthly women proud, and whose powers have conferred upon her immortality. It is painful to think that one who could listen at all, and apparently at times with more than tolerance to Sidney, should have felt so little the pathos of these lines, or have been struck so little by the responsibility they threw upon her:—

> "For since mad *March* great promise made of me,
> If now the *May* of my years must decline,
> What can be hop'd my harvest-time will be?"

We learn from one sonnet (xxiii.) that his pensiveness attracted attention, and that all sorts of guesses were thrown out as to the cause; some, he says, and the remark gives us a glimpse of the popular appreciation of his character—some,

> "Because the Prince my service tries,
> Think that I think state-errors to redress."

In another sonnet he remarks that his dark abstracted guise—his seeming

> "most alone in greatest company,
> With dearth of words, or answers quite awry,"

are attributed to the foul poison of pride. And in yet a third he runs over all the questions that are put to him relating to the great foreign political questions of the time, as—

> "How Ulster likes of that same golden bit
> Wherewith my father once made it half tame," &c.;

but in all these cases he laughs at the speculations and the inquirers, and turns everything still to the service and glorification of his mistress. And did ever poet and lover more exquisitely express his reproaches for unkind treatment than in the following sonnet, the last that our space will permit us to quote entire?—

"With how sad steps, O Moon, thou climb'st the skies,
How silently, and with how wan a face!
What,—may it be, that even in heavenly place
That busy archer his sharp arrows tries?
Sure, if that long, with love-acquainted eyes,
Can judge of Love, thou feel'st a lover's case,
I read it in thy looks, thy languish'd grace,
To me, that feel the like, thy state descries.
Then even of fellowship, O Moon, tell me
Is constant love deem'd there but want of wit?
Are beauties there as proud as here they be?
Do they above love to be lov'd, and yet
Those lovers scorn, whom that love doth possess?
Do they call virtue there—ungratefulness?"

We need not seek further for a full comprehension of the relations of Sidney and the Lady Penelope Devereux. As usual in such cases—the ever-impending blow was struck at last—Sidney's mistress married another, a man for whom it should seem she had herself—subsequently—no respect. After the first shock, the connection appears to have been renewed, with no other result—we might almost say with no other object on the part of Stella, now Lady Rich,—than to feed the vanity of the one party, and the anguish of the other. Most painfully evident in some of the sonnets are the attempts made by the poet to rise superior to the unnatural position in which he found himself, to set at rest the struggle between his desires and his conscience, and be intent thenceforth to show

"Service and honour, wonder with delight,
Fear to offend, well worthy to appear;
Care shining in mine eyes, faith in my sprite:
These things are left me by my only dear."

Embarrassed by excess of wealth, we hardly know how to discontinue our selections from the poetical fruits of this period: so sad a one on the whole to Sidney; so full of matter for congratulation, in a literary sense, to his fellow-men. Let then this be the last—in which Sidney, turning ever his mistress's worst faults into something pleasant and delightful for his imagination

to rest upon, thus explains why it is his complaints are not received as they should be by her to whom they are addressed —

" I much do guess, yet find no truth, save this,—
That when the breath of my complaints doth touch
Those dainty doors unto the court of bliss,
The heavenly nature of the place is such
That once come there, the sobs of mine annoys
Are metamorphosed straight to tunes of joys."

In these snatches from the poet's fuller song, many no doubt will see, like ourselves, that Shakspere's were not the only "sugar'd sonnets" produced in the sixteenth century. Truly Sidney was now *doing* in genuine earnest.

And notwithstanding the nature and end of the influences that thus developed the poet's powers, being developed, the poet—as apart from the lover—went on his way rejoicingly. Not long, after all, did he allow this ill-assorted passion to bend him beneath its storms. In 1581 was written the 'Defence of Poesy,' the noblest work on one of the noblest of subjects that exists in any language. It is but the simple truth to state, that "nothing more can be said upon the cause which it advocates; and what is said is placed in such a point of view, and expressed in so happy a manner, as to leave nothing to desire." ('Penny Cyclopædia,' article "Sidney.") Many who are familiar with the name and reputation of this work may not perhaps be aware that its production was as well timed as it was effective. It seems truly extraordinary to state that the period which produced Spenser, Sidney, Shakspere, and his brother dramatists, should be one in which the *general* estimation of the divine art was very low; but there is no resisting Sidney's direct statements to that effect. He says in one place, that it is "fallen to be the laughing-stock of children;" in another, he speaks of its being "thrown down to the ridiculous in estimation;" in a third, that the poets of England are "almost in as good reputation as the mountebanks at Venice." Then, again, he refers to certain "poet-whippers," with whom it falleth out,

as "with some good women, who often are sick, but in faith they cannot tell where." Lastly, he enumerates the high crimes and misdemeanors charged against the poets, which, it appears, consist in their drawing away the attention from more "fruitful knowledges;" that it is the mother of lies, that it is the "nurse of abuse, infecting us with many pestilent devices, with a Syren sweetness, drawing the mind to the serpent's tail of sinful fancies;" and, above all, that Plato banished them out of his commonwealth. It is too late in the day to notice, for the purpose of answering, such charges; but it is in no slight degree owing to Sidney's labours that we have not still some such necessity imposed upon us.

In the course of his work Sidney compares the poet with men in all the other chief walks of learning and intellectual manifestation, and even with Nature itself. Our only quotation must be from the part that contains this last-named parallel: "Neither let it be deemed too saucy a comparison, to balance the highest point of man's wit with the efficacy of nature; but rather give right honour to the *Heavenly Maker of that maker*, who having made man to his own likeness, set him beyond, and over all the works of that second Nature, which in nothing he showed so much as in poetry, when with the force of a divine breath he bringeth things forth surpassing her doings, with no small arguments to the incredulous of the first accursed fall of Adam, *since our erected wit maketh us know what perfection is, and yet our infected will keepeth us from reaching unto it.*" Sidney, be it remembered, was now but in his twenty-seventh year.

In 1583 the poet married the daughter of his friend Sir Francis Walsingham. Many, no doubt, addressed him in heart, if not in actual words, upon the occasion, after the style of his own Epithalamium in the 'Arcadia:'

> "Virtue, if not a God, yet God's chief part,—
> Be thou the knot of this their open vow,
> *That still he be her head, and she his heart:*" &c.

but unhappily, neither past circumstances nor the lady's mind and character seem to have admitted of any such

result. No real happiness appears to have resulted from the union. As to Stella, after all her prudery with Sidney, she lived to excite the tongue of scandal by her unfortunate connection with the Earl of Devonshire. Public scenes and occupations now began to reopen upon the poet. On his former ambassadorial visit to Vienna, he had established a friendship with Prince Casimir; he was now chosen by the prince to act as his proxy, on his installation into the order of the Knights of the Garter. Elizabeth, glad no doubt to see him back again to court, knighted him, and thus plain Philip became Sir Philip Sidney. About the same time he entered into a political controversy with Parsons, the Jesuit, who had attacked his uncle, the Earl of Leicester. But it was not thus Sidney's chivalrous spirit desired to expend that portion of his life which he had determined to devote to the public service. He evidently pined for a field that would enable the already distinguished man of letters to achieve an equally high distinction as a man of action. At last, when Drake's second expedition was fitted out against the Spanish West Indies, in 1585, Sidney's impatience could no longer brook delay; so making his preparations with all possible secrecy, to prevent Elizabeth from stopping him, he succeeded in joining Drake at Plymouth, just before he was about to embark. But Elizabeth was too sharp for him. The truant was caught and effectually stayed at the last moment, by a royal mandate which threatened the queen's high displeasure if he proceeded, but promised him immediate employment, under his uncle the Earl of Leicester, if he returned to the court. Certainly this was the most complimentary act of despotism upon record; and accompanied, according to report, by equally complimentary words. It is said the queen was in a great fright lest she should "lose the jewel of her dominions." But what even was this to the offer of a crown —that of Poland—which Fuller says was made to him, and *declined?* The poet Lee also says, he was so "most extravagantly great, that he refused to be a king."

Elizabeth kept her word. Sidney was appointed

governor of Flushing in 1585. Spain and Holland were then at war; England being in close alliance with the latter. The field for action was now daily widening upon his view at every step he took, when, to the sudden and universal grief of Europe, he was struck down before he had reached in years even the prime of manhood. Sidney had already obtained some considerable successes against the enemy; but one day his forces accidentally encountered a body of three thousand men who were marching to relieve Zutphen, a town of Guelderland: and there, under the walls, the conflict ensued that was to invest the name of a previously obscure place with undying interest. Sidney had two horses successively shot under him, but was still pressing on with heroic resolution, when a musket-shot from one of the trenches wounded his left thigh a little above the knee and broke the bone. The injury was fatal, though for some days there was a hope of recovery: and as Sidney has said in the 'Arcadia,' "In extremities the winning of time is the purchase of life;" would that it could have here proved so! He died in the arms of Lady Sidney, and of his attached secretary William Temple, on the 7th of October, 1586. He had never desired to make a "perpetual mansion of this poor baiting place of man's life" ('Arcadia'); but he might have been reasonably expected to have shown how terribly he felt this premature termination to such a magnificent career as that he had run, and which was but the beginning of the mightier one he contemplated; he was, however, as patient when the time of death came, as though it were not the "time that the wings of night do blow sleep most willingly into mortal creatures." ('Arcadia.')

With that fatal bullet, then, the career of most men would have ended. There would have been nothing more to *do* in which men could have any interest, except that arising from their sympathies with his sufferings—their grief for his loss. It was not so with Sidney. One of the greatest acts of his life was performed after the receipt of his death-wound. No reader but must know to what incident we allude. No reader but must have felt at some time

or other his heart expand with unwonted love for and devotion to his fellow-men, as he read the story of Sidney and the soldier on the bloody field of Zutphen. This story cannot be better told than in the words of him who desired that his own epitaph should state simply that he was the friend of Sidney. Lord Brooke, in describing the progress of the sad procession which bore Sidney to his tent, continues: "Passing along by the rear of the army, where his uncle (Leicester) the general was, and being thirsty with excess of bleeding, he called for some drink, which was presently brought him; but as he was putting the bottle to his mouth, he saw a poor soldier carried along, who had eaten his last at the same feast, ghastly casting up his eyes at the bottle, which Sir Philip perceiving took it from his head before he drank, and delivered it to the poor man with these words, 'Thy necessity is yet greater than mine.'"

Never, probably, before or since, did any death cause more universal lamentation. Every one felt that a glory had suddenly passed away from the earth; yet at the same time every one felt as though he had lost a personal friend: so honoured and so loved was Philip Sidney. A general mourning was observed. the first of the kind, it is believed, in this country. The body lay in state in St. Paul's for many days. A deputation from the United Provinces formed a portion of the mourners at the funeral.

Besides the works specially noticed in the foregoing pages, Sidney wrote a Masque (his first literary attempt), which was exhibited before Elizabeth, and he contributed occasional poems, &c. to various publications.

We have not hitherto dwelt, nor is it now our intention to dwell, on the opinions of Sidney's contemporaries on his poetry or character; they have been repeated so incessantly, that one is apt, before examination, to think that there must be something too much of all this praise —notwithstanding that the praisers include nearly all the most illustrious names in English letters. And if this danger be avoided, we are still liable to another, that of substituting for the real man—the real poet—the real

hero Sidney, such as he was—a kind of dreamy abstraction of him, formed simply of the opinions of his admirers. And certainly that is not the way to make our own admiration of any value. Referring, in conclusion, to the remarks we made in the commencement of this paper, we trust there will be found in these pages a sufficient answer to the question—What has Sir Philip Sidney *done* to deserve such pre-eminent fame?

"This Drake," says Camden, "(to relate no more than what I have heard from himself) was born of mean parentage in Devonshire, and had Francis Russell (afterwards Earl of Bedford) for his godfather, who, according to the custom, gave him his Christian name. Whilst he was yet a child his father, embracing the Protestant doctrine, was called in question by the law of the Six Articles made by Henry VIII. against the Protestants, fled his country, and withdrew himself into Kent."*

"Thus," says quaint old Fuller, "did God divide the honour betwixt two counties, that the one might have his birth and the other his education." The date of his birth is involved in great uncertainty, which has not been cleared up by his latest biographer, who quotes the inscriptions of two portraits, which disagree as to his

* Annals.

age.* The years 1539, 1541, and 1546, not to mention others, have been assigned by different writers; but the safest assertion to make is that he was born somewhere between those extreme periods, and probably about 1542. According to local tradition, Drake first saw the light in an humble cottage on the banks of the Tavy in Devonshire, and not far from South Tavistock. The cottage was demolished some forty years ago, till which time it had remained unchanged; a stall for cattle belonging to the farm-house hard by now stands, or recently stood, upon its site.† Sir Francis Drake, the nephew of the great sea hero and the inheritor of his fortune and honours, in the dedication of the 'Voyage Revived,' gives some information of the family. He describes the poverty and the persecution for conscience' sake of the hero's father. He says, that after his flight into Kent, the good man was constrained to inhabit in the hull of a ship, wherein many of his younger sons were born. He adds, that he had twelve sons in all, and that "as it pleased God to give most of them a being upon the water, so the greatest part of them died at sea: but the youngest, though he went as far as any, yet died at home, whose posterity inherits that which he, by himself, and this noble gentleman the eldest brother (the great Francis), was hardly, yet worthily gotten."

"After the death of King Henry," continues Camden, "he (the father) got a place among the seamen in the king's navy, to read prayers to them; and soon after he was ordained deacon, and made vicar of the church of Upnor upon the river Medway, the road where the fleet usually anchoreth. But by reason of his poverty he put his son to the master of a bark, his neighbour, who used to coast along the shore, and sometimes to carry merchandise into Zealand and France."

Mr. Barrow has remarked, that there is not now, nor ever was, either church or chapel at Upnor, but that a small castle was built there by Queen Elizabeth to pro-

* John Barrow, Esq., Life, Voyages, and Exploits of Admiral Sir Francis Drake, &c. London, 1843.

† Southey, Lives of the British Admirals.

tect the anchorage. Yet, no doubt, there was a small chapel in that castle, and in this the father of the great Drake may have been chaplain. Or he may have been vicar of Hoo Church, which stands on the hill just behind Upnor, and which still serves as a parish church to that village. There may be a trifling slip as to a name, but there can be no doubt of Camden's correctness as to the fact that Drake's father held some church preferment in this immediate neighbourhood. He was no doubt a man of considerable acquirements, and one that took pains with the education of his sons. The great Drake, though sent so early to sea, was very far from being an illiterate man. In all times the coasting trade has been considered an admirable school for seamen. This was the training of Drake, as afterwards of Captain Cook. According to Fuller, his first master "held Drake hard to his business; and pains with patience in his youth knit the joints of his soul, and made them more solid and compacted." But, if a hard master in the beginning, the old skipper became very fond of his apprentice. "The youth," says Camden, "being painful and diligent, so pleased the old man by his industry, that, being a bachelor, he at his death bequeathed his bark unto him by will and testament." As master of this craft Drake continued his active and thriving way of life. He had gotten together some little money. At this time Captain Hawkins (afterwards Sir John) another Devonshire man, a bold sailor and a skilful navigator, was fitting out at Plymouth an expedition for the new world. Such expeditions presented irresistible attraction to adventurous seamen, and to many adventurers that were no seamen. There was no conceivable limit to the riches and beauty of the American continent; every man hoped to obtain a fortune by going thither and hitting upon some gold mine. Hawkins had made one or two voyages to the new world before. Drake, who appears to have been previously acquainted with him, resolved to accompany him in his present expedition; so selling his bark, and taking with him all the money and goods he had in the world, he hastened away to Plymouth and joined

Hawkins. Queen Elizabeth had lent one of her ships royal to the general (or admiral, as we should now say). The rest of the squadron, furnished by private speculators, consisted of four ships and two very small vessels. One of these ships, named the Judith, was intrusted to the command of Francis Drake, whose skill must have been known and prized by Hawkins, as he was but a young man at the time. The expedition sailed from Plymouth in October, 1567. Its main scope appears to have been to purchase negroes on the coast of Africa, to carry these unfortunate creatures to the West Indies, and there sell them to the Spanish planters. But Hawkins's good fortune forsook him in this his last great adventure. Everything went wrong. First there was a storm off Cape Finisterre, which lasted four days, and greatly damaged the general's ship. Then there was some hard fighting near Cape de Verd, where the negroes would not submit to be made slaves and carried off. Seven or eight men were wounded and died of lock-jaw. "I myself," says the devout Hawkins, "had one of the greatest wounds, yet, thanks be to God, escaped." Farther down the coast, at St. Jorge da Mina, where Hawkins joined a negro king who was making war on a neighbouring black potentate, he had six slain and forty wounded. And (what Hawkins appears to have considered as a still greater misfortune), he was duped and tricked by his ally the negro king, who, after promising him all the prisoners that should be taken, marched off with six hundred of them, and left our Christian general only some two hundred and fifty "men, women, and children." "But," says Hawkins, with virtuous indignation, "in the negro nation is seldom or never found truth." Having chained and embarked all the negroes they could get, our adventurers, who were half slave-dealers and half buccaneers, quitted the coast of Guinea and made for the West Indies. At some islands the Spaniards trafficked with them, giving them gold and silver for their black people; but in other islands they would not engage in this traffic. For this conduct Hawkins determined to punish them. Having landed two

hundred of his men he stormed and took the town of Rio da Hacha, with the loss of two men only. At the port of San Juan d'Ulloa, in the bay of Mexico, they were not quite so fortunate. Hawkins had evidently been joined by a number of buccaneer ships who were practising in those waters without any commission, either from the Queen of England (who was not then at war with Spain) or from any other sovereign or state. He confesses himself that he was more than half inclined to attack a Spanish fleet which came into the bay with specie and bullion on board, to the value of nearly two millions sterling. After he had been for some time in port, he says the English were taken by surprise, and the Spaniards, most perfidiously falling upon them, killed a great number of their men, seized, plundered, and burned three of their ships, making the crews prisoners, and obliged the remainder in the smaller ships to retreat, without provisions or water, and in a most miserable plight. But, according to the relation which Hawkins himself gave to that excellent collector and compiler old Hakluyt, the English did not retreat until they had sunk, or were supposed to have sunk, the Spanish admiral, burned the vice-admiral, and sent another of their chief ships to the bottom—as was believed. Hawkins, however, was obliged to abandon his own ship, the 'Jesus,' of Lubeck, which Queen Elizabeth had lent him; which was of seven hundred tons' burthen, and the only vessel deserving to be called a ship in his squadron; and only the 'Minion' and the 'Judith,' Drake's bark of fifty tons, got safely out of this unlucky bay and most desperate fight. In this disastrous expedition Drake lost all the money he had in the world, and brought a stain upon his reputation which would have been fatal to him if he had lived in more modern times. For he shamefully disobeyed orders, and deserted Hawkins, his superior and his friend, in the hour of need and danger. As we have Hawkins's own solemn and uncontradicted statement to this effect, and as Drake suffered imprisonment for his misconduct, it seems rather strange that Mr. Barrow should suppress the fact and say, that "it is somewhat

remarkable that the name of Drake never once occurs in any of the accounts of this very uninteresting and unfortunate voyage." In the very chapter in which this passage occurs Mr. Barrow himself quotes more than one account of the voyage, in which the name of Drake and the name of his vessel are mentioned, and Hawkins's account must have come under his eye in Hakluyt's book, of which he has made so much use. Southey, who understood his business better than to attempt enhancing the fame of his hero by suppressing or slurring over the truth, has given the facts in a foot note.* Hawkins complained of Drake's "forsaking him in his great misery, and shifting for himself." Herrera, who wrote with the prejudice of a Spaniard against a man who became one of the most formidable enemies Spain ever knew, says that Drake, instead of obeying Hawkins's orders, and waiting for him when he was in his great peril, fled with all the prize-money that had been made, and reaching England reported that Hawkins was lost, and that he had distributed the money among his men, although in reality he (Drake) had kept it all himself. "This," adds Herrera, "was his beginning; and, though the queen kept him three months in prison, she pardoned him upon intercession, and so the matter rested."† This story about the money is probably entirely false; but Drake merited his imprisonment, and something worse, for his disobeying orders and abandoning his friend and superior officer, who, together with his people, suffered incredible hardships before he could get to England. Camden does not mention the imprisonment; but he says that Drake hardly escaped with the loss of all that he had. He, however, showed skilful seamanship, and brought the little 'Judith' safely home; and in those days craft and skill could be pleaded in extenuation of almost every offence falling short of high treason. A chaplain belonging to the queen's fleet comforted Drake with

* Lives of the British Admirals, &c., vol. iii. p. 100, edition of 1834.

† Historia General de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y Tierra Firma del Mar Oceano.

the assurance that, as he had been treacherously used by the Spaniards in the Gulf of Mexico, he might lawfully recover in value upon the King of Spain, and repair his losses upon him whenever and wherever he could. Fuller says, "The case was clear in sea-divinity; and few are such infidels as not to believe doctrines which make for their own profit. Whereupon Drake, though a poor private man, undertook to revenge himself on so mighty a monarch, who, not contented that the sun riseth and setteth in his dominions, may seem to desire to make all his own where he shineth." It entered largely into the policy of the virgin-queen to wink at this right of private war, or to encourage her subjects in their private attacks upon the navy and colonies of Spain. Fuller, though a divine, and writing not during her reign, but during the Commonwealth and under Charles II., could not discover anything much amiss in this system, for he looked upon the Spaniards only as Papists, and as such the natural enemies of all good Protestants. "Let us see," he exclaims, "let us now see how a dwarf, standing on the mount of God's providence, may prove an overmatch for a giant!" Being readily joined by a number of sea-adventurers, who mustered among them money enough to fit out a vessel, Drake made two or three voyages to the West Indies, to gain intelligence and learn the navigation of those parts; but Camden adds, that he also got some store of money there "by playing the seaman and the pirate."

In 1570 he obtained a regular commission from Queen Elizabeth, and cruised to still better purpose among the Spanish West India Islands. In 1572—apparently with the same roving commission from the queen, and with the determination of attacking the Spaniards wherever it could be done with hope of success and plunder, albeit there was still no declared war between England and Spain—he sailed again for the Spanish main with the 'Pasha' of Plymouth of 70 tons, and the 'Swan' of the same port, of 25 tons, of which his brother John Drake was captain. The united crews of these two small craft amounted, in men and boys, to seventy-three; "all volun-

tarily assembled, of which the eldest man was fifty, all the rest under thirty; and so divided that there were forty-seven in one ship, and twenty-six in the other, both richly furnished with victuals and apparel for a whole year, and no less heedfully provided of all manner of munition, artillery, stuff and tools, that were requisite for such a man-of-war, in such an attempt, but especially having three dainty pinnaces made in Plymouth, taken asunder all in pieces, and stowed aboard, to be set up as occasion served."* At Port Pheasant, an uninhabited place on the South American coast, Drake landed, built a fort or stockade by felling trees, and began to put his two pinnaces together. The day after his arrival he was joined by a bark from the Isle of Wight, belonging to Sir Edward Horsey, "wherein James Rouse was captain, and John Overy master, with thirty men, of which some had been with our captain (Drake) in the same place the year before. Master Rouse brought in with him a Spanish carvello of Seville, which he had taken the day before, and a shallop with oars, which he had taken at Cape Blanche. "This Captain Rouse, understanding our captain's purpose, was desirous to join in consort with him, and was received on conditions agreed upon between them."† With this insignificant force Drake took and plundered the town of Nombre de Dios, and made great spoils among the Spanish shipping. In leading them to the attack of the king's treasure-house, Drake told his people, "That he had now brought them to the mouth of the Treasury of the World; which if they did not gain, none but themselves were to be blamed." He received a dangerous wound; but this he concealed for a long time, "knowing, if the general's heart stoops, the men's will fail; and that if a bright opportunity once setteth, it seldom riseth again."‡ To an hidalgo who had a parley with

* Sloane MS., British Museum.

† Drake Revived.

‡ Id. Hakluyt gives another and very different account of this affair at Nombre de Dios, written by one Lopez Vaz,

him after the fight, Drake frankly said—"That he wanted only some of that excellent commodity, gold and silver, which that country yielded, for himself and his company, and that he was resolved, by the help of God, to reap some of the golden harvest, which they (the Spaniards) had got out of the earth, and then sent into Spain to trouble the earth."* After this exploit he proceeded to Carthagena, and there took two Spanish ships, one of which was of two hundred and forty tons, having previously despatched his brother and one Ellis Hixon to examine the river Chagre, which traverses part of the isthmus of Darien, where he had been the year before. After taking other prizes, and sinking the 'Swan' in order to strengthen the crews in the pinnaces, Drake landed, and partially crossing the isthmus of Darien, obtained a view of the great Pacific, an ocean as yet closed to English enterprise, and with his eyes longingly fixed upon its waters, he prayed God to grant him "life and leave once to sail an English ship in those seas." He also implored the Divine assistance to be enabled to make a perfect discovery of the same. "Hereunto," says Camden, "he bound himself with a vow; and from that time forward his mind was pricked on continually night and day to perform his vow." Sir William Davenant, in a whimsical drama, produced and played in the time of Charles II., commemorated these events.

Drake, jun. No English keel hath yet that ocean plowed.
Pedro. If prophecy from me may be allowed,
Renown'd Drake, Heaven does decree
That happy enterprise to thee,
For thou of all the Britons art the first
That boldly durst

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a Portuguese. According to this relation, Drake was repulsed at the town, and afterwards plundered a caravan of mules that were bringing gold and silver from Panama. It is very probable that Drake made two attacks on the town, and that he suppressed mention of the first.

* Drake Revived.

This Western World invade;
And as thou now art made
The first to whom that ocean will be shown,
So to thy Isle thou first shall make it known.*

The adventures which followed were extraordinary and very hazardous. John Drake was killed, being mortally wounded in the belly while attempting to board a Spanish frigate from the pinnaces, and another young man called Richard Allen was slain with him. Six of the company fell sick and died within two or three days, and thirty at a time were very sick of a calenture. "Among the rest, Joseph Drake, another of our captain's brothers, died in our captain's arms of the same disease."† At last Drake shaped his course for England, with his frail barks absolutely loaded and crammed with treasure and plundered merchandise; and on the 9th of August, 1573, he anchored at Plymouth. It was a Sunday, and the townsfolk were at church; but when the news spread thither that Drake was come, "there remained few or no people with the preacher; all running out to witness the blessing of God upon the dangerous adventures and enterprises of the captain, who had spent one year, two months, and some odd days, in this voyage."‡ Or, in the words of one who couples loyalty with religion, "all hastening to see the evidence of God's love and blessing towards our gracious queen and country, by the fruit of our captain's labour and success. SOLI DEO GLORIA."§

Drake, being employed in the interval in the service of the queen in Ireland, was forestalled in the honour of being the first Englishman to sail on the Pacific by one John Oxenham of Plymouth, who had served under him as a common sailor and cook; but as this man merely floated a "pinnace" on the South Sea in 1575, and was

* The history of Sir Francis Drake, expressed by instrumental and vocal music, and by art of perspective in scenes, &c.—*Sir William Davenant's Works.*

† Sloane MS. ‡ Drake Revived.

§ Sloane MS.

taken by the Spaniards and hanged (together with forty of his comrades) as a pirate at Lima, "being unable to produce any power or commission from the queen," he could scarcely be an object of envy to the "dragon Drake." *

In 1577, under the secret sanction of Elizabeth, Drake departed from Plymouth on another marauding expedition to the Spanish main. Owing to foul weather and other delays he did not fairly quit England until the very end of the year. This time his squadron consisted of five vessels, the largest of which, the 'Pelican' was of a hundred tons, the smallest, the 'Christopher' pinnace, of only fifteen tons. The united crews amounted to a hundred and sixty-four men, *gentlemen* and sailors. Among the *gentlemen* were some young men of noble families, who (not to mention the plunder anticipated) went out to learn the art of navigation. Our old dramatists were only dealing with facts when they represented the court gallants or men of pleasure and dissipation about town looking to a cruise on the Spanish main as a good and honourable means of recruiting their wasted finances.

After many adventures along the coasts of the South American continents, where some of his attacks and surprises were completely successful, Drake and his choice comrades came to Port Julian, on the coast of Patagonia, near the Straits of Magelhaens, where they were much comforted by finding a gibbet standing—a proof that Christian people had been there before them. Drake, during his stay in Port Julian, put to death "Master Doughtie," a gentleman of birth and education, and next in authority or in consideration to the general. This dark story is still involved in much mystery, notwithstanding the laudable endeavours of Southey to rescue the fame of one of our greatest naval heroes from the suspicion of a most foul murder. Mr. Barrow, Drake's latest biographer, has thrown no new light upon the subject. Camden relates the sad story thus:—In this very place John Doughtie, an industrious and stout man, and

* Hakluyt.

the next unto Drake, was called to his trial for raising a mutiny in the fleet, found guilty by twelve men, after the English manner, and condemned to death, which he suffered undauntedly, being beheaded, having first received the holy communion with Drake. And, indeed, the most impartial persons in the fleet were of opinion that he had acted seditiously; and that Drake cut him off as an emulator of his glory, and one that regarded not so much who he himself excelled in commendations for sea matters, as who he thought might equal him. Yet wanted there not some, who, pretending to understand things better than others, gave out that Drake had in charge from Leicester to take off Doughtie, upon any pretence whatsoever, because he had reported abroad that the Earl of Essex* was made away by the cunning practices of Leicester.

A story told by Drake's nephew and namesake about a plan entertained by Doughtie to create a mutiny and murder the general or admiral has been rejected with the contempt it merits, for it injures the case by attempting to prove too much, and it contains some things which are altogether incredible. Mr. Francis Fletcher, "preacher and pastor of the fleet at that time" (even the Buccaneers were a God-fearing race, and liked always to have a chaplain or two with them), has left a written account of

* This Earl of Essex was Walter Devereux, father of Elizabeth's last favourite, Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, beheaded and attainted in 1600. Earl Walter undertook to subdue and colonize the turbulent Irish district of Clanhuboy: he went to Ireland in 1573, met with little success, was badly seconded or was thwarted by the jealous court of England, where the Earl of Leicester was then paramount; and he died at Dublin in 1576, suspecting himself that he was poisoned. Southey says that it is as certain as any such fact can be, at such a distance of time, that Essex was not poisoned. Camden does not say that he was: that great and judicious writer only says that "He was made away by the cunning practices of Leicester;" and leaving the poisoning altogether out of the question, there is pretty good evidence to show that Essex was ruined by the jealous, intriguing, and malignant favourite.

"this bloody tragedy," as he himself calls it. The chaplain speaks very cautiously; but he does not appear to have believed in any great guilt in Doughtie. He says that the origin of the dislike against him was in the outward voyage, upon occasion of taking a Portuguese prize (the sort of subject upon which these adventurers were continually quarrelling), but that "now more dangerous matter and of greater weight is laid to his charge, and that by the same persons, namely, for words spoken by him to them, being in England, in the general's garden in Plymouth, long before our departure thence, which had been their parts and duties to have discovered them at that time, and not to have concealed them for a time and place not so fitting; but how true it was wherewith they charged him upon their oaths, I know not; but he utterly denied it, upon his salvation, at the hour of communicating the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, at the hour and moment of his death, affirming that he was innocent of such things whereof he was accused, judged, and suffered death for. Of whom I must needs testify the truth for the good things of God I found in him, in the time we were conversant, and especially in the time of his afflictions and trouble, till he yielded up the spirit to God; I doubt not to immortality. He feared God, he loved his word, and was always desirous to edify others, and conform himself to the faith of Christ." Fletcher goes on to describe Doughtie as a very accomplished person. "For his qualities, in a man of his time, they were rare, and his gifts very excellent for his age: a sweet orator, a pregnant philosopher, a good gift for the Greek tongue, and a reasonable taste of Hebrew; a sufficient secretary to a noble personage of great place, and in Zealand an approved soldier; and not behind many in the study of the law for his time." * We leave the story in the same obscurity in which we found it.

On the 20th of August 1578, Drake reached Cape

* Certified copy of Fletcher's MS. in the Sloane MSS. in British Museum.

Virgenes, and began to sail through the Strait of Magelhaens, being the third navigator who performed that most difficult passage. On the 6th of September he cleared the Strait and entered the Pacific, which he found rough and turbulent above measure. A tempest, which for fifty days never ceased, drove our daring navigator far to the south and to the extremity of the land which has since been named "Cape Horn." Thus he was enabled to displace the old terra incognita from a considerable portion of the space which it had previously occupied in maps and charts. "We altered the name," says Fletcher the chaplain, "to *Terra nunc bene cognita* (or land now well known)." Drake went ashore, and leaning over the face of a jutting promontory, as far as he could, he came back and told his sailors that now he had been farther south than any man living. On the 30th of October the wind fell fair and moderate; and our adventurers sailed towards the north-west, running pleasantly along the shores of the South American continent, and keeping a good look-out for prizes, whether on sea or on land. Having obtained an immense booty by plundering the Spanish towns on the coasts of Chili and Peru, and by taking, among many other vessels, a royal galleon called the 'Cacafuego,' richly laden with plate, he sailed to the north in the hope of finding a passage back to the Atlantic a little above California. He, in short, went in quest of the north-east passage. He reached latitude 48° N.; but there the extreme severity of the cold discouraged his men, and so putting back 10° he took shelter in Port San Francisco. After staying five weeks in this port Drake boldly determined to follow the example of Magelhaens, and steer across the Pacific for the Moluccas. He had gone through the winding and, in many places, narrow and most difficult Strait of Magelhaens without any chart or guide whatsoever; but he was so fortunate as to obtain from the master of a trading ship, from Panama to the Philippine islands, a sea-card which showed him the track across the Pacific. He made Ternate, one of the Moluccas, and the capital of that group, in safety, and thence set his course for Java.

His sea-card had now long ceased to be of any use; yet he steered through unknown seas, through an intricate navigation among rocks and islands and without a pilot. Among the Celebes his ship struck upon the point of one of those coral reefs which so abound in those seas; but at the ebb of tide she fell over on one side, slipped off from the ledge, and floated into deep water. From Java Drake sailed right across the Indian Ocean to the Cape of Good Hope, which he doubled without accident, or, in the words of an original narrator in Hakluyt—"We ran hard aboard the Cape, finding the report of the Portingals (Portuguese) most false, who affirmed that it is the most dangerous cape in the world, never without intolerable storms and present danger to travellers which come near the same." He put into Sierra Leone, and stayed there two days taking in water and procuring oysters and fruit. He arrived at Plymouth on the 26th of September 1580, after an absence of two years, ten months, and some odd days, during which he had circumnavigated the globe, and spent many months on the almost unknown south-western coasts of America. Of his five ships he had brought back with him only one; but Captain John Winter, who had deserted him, had arrived with his vessel long before, causing it to be believed by the good people of Plymouth that Drake had perished at sea or in some heavy fight with the Spaniards. Of the adventurers who had quitted Plymouth with him, many besides Doughtie had found a grave on the solitary shore or in the deep sea; but such as returned with him spoke favourably of the attention he had bestowed upon their health and comfort. On first getting within the tropical regions he had bled all the people with his own hand. Francis Fletcher the chaplain much applauds "the great experience of our general, who had often himself proved the force of the burning zone, and whose advice always prevailed much to the preserving of a moderate temper in our constitutions."

The Devonshire circumnavigator and hero was received with transports of joy by the people of Plymouth. The day of his arrival was spent in feasting and rejoicing,

with bell-ringing from morning till night. The very next day he made a happy pilgrimage to the poor cottage near Tavistock, in which he was born, and in which his father had suffered religious persecution as well as poverty. Drake was now rich—his ship was filled with gold, silver, silk, pearls, and precious stones. "The news," says honest Stow, "of this his great wealth so far fetched was miraculous strange, and of all men held impossible and incredible; but both proving true, it fortuned that many misliked it and reproached him: besides all this there were others that devised and divulged all possible disgraces against Drake and his followers, deeming him the master-thief of the unknown world; yet nevertheless, the people generally, with exceeding admiration, applauded his wonderful long adventures and rich prize."

After letting a few months pass that appearances might be preserved, and that her people might have time to declare their own feelings and opinions, and make them known to the world, the queen summoned the circumnavigator to London. Drake was most graciously received at court, and Elizabeth now asserted more firmly her right of navigating the ocean in all its parts, and denied the exclusive right which the Spaniards claimed over the seas and lands of the new world. From this time she herself aspired to

"The large command of waters and of isles."*

And though the queen yielded so far as to pay a considerable sum out of the treasure Drake had brought home to the procurator of certain foreign merchants who urged (and not without reason) that they had been unjustly robbed, enough was left to make it a profitable adventure for the privateers. At her orders Drake's ship was drawn up in a little creek near Deptford, there to be preserved as a monument of the most memorable voyage that the English had ever yet performed. On the 4th of April 1581, "Her Majesty dining at Deptford, after

* Ben Jonson—Neptune's Triumph.

dinner entered the ship which Captain Drake had so happily guided round about the world, and being there, a bridge which her Majesty had passed over, brake, being upon the same more than two hundred persons, and no man hurt by the fall; and there she did make Captain Drake Knight, in the same ship, for reward of his services. The arms given him were a ship on the world."* For many a year Sir Francis Drake's ship at Deptford was an object of curiosity and admiration. It became the great resort of holiday people, the cabin being converted into a sort of tavern well furnished with "full cups and banquets."† When the rot had consumed her, some of the sound wood was converted into a chair, which was presented to the university of Oxford, with a short copy of verses written by Cowley. None of these ten lines are very good, nor can we much admire the point of the concluding four :—

"Drake and his ship could not have wish'd from fate
An happier station or more blessed estate.
For lo! a seat of endless rest is given—
To her in Oxford, and to him in Heaven.

The circumnavigator had brought back with him, from St. Augustine's, in Florida, a Spaniard named Pedro Morales, and a Frenchman named Nicholas Bourguignon; and from these two individuals, who had been six years in the country, Hakluyt obtained in 1586 some information "touching the state of those parts." Their account was well calculated to send more adventurous Englishmen into Spanish America.

During part of the year 1585, and the whole of 1586, Sir Francis Drake was actively and profitably employed against Philip II. on the coasts of Spain and Portugal, in the Canaries, the Cape de Verdes, the West India islands, and on the coast of South America, where Carthagena and other towns were

* Stow.

† Eastward Hoe. This old play was the joint production of Ben Jonson, Chapman, and Marston; and, according to a well-known story, the cause of much trouble to all three.

taken and plundered. These operations bear a close family resemblance to those of Morgan, Mansvelt, Peche, Lasound, and the other "brethren of the coast," or buccaneers, who so plundered the Spanish main in the following century. The booty which was brought home, or which was reported to government by Drake, must have been considered but as a poor compensation for the toils that were endured and the losses that were sustained. It was valued only at 60,000*l.*, over and above 200 pieces of brass and 40 pieces of iron cannon. This had cost the lives of about 750 men, who, for the most part, died of calenture. The poor soldiers and sailors got only 20,000*l.* to divide among them. In the course of this expedition Drake visited the English colony in Virginia, which had been recently planted by Sir Walter Raleigh, and finding the colonists in extreme distress, he took them on board and brought them home with him. It is said that tobacco was first brought into England by the men who returned from Virginia with Drake. The name of the weed was obtained from the island on which it was first found growing—Tobago. "These men who were thus brought back," says Camden, "were the first that I know of, that brought into England that Indian plant which they call Tabacca and Nicotia, or Tobacco, which they used against crudities, being taught it by the Indians. Certainly from that time forward it began to grow into great request, and to be sold at an high rate, which, in a short time, many men everywhere, some for wantonness, some for health's sake, with insatiable desire and greediness, sucked in the stinking smoke thereof through an earthen pipe, which presently they blew out again at their nostrils: insomuch that tobacco-shops are now as ordinary in most towns as tap-houses and taverns."

In 1587, when formidable preparations were making in the ports of Spain and Portugal for the grand Armada and the invasion of England, Elizabeth appointed Drake to the command of a fleet equipped for the purpose of destroying the enemy's ships in their own harbours. This force did not exceed thirty sail, and only four were of

the navy royal; the rest, with the exception of two yachts belonging to the queen, being furnished by merchant-adventurers. Drake sailed from Plymouth on the 2nd of April. On the 16th of that month he fell in with two ships of Middleburgh, which had come from Cadiz, and by the captains of which he was informed that there was great store of warlike provision at Cadiz, where the Spaniards were busily employed in shipping it for Lisbon, the grand depôt for the Armada. On the 19th of April, between night and morning, "the dragon Drake," whose very name now spread terror, dashed into Cadiz Bay. Besides galleys there were sixty ships, and many vessels of inferior size, all protected by land-batteries. When over against Cadiz town he was smartly assailed by five galleys; but he soon drove them under the guns of the castle. A great Ragusan ship of 1000 tons, richly laden, and furnished with forty pieces of brass, was presently sunk. "There came," says one of the sailors engaged, "two galleys more from St. Mary's port and two from Port Real, which shot freely at us, but altogether in vain; for they went away with our blows, well beaten for their pains."* Drake burned, sunk, or took from thirty-five to forty ships, some of which were of the largest size, and it appears he might have done much more mischief but for the necessity he was under of securing as much booty, in goods, as he could, for the benefit of the merchant-adventurers, who had lent their ships, and provided crews and equipments in the hope of some profitable return. These goods were removed by the English sailors from the captured ships, close under a tremendous fire of land-batteries. The mariner from whom we have already quoted says, "We found little ease during our abode here, by reason of their continual shooting from the galleys, the fortresses,

* Narrative of expedition in Hakluyt. This worthy compiler and preacher of the gospel much cultivated the acquaintance of seamen and adventurers, and obtained from them many professional and most spirited accounts of the expeditions in which they were engaged.

and from the shore; where continually, at places convenient, they planted new ordnance to offend us with: besides the inconvenience which we suffered from their ships, which, when they could defend no longer, they set on fire to come among us. Whereupon, when the flood of tide came we were not a little troubled to defend us from their terrible fire, which, nevertheless was a pleasant sight for us to behold, because we were thereby eased of a great labour, which lay upon us day and night, in discharging the victuals and other provisions of the enemy. Thus, to the great astonishment of the King of Spain, this strange and happy enterprise was achieved in one day and two nights; which bred such a corrosion in the heart of the Marquis of Santa Cruz, high admiral of Spain, that he never enjoyed a good day after, but within few months (as may justly be supposed) died of extreme grief and sorrow. . . . . And so, having performed this notable service, we came out of the road of Cadiz on Friday morning, the 21st of the said month of April, with very small loss not worth the mentioning."* They carried away four large Spanish ships laden with provisions; and the stores and other goods they otherwise obtained must have been immense. "Thus," says our sailor, "being victualled with bread and wine at the enemy's cost, for divers months, our general despatched Captain Crosse into England with his letters . . . . After whose departure we shaped our course towards Cape Sacre, taking sundry ships, destroying fishing-boats, and the profitable fisheries, but dealing favourably with the men and sending them ashore."† It appears that between Cadiz and Cape St. Vincent nearly 100 vessels of all sorts were taken or burned, and that four castles or forts were destroyed on shore; the English oc-

* Narrative in Hakluyt. This thoroughly sailor-like account of the doings in Cadiz Bay agrees closely with the relation written by Drake himself to Secretary Walsingham on the 27th of April. Drake's letter, which is in the State Paper Office, is printed at full length by Mr. Barrow in 'Life of Admiral Sir Francis Drake,' &c.

† Id.

casionally landed and attacked the fortifications—"the better to enjoy the benefit of the place, and to ride in harbour at their pleasure." Drake, who was a humourist, called this "singeing the King of Spain's beard." "And thence," continues our sailor, "we came before the haven of Lisbon, anchoring near unto Cascaes, where the Marquis Santa Cruz was with his galleys, who, seeing us chase his ships ashore, and take and carry away his barks and caravels, was content to suffer us there quietly to tarry, and likewise to depart, and never charged us with one cannon-shot. And when our general sent him word that he was ready to exchange certain bullets with him, the marquis refused his challenge, sending him word that he was not then ready for him, nor had any such commission from his king."*

"So there being nothing more to be done or gotten in this quarter, away we go for the Azores." Within twenty or thirty leagues of St. Michael they fell in with the huge Portuguese galleon or carrack, called the 'St. Philip.' "This carrack, without any great resistance, we took, bestowing the people thereof in certain vessels well furnished with victuals, and sending them courteously home into their country. And this was the first carrack that ever was taken coming from the East Indies; which the Portingals took for an evil sign, because the ship bore the king's own name! . . . . And here by the way is to be noted that the taking of this carrack wrought two extraordinary effects in England: first, in teaching others that carracks were no such bugs but that they might be taken (as since, indeed, it hath fallen out in the taking of the Madre de Dios, and firing and sinking of others); and secondly, in acquainting the English nation more generally with the particularities of the exceeding riches and wealth of the East Indies; whereby themselves and their neighbours of Holland have been encouraged, being men as skilful in navigation, and of no less courage than the Portingals, to share with them in the East Indies, where their strength is nothing so

* Hakluyt.

great as heretofore hath been supposed."* According to our hearty sailor, another conviction, derived from Drake's experience of galley-fighting, was this—"That four English men-of-war would always be a match for twenty Spanish galleys." Before the summer was over Drake returned triumphantly to Plymouth with a whole fleet and an amazingly rich booty. He generously spent a considerable part of his own prize-money in supplying the town of Plymouth with good fresh water, for hitherto there was none, except what the inhabitants fetched from a place a mile distant. The head of the spring, from which it was now to be brought, was between seven and eight miles distant in a direct line; but by indentings and circlings it was to be conveyed twenty-four miles, through valleys, wastes, and bogs, and through a mighty rock, thought to be impenetrable. But Drake gave his money freely, and animated the engineers and workmen with some of his own resolute and persevering spirit. The work was soon finished; and the first flowing of the blessed stream into the town of Plymouth (which it has ever since supplied) was celebrated with a procession and festival at which the hero was present. "Perhaps," says Southey, "the day of that peaceful triumph was the happiest of Drake's public life." He also erected at his own expense various mills on the stream for the use of the town, vesting the property in the mayor and commonalty, and their successors for ever.

Whether his "singeing" did or did not cause the death of the Marquis of Santa Cruz, who was reputed the best naval commander of Spain, and whose loss is said to have been fatally felt in the management of the grand Armada, it is quite certain that his operations delayed the sailing of that armament more than a year, and gave Elizabeth that time to prepare for her defence.

Drake's next service at sea was as vice-admiral in the fleet under Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, lord-high-admiral of England, which, with the assistance of the elements, and the many blunders committed by the

* Hakluyt.

Spaniards, scattered and destroyed the "Invincible Armada." The admirable seamanship of Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, contributed largely to the happy result. On the last day of July, when the fighting in the channel was over, and the shattered Spaniards in full retreat, "Drake wrote to Secretary Walsingham—'There never was anything pleased me better than the seeing the enemy flying with a southerly wind to the northward. We have the Spaniards before us, and mind, with the grace of God, to wrestle another pull with them! . . . . . With the grace of God, if we live, I doubt it not but ere it be long so to handle the matter with the Duke of Sidonia, as he shall wish himself at Saint Mary's port among his vine-trees.'" If Drake's advice had been taken, and if the English ships had been properly provided with ammunition, instead of being obliged to wait in order to receive it from shore, it is probable that neither the Duke of Sidonia nor any other officer of the Armada would have got back to Spain to relate the frightful discomfiture they had sustained.

In the following year (1589) Drake was employed as admiral in an expedition sent to Portugal, in the hope of expelling the Spaniards, who had taken possession of that kingdom, by establishing the claims of Antonio, a pretender, around whom the English expected the Portuguese would rally. The pretender Antonio also expected assistance from Muley Hamet, king or emperor of Morocco; and the Dutch furnished some ships and companies of soldiers. The whole expedition was badly planned, most miserably supplied with money and the other means of war, and but lamely executed after the landing of the troops. It was also disgraced by cruelties unusual even in that age, and inexcusable, notwithstanding the provocation which the English had so recently received on their own shores. Southey, with proper feeling, stigmatizes the barbarities committed. Mr. Barrow only praises the ability and bravery displayed by the English. The expedition had cost England the loss of six thousand men.

In 1595 Drake and Sir John Hawkins, "who had

good experience in these parts," represented to Elizabeth that the best place for striking a blow at the gigantic power of Spain was in the West Indies. An armament was therefore prepared, and Drake was associated in the command with old Hawkins, to whom more than a quarter of a century before he had given cause for such serious discontent. They sailed together with six of the queen's ships and twenty-one other ships and barks, on board of which was embarked a land force under the orders of Sir Thomas Baskerville and Sir Nicholas Clifford. According to Hakluyt the whole expedition numbered 2500 men and boys. There were too many in command, and the usual bad consequences ensued. Nothing is so bad in war as councils of war. After losing time and temper in debate they were obliged to give up an attempt on the Canaries with some loss. When they got among the West India Islands Drake and Hawkins not only quarrelled but separated for some time, and before reaching the east end of Puerto Rico old Hawkins died, his death being generally attributed to the agitation of his mind. One of Drake's smallest vessels was captured by the Spaniards, who, by putting the crew of it to the torture, extracted information respecting the plans of the expedition. When Drake attacked the town of San Juan de Puerto Rico he found that place fully warned and prepared, as were all other places in that neighbourhood. One great Spanish shot struck the admiral's ship through the mizen, another striking through her quarter into the steerage where the general was sitting at supper, drove his stool from under him, but hurt him not; but it wounded Sir Nicholas Clifford, Master Browne, Captain Stratford, with one or two more who were sitting at the same table. Sir Nicholas and Browne died of their hurts. In the end Drake was driven from San Juan with a loss of about 100 men in killed and wounded. Sailing away he took and burned Rio de la Hacha, Rancheria, Santa Martha, and Nombre de Dios; getting no greater spoil than twenty tons of silver and two bars of gold. Drake remained in the harbour of Nombre de Dios, a most un-

healthy place, while Sir Thomas Baskerville, with a part of the land forces, made a vain and ruinous attempt to cross the isthmus of Darien, in order to plunder and destroy the city of Panama and some other places on the Pacific. Baskerville's force consisted of 750 soldiers. They found that the Spaniards were on the alert, and that a new fort had been erected for defending a narrow pass through which they must go. They were also told that there were two more forts beyond this one. "They had so much of this breakfast," says Fuller, "that they thought they should surfeit with a dinner and supper of the same."* Accordingly they returned towards Nombre de Dios sorely harassed and half starved. Baskerville lost in this expedition eighty or ninety men and officers. In the year 1680 the English Buccaneers under Coxon, Sawkins, and Peter Harris (though scarcely more than 300 strong), traversed the isthmus and plundered and took or burned all the shipping in Panama harbour; but they were assisted by 300 Mosquito Indians, and the secret of their coming was not known to the Spaniards.

A fatal disease now broke out among soldiers and sailors in the fleet, and soon deprived them of the important services of their chief surgeon. When many of his men and three of his captains had died, the hardy Drake himself fell sick, and after struggling some twenty days with his malady, and the grief occasioned by his failures, he expired at an early hour of the morning of the 28th of January, 1596. On the same day the fleet anchored in Puerto Bello, and, in sight of that place by the capture and plunder of which he had first established his great reputation, his body received a sailor's funeral.

"The waves became his winding-sheet,
The waters were his tomb;
But for his fame, the ocean sea
Was not sufficient room."

So sang one of his admiring contemporaries.† Sir

* Worthies.

† Prince 'Worthies of Devon.' This quaint and amusing

Thomas Baskerville took the command of the fleet, and immediately led it back for England. Sixty Spanish ships were at sea to intercept him. He fell in with twenty sail of them off Cuba, but he fought his way gallantly through, causing the destruction of a great Spanish ship; and he arrived at Plymouth early in May 1596, though with very little booty.

According to Stow's dates Drake was fifty-five years old when he died; but the question of his age cannot be settled, as it is not known when he was born.

During a part of his life Sir Francis was an active member of the Lower House. He twice represented Bossiney or Tintagal, in Cornwall. In the parliament of 1592-3 he sat for Plymouth, and his name appeared upon most of the committees. He recommended energetic and extensive measures both by sea and land, and spoke for a grant of three subsidies to the queen to enable her to prosecute the war with Spain. Though his reputation as a skilful seaman and a bold commander was deservedly great, still, unless we judge him by the circumstances and the moral standard of his own times, he must appear, in many of his exploits, in no other light than that of a daring and fortunate buccaneer. "He was more skilful," says Stow. "in all points of navigation than any that ever was before his time, in his time, or since his death. He was also of a perfect memory, great observation, eloquent by nature, skilful in artillery, expert and apt to let blood, and give physic unto his people according to the climate. He was low of stature, of strong limbs, broad-breasted, round-headed, brown-haired, full-bearded, his eyes round, large, and clear, well-favoured, fair, and of a cheerful countenance. His name

writer gives other laudatory verses. The following were written in lieu of an epitaph:—

"Where Drake first found there last he lost his name,
And for a tomb left nothing but his fame.
His body's buried under some great wave;
The sea, that was his glory, is his grave.
On whom an epitaph none can truly make,
For who can say, *Here* lies Sir Francis Drake?"

was a terror to the French, Spaniards, Portingals, and Indians. Many princes of Italy, Germany, and others, as well enemies as friends, in his lifetime desired his picture. He was the second* that ever went through the Straits of Magelhaens, and the first that ever went round about the world. He was lawfully married unto two wives, both young, yet he himself and ten of his brethren died without issue: he made his youngest brother, Thomas, his heir, who was with him in the most and chiefest of his employments. In brief, he was as famous in Europe and America as Tamerlane in Asia and Africa."† Honest Stow, however, admits that the great man had his faults. He enumerates among his imperfections, that he was over-ambitious of honour, inconstant in friendship, and too greatly affected to popularity. Fuller adds to Drake's high qualities, that he was a very religious man towards God and his houses, chaste in his life, just in his dealings, true to his word, merciful to those that were under him, hating nothing so much as idleness, and seeing to all things himself, "never wont to rely on other men's care, how trusty or skilful soever they might seem to be, but always contemning danger, and refusing no trial."‡ According to some less favourable accounts he was ostentatious, vain-glorious, and much given to boasting. Perhaps the highest compliments to his skill and indomitable courage are to be found in the characters drawn of him by his mortal enemies, who, indeed, "honoured his memory in the bitterness of their enmity towards him."§ At Panama two days' holidays were kept to rejoice at his death as a foe and at his damnation as a heretic. The most popular of the Spanish poets of the day composed an epic poem to revile him; and the Spaniards long excused their own humiliating

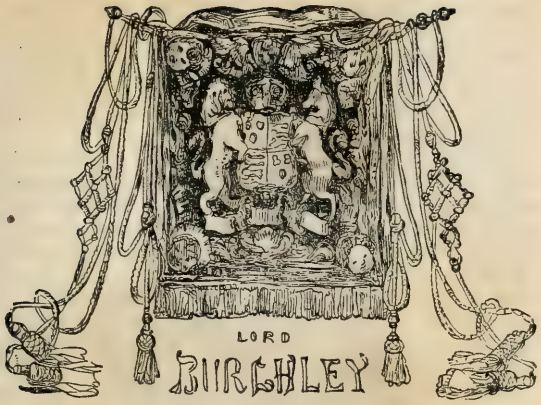
* This is a mistake. Drake was the third, and not the second navigator that went through that difficult strait. It was discovered by Fernando Magelhaens in 1520. In 1558-9 Juan Ladrilleros went through the strait; and Drake, apparently without any knowledge of his track, followed it twenty years afterwards.

† Chronicle. ‡ Holy State. § Southey.

defeats by representing Drake as having been a magician, and in very close alliance with the devil.

But even in his native county of Devonshire Drake was long held to have been a magician, though one only practising in the Magia Alba, or white and innocent magic.

The abundant property which he left was much diminished by a prosecution instituted by the crown against his youngest brother, heir, and executor, Thomas Drake. It is said that this process rested solely upon "a pretended debt;" and this will be easily credited by those who best know the ungenerous, grasping spirit which prevailed at court, and among public men, during the last clouded years of Queen Elizabeth, and during the whole reign of James I. The estate which remained, however, placed Thomas's son Francis in such a station that he was created a baronet by James I., and returned as a member for his county.



The life of Lord Burghley, if it were to be written with all the fulness of which the subject admits, would be the history of England, and in some measure of Europe, for the latter half of the sixteenth century. Even the materials that exist in print would, if they were collected, fill many large volumes. They have enabled Dr. Nares, Lord Burghley's biographer of the greatest pretension, to extend his narrative to three ponderous quartos.

In the space to which we are limited we must confine ourselves, as far as possible, to the man himself, to the incidents and circumstances of his career that are most of a personal nature and that most mark and illustrate his character. Of matter of this description there is also no scarcity. In particular, much that is very curious and interesting has been supplied by a person of Lord Burghley's establishment, "one who lived in the house with him during the last twenty-five years of his life," in a

sketch which he has himself entitled 'The Complete Statesman,' but which is commonly referred to as the Diary of a Domestic. It was first published by Peck in the first volume of his Desiderata Curiosa, 4to. Lond. 1732, and again 1779; and we shall use his edition as the most convenient. Burghley's own letters, many of which have been published in the Forbes, Haynes, Murdin, and other collections, will also supply us with some particulars for our purpose.

William Cecil, afterwards ennobled by the title of Lord Burghley, was the descendant of a family which appears to have been originally English or Norman, but which had been seated in Wales, and possessed of lands in the principality and the neighbouring counties of Hereford and Gloucester, ever since the reign of William Rufus. The name in the oldest form that is recorded was Sitsilt, whence it was worn down in the popular speech, and in the spelling which accommodated itself to that, into the successive shapes of Sicelt, Seycil, Cycyl, till at last the process of curtailment or alteration was arrested about the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII., and the pronunciation and orthography settled in the form Cecil. This deduction sufficiently demolishes the fancy of Verstegan, the antiquary, in his 'Restoration of Decayed Intelligence,' that the Cecils were a branch of the old Roman Cecilii, who had settled in Britain when this island was a colony of the empire. Lord Burghley's father was Richard Cecil, Esq., master, or rather first yeoman, of the robes to King Henry VIII.; his mother was Jane, daughter and heiress of William Hickington, of Bourne, in Lincolnshire, and it was through her that the manor of Burghley came into the family. William, their only son, was born at Bourne, or Burn, probably in the house of his maternal grandfather, after whom he appears to have been named, on the 13th of September, 1520, as the date is given in a Diary in his own handwriting (his Domestic says 1521). At this time Henry VIII. had sat only twelve years on the throne, Wolsey was in the height of his greatness, and the authority of the Roman pontiff was still entire in

England, nor yet formally renounced in any part of western Christendom; the Diet of Worms, whose proceedings made the breach between Luther and the Church irreparable, was held in 1521; and the same year King Henry published his book against that reformer, which procured him from the pope his title of Defender of the Faith.

Cecil, therefore, was born and bred a Roman Catholic, in the religion of his father and mother, and of every body else of that day. The yeoman of the robes, we may here mention, who retained his office through Henry's reign, and was continued in it under Edward VI., died in 1552; his widow survived till the year 1587, when she died at the age of fourscore and seven, after having seen her son raised to the highest honours of the state—an instance to be added to those three memorable ones of Mrs. Scott, Mrs. Copley, and Mrs. Brougham, in our own day. Besides this only son, she bore her husband three daughters: Margaret, who married first Roger Cave, of Stamford, Esq., and after his death Ambrose Smith, of Bosworth, Esq.; Elizabeth, married first to Robert Wingfield, of Upton, Esq., secondly to Hugh Allington, Esq.; and Anne, who became the wife of Thomas Whyte, of Tucksford, Esq.

Cecil, after having been put to school first at Grantham and afterwards at Stamford, was in 1535 sent to Cambridge, and entered of St. John's College. At the university, we are told by his Domestic, his diligence was so great that he hired the bell-ringer to call him up at four o'clock every morning; till at last, with early rising and late watching and continual sitting, he brought a flow of humours into his legs, which was with difficulty cured, and was supposed to be one of the original causes of the gout that used to attack him in after years. At the unusually early age of seventeen he read what was called the Sophistry lecture, and before he was twenty the Greek lecture, although that language was not yet generally studied at Cambridge. And "his diligent study," adds this admiring chronicler, "was also such, as, besides his exquisite knowledge in the Greek, he was

not meanly seen in all other manner of learning; able, likewise, judicially and learnedly, to maintain an argument with the best learned of treble his standings, in any manner of learning or science, with extraordinary applause of his audience; no less admiring his great learning for so little time than the excellency of his wit and temper of speech. So that he was then as famous for a scholar in Cambridge as he was afterwards all over Europe for a grave and great counsellor."

Having remained at the university till he took his degree of Master of Arts, in May 1541 he entered himself of Gray's Inn, and removed to London. A story told by the Domestic in this part of his narrative is characteristic both of the man and of the time. At Gray's Inn "he profited," says his historian, "as before at Cambridge; but, as his years and company required, he would many times be merry among young gentlemen, who were most desirous of his company for his witty mirth and merry temper. Among the rest, I heard him tell this merriment of himself. That a mad companion of his, whilst he was thus at Gray's Inn, enticed him to play; whereupon in a short time he lost all his money, bedding, and books to his companion, having never used play before. And, being afterwards among his other company, he told them how such a one had misled him, saying he would presently have a device to be even with him. And he was as good as his word; for with a long trunk [or tube] he made a hole in the wall near his playfellow's bed's head, and in a fearful voice spake thus through the trunk:—'O, mortal man, repent! repent of thy horrible time consumed in play, cozenage, and such lewdness as thou hast committed, or else thou art damned and canst not be saved!' Which being spoken at midnight, when he was all alone, so amazed him as drove him into a sweat for fear. Most penitent and heavy, the next day, in presence of the youths, he told with trembling what a fearful voice spake to him at midnight, vowing never to play again; and, calling for Mr. Cecil, asked him forgiveness on his knees, and restored all his money, bedding, and books. So two gamesters were

both reclaimed with this merry device, and never played more." "The boy is father of the man," and this stratagem of the hole in the wall of his fellow student's chamber in Gray's Inn may be compared with sundry equally ingenious and successful devices employed by the great statesman of after years, or imputed to him, for turning the tables upon his opponents; it may in particular remind some readers of the letters of Mary Stuart to Babington, which are said to have been found in a hole in the wall of the castle of Chartley, in the year 1586, and out of which was extracted the principal evidence by means of which she was got rid of, and the kingdom released from constant fear and disquiet, the year following. And the difference between that simple-minded time and our own may be felt if we will ask ourselves what chance a man would now have of getting back the money he had lost at play from a student of Gray's Inn by the plan Lord Burghley took.

It is a remarkable circumstance in the history of a person who was all his life so prudent and considerate, and so little apt to act from impulse or with any kind of precipitation or impatience, and who, besides, from the above anecdote, appears to have been as yet so much of a boy in some respects, and so imperfectly able to take care of himself, that he should have been in such a hurry to take a wife. According to his own Diary, he came up to Gray's Inn on the 6th of May, being then twenty-one years old; and on the 8th of August thereafter, he was married at Cambridge to Mary, the sister of Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Cheke. It is like the similar solitary exception in the late Lord Eldon's life to his habitual caution and deliberation. It is not recorded, however, that Lord Burghley's was a love match, and the connexion was perhaps thought to be one likely to promote his success in the world. The lady, however, having borne him a son on the 6th of May, 1542, died on the 22nd of February in the year following.

Whether it had really been intended by his father that the young man should follow the profession of the law, does not appear; but, at any rate, before he had

been called to the bar, one of those accidents which he always knew so well how to turn to account, opened to him a surer way to fortune and eminence. One day, towards the close of the reign of Henry VIII., he had come to the court to see his father, when he chanced, as he stood in the presence-chamber, to fall into talk with two priests, chaplains to the Irish chieftain O'Neil, who was then at court. Cecil had by this time adopted the new views of religion, at least to the extent to which they were countenanced by the royal authority, and he and the priests soon got upon one or more of the points on which their notions were altogether opposed to his. The dispute was carried on in the Latin language, and was conducted on Cecil's part with so much both of learning and wit, that he soon, in the words of the Domestic, "proved the poor priests to have neither, who were so put down that they had not a word to say, but flung away in a chafe, no less discontented than ashamed to be foiled in such a place by so young a beardless youth." A report of their discomfiture was presently carried to the king, who thereupon commanded young Cecil to be brought to him. The result of the interview was that Henry desired the chief yeoman of the robes to think of a suit for his son; upon which he asked for the reversion of the office of *Custos Brevium* in the Court of Common Pleas. This his majesty at once granted, and Cecil appears to have come into possession of the place about the beginning of the reign of Edward VI. It brought him about 240*l.* a year, then a very considerable income. Before this he had taken to himself a second wife, Mildred, the eldest of the four famous learned daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke. He married her on the 21st of December, 1545; he being then in his twenty-fifth, she in her twenty-second year.

It is said to have been through Sir John Cheke that he was first made known to the Earl of Hertford, before the death of Henry VIII. When the earl, after the accession of his nephew, became Duke of Somerset and Protector, he set up a new office, that of Master of Requests, and gave it to Cecil: the duty attached to it

was to receive the numerous suits which were addressed to the duke. And this same year, 1547, according to his Domestic, "he went with the duke to Musselburgh field, where he was like to have been slain, but was miraculously saved by one that, putting forth his arm to thrust Mr. Cecil out of the level of the cannon, had his arm stricken off." It is rather strange, however, that he should make no mention of this escape in his own Diary, in which, indeed, he does not even state that he was present at the battle of Musselburgh, or Pinkie: that battle was fought on the 10th of September, and all that he says is, that he was in Scotland in the summer of this year. Yet other notices speak of him as having accompanied the army, and having been joined in the office of judge-marshal with William Patten, who published the next year an account of the expedition, for which Walpole, in his 'Royal and Noble Authors,' says Cecil furnished materials. "It is on this account, I suppose," adds Walpole, "that his lordship is reckoned by Holingshed among the English historians."

In September of the next year, 1548, we find him noting in his Diary that he was appointed to the office of secretary; and it has been supposed by some that he was at this time made secretary of state. But it seems more probable that his office was that of private secretary to the Protector. When Somerset was for the first time sent to the Tower, in October, 1549, Cecil was also taken into custody; he has himself noted that he was in the Tower in the month of November of this year; and his Domestic says that he remained there three months. He was probably let out when Somerset himself was set at liberty in the beginning of February, 1550. The late Protector gradually regained some measure of his former influence; and the Domestic affirms that it was he who, "perceiving the king's great liking of Mr. Cecil," now preferred him to be secretary of state. He probably used his interest to get him the place—to which he was appointed on the 6th of September, on the resignation of Mr. Wotton. At this time there appear to have been two principal secretaries of

state. He was probably at the same time sworn of the privy council. This same year, moreover, he obtained a grant of the reversion for sixty years of the rectory of Wimbledon, in Surrey (according to a practice which prevailed both in England and Scotland, in the infancy of the Protestant church, of giving such ecclesiastical preferments to laymen); and he soon after went to reside on the living, for we find him noting in his Diary that in May, 1551, he was ill of a fever there to the danger of his life.

His ability and assiduity were now sure to make him of more consequence every day. Wherever head-work was wanted he was the man to do it. When the Lady Mary (afterwards queen) was waited upon at Copthall, in Essex, in August, 1551, by a deputation from the council, who brought her what professed to be a letter from her brother, requiring her to introduce the new church-service in her family, she received the letter, Burnet tells us, from the hands of the Lord Chancellor on her knees, saying, however, that she paid that respect to the king's hand, and not to the matter of the letter, which she knew proceeded from the council; and when she had read it, she said, "Ah! Mr. Cecil took much pains here." Cecil's Protestantism, now mature and complete, as well as unrestrained in its expression, must have helped much to establish him in the favour of King Edward.

From his original patron, Somerset, in his changed fortunes and dubious position, he appears to have kept much aloof. Under date of 14th October, 1551, we find the following entry in the king's journal: "The duke sent for the secretary, Cecil, to tell him he suspected some ill. Mr. Cecil answered, That if he were not guilty he might be of good courage; if he were, he had nothing to say but to lament him." On the afternoon of the next day the ex-Protector was arrested and once more committed to the Tower; on the 1st of December he was brought to trial in Westminster Hall, and condemned to die; and on the 22nd of January, 1552, as his royal nephew has set it down, he "had his

head struck off upon Tower Hill, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning." On the 11th of October, 1551, four days before he had had the interview above-mentioned with Somerset, most probably the last time they ever met in private, Cecil had been knighted along with Cheke, at the same time that the Earl of Warwick, Somerset's successful rival, and now the all-powerful head of the government, was raised to the dignity of Duke of Northumberland, and others of his creatures had various titular honours conferred upon them. The Domestic writes: "During all their power in that reign the two Dukes of Northumberland and Somerset strived each to win the secretary sure to him, both using him exceeding kindly and tempting him with great offers and gifts. He showed duty to both, but would take gifts of neither; and so, though with difficulty, he carried himself even to both all King Edward's time." On the 12th of April, 1553, he was made chancellor of the order of the Garter. At this time he must have been living in considerable state, if we may judge from an entry in his Diary recording a payment to an embroiderer for no fewer than thirty-six scutcheons for his servants' coats. They cost him two shillings a-piece. "It was the custom then, it seems," Peck remarks, "for all servants and retainers of any great man to wear badges, generally representing his crest or device, which badges were wrought some on satin, some on velvet, and some on cloth of silver and gold itself, according to the rank of the servants, or the quality of any other retainers, who were to wear them."

Although, however, he kept on terms with Northumberland so long as it seemed safe to go along with him, Cecil was too cautious a man to engage with any zeal, or involve himself farther than he could not help doing, in the last all-or-nothing scheme of that daring political gambler. In the perilous time of the king's last sickness, in the early part of the month of June, 1553, when Northumberland was extorting from the dying boy the bequest of the crown to his son's wife, the Lady Jane Grey, Cecil fell opportunely sick, and left the task of

writing down the royal instructions to one of his fellow-secretaries, Petre (there were now three); nor would he afterwards, as he himself asserts, even at Edward's earnest request, do more than append his name to the instrument as a witness to the king's signature. Nevertheless, it appears, from a paper which Burnet has published in his Supplementary Collection of Records, that he was afterwards prevailed upon to subscribe along with the rest of the council another paper, headed with the royal signature, in which they all declared that, having many times heard the king's earnest desire and express commandment touching the limitation of the succession, and "having seen his majesty's own device touching the said succession, first wholly written with his most gracious hand, and after copied out in his majesty's presence, by his most high commandment, and confirmed with the subscription of his majesty's own hand, and by his highness delivered to certain judges, and other learned men, to be written in full order," they, by his Majesty's special and absolute commandment, promised, by their oaths and honours, fully to observe, conform, and keep "all and every article, clause, branch, and matter contained in the said writing delivered to the judges and others, and superscribed with his majesty's hand in sir several places; and all such other matter as his majesty, by his last will, shall approve, declare, or command touching or concerning the limitation of the succession." Further, they promised, again by his majesty's commandment, never to vary or swerve during their lives from the said limitation; but the same always to the uttermost of their powers to defend and maintain. "And," concluded the paper, "if any of us, or any other, shall at any time hereafter (which God forbid) vary from this agreement, or any part thereof, we, and every of us, do assent to take, use, and repute him for a breaker of the common concord, peace, and unity of this realm, and to do our uttermost to see him, or them, so varying or swerving, punished with most sharp punishments, according to their deserts." Edward's death took place at Greenwich on the evening of the 6th of

July; and the next day we find Cecil congratulating himself in his Diary with much apparent cordiality on his escape from office: "Libertatem adeptus sum, morte regis; et, ex misero aulico, factus sum liber, et mei juris" (I have obtained my liberty by the death of the king; and, from a miserable functionary of the court, am become a freeman, and my own master). As is customary, however, he continued to perform the duties of his place till there should be a new appointment: and his name was attached with those of the other members of the council (twenty-one in all) to the answer despatched to Mary on the 9th informing her that Queen Jane was now their sovereign, according to the ancient laws of the land and the late king's letters patent, and requiring her to abandon her pretensions and not to disturb the government. But he excused himself from drawing up the order for proclaiming Queen Jane, on the plea that that duty belonged to the law officers; and, as soon as Northumberland, who kept them all in a sort of imprisonment in the Tower, was got rid of by being persuaded to go and place himself at the head of the military force by which Mary was to be met, he seized the opportunity of withdrawing. He does not appear to have been present at the meeting of the majority of his colleagues at Baynard's Castle on the 19th, when it was resolved to proclaim Queen Mary; nor did he instantly take his course; but, the Earl of Arundel and Lord Paget having gone off to Mary that night, he followed them the next day. He was, we are told, very graciously received, notwithstanding all that had passed.

His Domestic says, "When Queen Mary came in, she granted Sir William Cecil a general pardon. And, in choosing her counsellors, she had also so good liking of him, as, if he would change his religion, he should be her secretary and counsellor. And, to that purpose, some wise men were underhand set to allure him and discover his disposition. But, like himself, he wisely and christianly answered, he was taught and bound to serve God first, and next the queen; and, if her service should put him out of God's service, he hoped her

majesty would give him leave to choose an everlasting rather than a momentary service. And, as for the queen, she had been his so gracious lady, as he would ever serve, and pray for her in his heart, and with his body and goods be as ready to serve in her defence as any of her most loyal subjects, so she would please to grant him leave to use his conscience to himself, and serve her at large as a private man, rather than to be her greatest counsellor. Here was no turn-coat, nor seller of his soul, nor renouncer of his faith, for ambition of a counsellor's place, as many would do upon so fair an offer. But, where the foundation is surely laid, the house is hardly [with difficulty] shaken. And, God laying the first stone, the building must needs prosper. As was verified in him; to whom God gave the fruits of his faith, and the reward of a good steward." Cecil probably had no desire for office at this particular time; and he might consider himself very well off with his general pardon for the present; but the fact is that, like many other persons who had been very good Protestants during all the preceding reign (Elizabeth herself among the number), he did now conform to the re-established Roman faith. Dr. Nares has printed a record, in the hand-writing of William Haddon his steward, preserved in the State Paper Office, attesting that during the reign of Mary he kept a priest in his house at Wimbledon, and that himself, his wife, and his eldest son all both confessed and went to mass.

The Domestic himself informs us that, although he was not continued in his secretaryship, he enjoyed great favour with the queen, and was sent by her in the second year of her reign to Brussels, along with Lord Paget, to bring back Cardinal Pole, who had recently been appointed legate by the pope, and whose attainder had just been repealed by parliament. From Cecil's own Diary it appears that they set out upon this mission on the 6th of November, 1554; that they reached Brussels on the 11th; and that they returned to Westminster with the cardinal on the 23rd. But he was also sent again beyond seas the next year, with the cardinal, the Lord Chancellor

(Gardiner), the Earl of Arundel, and Lord Paget, all devoted Roman Catholics, to endeavour to negotiate a peace with the emperor and the French king. They sailed for Calais on the 18th of May; on the 3rd of June they proceeded thence to a village called Mark, between Gravelines and Ardres, where the conferences were held, which, notwithstanding Pole's best exertions, ended in nothing, and they got back to England on the 26th of June.

After his return home from this mission, Cecil was elected one of the knights of the shire for the county of Lincoln, and he took his place in the House of Commons which met on the 21st of October. He says himself that he was returned to parliament against his will, and that the post was one of some danger; nevertheless, he adds, he spoke his mind freely, although he thereby incurred some displeasure; but it was better to obey God than man. Burnet's account is, that the temper of parliament was now much changed from what it had been in the beginning of the reign; "men's minds were much alienated from the clergy, and also from the queen, who minded nothing else but to raise them to great wealth and power again;" and great heats were occasioned, first by a subsidy moved for in the Commons on the 28th of October, and afterwards by a bill brought in on the 23rd of November for suppressing the first-fruits and tenths, and giving back all impropriations that were yet in the queen's gift to the church, which was particularly committed for examination to Cecil and others, and was only carried in the end by a majority of 193 against 126. The truth is, that universal alarm had been excited by a design understood to be entertained by the court of recovering for the church all the property of every description that had been taken from it in the last two reigns, into whatever hands it might have passed. "Certain it is," says Heylin, "that many who were cordially affected to the queen's religion were very much startled at the noise of this restitution, insomuch that some of them are said to have clapped their hands upon their swords, affirming, not without some oaths, that they would never part with

their abbey lands as long as they were able to wear a sword by their sides." Cecil, on this occasion, as an individual, fought, if not *pro aris*, at least *pro focis*—for his fireside, if not for his faith;—his comfortable rectory of Wimbledon was in jeopardy. No doubt, too, he discerned the signs of the times, and how fast Mary was losing ground. His Domestic relates that one day after he had made a very effective speech in opposition to the court, Sir Anthony Kingston, Sir William Courtenay, Sir John Pollard, and others, mostly west-country men, who were of the same way of thinking, came to him when the House rose, and said they would dine with him that day. "He answered, they should be welcome, so they did not speak of any matters of parliament, which they promised. Yet some began to break promise, for which he challenged them. This meeting and speech was known to the council; and all the knights and gentlemen were sent for and committed. Sir William Cecil was also sent for to my Lord Paget and Sir William Petre. When he was brought before them, he desired they would not do by him as by the rest, which he thought somewhat hard,—that was to commit them first, and to hear them after; but prayed them first to hear him, and then to commit him if he were guilty. 'You speak like a man of experience,' quoth my Lord Paget. And upon their hearing the circumstances he cleared himself, and so at once escaped both imprisonment and disgrace." Burnet only mentions that Kingston was sent to the Tower the day after the parliament was dissolved; he "had been," he says, "a main stickler in it, and had one day taken the keys of the House from the serjeant, which, it seems, was not displeasing to the major part of the House, since they did nothing upon it." He lay in the Tower from the 10th till the 23rd of December, when, having submitted and asked pardon, he was discharged. But the following year he was taken up on a charge of having carried his practical way of going to work somewhat farther than taking possession of the keys of the House of Commons; he was accused of having engaged in a design with a num-

ber of other persons to rob the exchequer. Eight of the others were tried and executed; he died on his way to London. Burnet does not affirm that they were unjustly condemned; all he says is, "What evidence was brought against them I do not know." There is no doubt about the reality of the conspiracy, most of the persons engaged in which made their escape to France. Their object was to get up an insurrection with the money; and the evidence went a great way to implicate Elizabeth herself. Among the persons executed were two of her officers, who, it was said, had made use of her name without her authority.

Very little is known of what Cecil was about in the two or three last years of the reign of Mary. In Haynes's Collection are a few short letters addressed to him in 1556 and 1557 by his father-in-law Sir Anthony Cooke, the Earl of Bedford, and others; but scarcely anything is to be got out of them. One from Sir Thomas Cornwallis, dated Calais, 5th March, 1556, is addressed to him at Cannon Row in Westminster, and speaks of his attending in Westminster Hall, and taking part in a certain cause heard in one of the courts there—but the meaning probably is that he only gave his evidence as a witness. He was returned again for Lincolnshire to the next parliament, the last of Mary's reign, which met on the 20th of January, 1558. The second session, which commenced on the 5th of November, was abruptly terminated by the death of the queen on the 17th.

There is no doubt that for some time before this event Cecil had been Elizabeth's chief adviser. His Domestic would make it appear that he was in her confidence and service from the beginning of the reign of Mary, and that the latter overlooked that circumstance, though well aware of it; but this account is far from probable. There is no reason for supposing that he began to turn from Mary to her sister before the latter part of the year 1555 at the earliest, when the temper both of the parliament and of the nation had undergone an ominous change, and it had besides become

clear that there was no chance of any issue of the reigning queen cutting out Elizabeth from the succession.

Elizabeth made him her prime minister at once. He was, his Domestic tells us, "first sworn of any counsellor she had, at Hatfield, where she lay at her first coming to the crown." He was re-appointed to his former office of principal secretary of state; and the other members of the council, or, as we should now say, of the cabinet, or the administration, are understood to have been selected by his advice. They consisted of thirteen of the ministers of the late queen, of course all Roman Catholics, and of seven other new men and Protestants, in addition to Cecil himself.

From this time to the end of his life the biography of this celebrated minister becomes identical with the history of his country. Elizabeth and he were nearly of accord upon the grand political questions of the time; with many points of difference, there were some leading respects in which they resembled each other in temper and character; and, while they had both passed through the same previous condition of things, and much in the same manner, he was just so much the older of the two as it became the man to be than the woman, and the counsellor than the queen. In particular they were very nearly of one mind and disposition in reference to what was then the question of questions even in regard to this world, the question of religion. Cecil was perhaps rather the better Protestant, but he was far from being extreme in his views any more than her majesty, and, especially at first, he would probably have been very well satisfied to set up a mixture of the two religions if the Romish party would have accepted such a compromise. As things were arranged, he took care that the new church should not depart farther from the old model than the case absolutely required. He gave no countenance to the principle that deviation should be sought after for its own sake. Whatever was merely disorganizing in the spirit of the Reformation he firmly set his face against. The system which he laboured

all his life to maintain was one including only so much of Protestantism as could be adopted with safety to all the old foundations of the English social and political system. For instance, there was nothing more of democracy or republicanism in his Protestant church of England than there had been in the Romish church that preceded it. Both were equally monarchical and aristocratic both in their spirit and in their form. At any rate, such as it is, the existing church establishment is mainly his work. And so was the system generally both of domestic and foreign policy upon which the country acted throughout the reign of Elizabeth, and by which it has to a considerable extent been governed ever since. The principle of the system at least has continued to operate, whatever changes may have been brought about in the mode of its operation. That principle may be defined to be the championship of the cause of regulated freedom and temperate reform throughout Europe. In the reign of Elizabeth reform and resistance, progress and stagnation, going forward and going back, liberty and absolutism, were represented almost universally by Protestantism and Romanism: with her and her minister, accordingly, the support of Protestantism at home and abroad was everywhere the first object. It was this that directed the aid she gave to the Huguenots in France and the insurgents in Holland, the part she took in the affairs of Scotland, the course she followed in the government of Ireland. The very tenure by which she occupied the throne, indeed, was the support of Protestantism. Let her have given up that, and Mary Stuart would have been Queen of England.

One of the first matters to which Cecil directed his attention after the settlement of religion, was the reformation of the coin. The amount of what was done, however, in restoring the ancient standard, has been exaggerated in the common accounts; at least expressions are used which would convey the notion that the reform was much greater than it really was. The fact is, that, after the quantity of alloy in the silver coinage

had been carried to the monstrous extent of nine ounces in the pound troy (or three-fourths of the whole compound), it had been reduced by Edward VI. in 1552 to nineteen pennyweights, or to within one pennyweight of the ancient legal quantity; and Queen Mary had only added one pennyweight more. All that was now done was to reduce the twenty pennyweights of alloy to eighteen. The debased money of preceding reigns, however, was called in; and this may be considered as having been the most important as well as the most formidable part of Cecil's undertaking. The nominal value of the old coin received at the mint was between six and seven hundred thousand pounds, its real value being only between two and three hundred thousand. Cecil was quite alive to the connection between national prosperity and a right condition of everything relating to money and commerce. One of his maxims, we are told by his Domestic, was, that that realm cannot be rich whose coin is poor or base. But the evil really lies not so much in the absolute quantity of alloy in the coin (which, even if carried too far, would be a mere inconvenience), as in what is properly called its debasement, namely, the increase of the alloy without any corresponding diminution of the legal value. Another principle of Cecil's, it seems, was, that a realm must needs be poor that does not export more than it imports. So that he held what has been called the Mercantile, or Balance of Trade theory, now generally abandoned, though whether he carried it out to its logical conclusion of regarding gold and silver, or money, as the only true riches, does not appear. This view, however, leading him, as it would, to the promotion of domestic industry and manufactures, was not at that time calculated to do much harm. It becomes practically pernicious chiefly when it produces or is employed to defend exclusions and restrictions in favour of home manufactures either sufficiently established or not worth establishing.

In June, 1560, Cecil again visited Scotland, this time in a character no doubt more to his taste than that which he had borne on his last visit thirteen years before. He

was sent down at the head of a commission to conclude a peace with the French and Scots; and the result was the Treaty of Leith, by which that town was surrendered to the Lords of the Congregation, or leaders of the Protestant party, and all the French forces were withdrawn from Scotland. This was a great triumph both for the Scottish Protestants and for the English interest; and to Cecil, who both upon principle and from disposition was emphatically a peace minister, the arrangement he had succeeded in effecting must have been peculiarly gratifying.

In the beginning of the following year, 1561, he received from his royal mistress the valuable place of master of the wards, on the death of Sir Thomas Parry. The high favour in which he stood, we are told, however, exposed him to a great deal not only of envy but of danger; plots were laid to bring about his disgrace, and attempts were even made to take his life. His unceasing toils also "caused all his friends," says his domestic historian, "to pity him, and his very servants to admire him. And myself, as an eye-witness, can testify that I never saw him half an hour idle in four and twenty years together. For, if there were cause of business, he was occupied till that was done, which commonly was not long in hand. If he had no business, which was very seldom, he was reading or collecting. If he rid abroad he heard suitors; when he came in he despatched them. When he went to bed and slept not, he was either meditating or reading. And I have heard him say, he did penetrate further into the depths of causes, and found out more resolutions of dubious points, in his bed, than when he was up. Indeed, he left himself scarce time for sleep or meals, or leisure to go to bed." This writer also celebrates the ability which he showed as a speaker, both in parliament and in the star-chamber, where the lords of the council were then accustomed to sit and administer justice. In the House of Commons, it appears, his practice was generally to speak last, and wind up the debate, when, we are told, he seemed to all who heard him far to exceed in gravity, wisdom, and

eloquence all who had previously spoken, perfectly concluding all things, and clearing up whatever they had left dark or doubtful. "And yet," it is added, "which was observed as a strange thing in him, for all his long and public speeches, he was never seen to study a quarter of an hour, or to take notes, or turn books for any of his speeches. His long experience and practice made him need no helps. And it was noted, that, wheresoever he sate in the place of justice, there wanted not numbers that came only to hear him speak." Other accounts also attest the great excellence of his speaking; it was not, of course, either vehement and impassioned, or brilliant with wit and fancy; but in that sort of eloquence which addresses itself to the head rather than to the imagination or the heart—which consists in clear exposition and weighty and convincing enforcement—Cecil and Sir Nicholas Bacon (the father of the chancellor) are said to have excelled all the other orators of their time.

In February, 1571, Cecil was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron of Burghley; in June, 1572, he was made a knight of the Garter; and in September of the same year, upon the death of the Marquess of Winchester, he was promoted to the office of lord high treasurer. This change of position, however, probably, did not make him more first or leading minister than he had been from the first. Throughout all the time he continued in office every department of the public service was more or less immediately under his superintendence; he was not more occupied with the public revenue, for instance, than he was with foreign affairs. This sufficiently appears from his correspondence, large portions of which have been published.

There is a series of Burghley's letters (when he was Sir William Cecil and Secretary of State) published in the collection called The Cabala, which illustrates both the multifarious nature of his duties, and the character of the man, perhaps, as strongly as any others that have been printed. They are addressed to Sir Henry Norris, the Queen's ambassador in France, and

extend from February, 1567, to September, 1570. In one of the earliest, dated Westminster, 20th February, 1567, occurs the following curious paragraph :—"The queen's majesty would fain have a tailor that hath skill to make her apparel, both after the French and Italian manner; and she thinketh that you might use some mean to obtain some one such there [in France] as serveth that [the French] queen, without mentioning any manner of request in the queen's majesty's name. First, to cause my lady your wife to use some such means to get one, as thereof knowledge might not come to the queen mother's ears, of whom the queen's majesty thinketh thus, that, if she did understand that it were a matter wherein her majesty might be pleasured, she would offer to send one to the queen's majesty. Nevertheless, if it cannot be so obtained by this indirect means, then her majesty would have you devise some other good means to obtain one that were skilful." It may be presumed that a prime minister in the present day is no longer burthened with matters of state of this description. One or two other passages exhibit a prominent part of this minister's character—his careful economy. On the 19th of August, 1567, he writes from the manor of Guilford :—"I most heartily pray you to bear with my advice, that in your expenses you have consideration not to expend so much as by your bills brought to me by your servant Cartwright it seemeth you do; for truly I have no warrant to allow such several fees as be therein contained, neither did I know any of the like allowed to any of your predecessors. And, in the paying for your intelligences, if you be not well ware, you shall for the most part have counterfeited ware for good money. In matters of importance, or when you are precisely commanded to prosecute matters of weight, it is reason your extraordinary charges be borne; but, as to the common advices of occurrents abroad, they are to be commonly had for small value, and many times as news for news; for at this day the common advices from Venice, Rome, Spain, Constantinople, Vienna, Geneva, Naples,

yea, and from Paris, are made so current, as every merchant hath them with their letters from their factors." This last sentence is interesting in reference to the history of newspapers, or, at least, the manner in which intelligence was formerly published and circulated. Lord Burghley used to have the credit of having been himself the inventor of the modern newspaper, at least in England. It was pretended that in the year of the Spanish Armada, 1588, he had caused a species of Gazette to be printed and dispersed from time to time, containing accounts of the movements of the enemy, and other matters of general interest; and copies of several numbers of this publication were believed to be preserved in the British Museum. A few years ago, however, the sagacity of one of the officers of that establishment made the discovery that these 'English Mercuries,' as they are entitled, are forgeries of the last century; and so much, therefore, of Lord Burghley's fame is at an end. He goes on in his letter to Norris:—"If I did not know your good nature, I would not thus plainly write; and yet, if I should not hereof warn you, your expences might increase, and I know not how to procure your payment. And yet hereby [herein?] I mean to do my best at all times to help you to allowance for all necessary expenses." There is the same reasonable and considerate tone in a subsequent letter, in which he replies to a remonstrance which it appears Sir Henry had made. Writing from Windsor on the 2nd of October, he says:—"And where it seemeth you think some hardness, in not allowance of your expences expressed in sundry your bills, surely it is not lack of my good will that stayeth me, but power; for truly I never subscribed so many extraordinary bills for any as I have done for you; and, as I understand by your servant Cartwright, I have subscribed more in some of them than will be as yet paid. Generally, I will subscribe all charges reasonable for carriage of letters; but concerning entertainment of men to continue at the court, or for rewards given extraordinarily, I never did nor could allow them; and yet I wish them

paid, being laid out in the service of her majesty. And in this manner I heartily pray you to interpret my good will to the best; for surely, if you were either my brother or son, I have no more power to shew you and yours good will than I do."* Elizabeth was herself, in fact, still more economically inclined than her minister, nor would she have borne with his permission of any unnecessary charges. No other virtue could have recommended Burghley so effectually to her regard as this his care of the public money.

The most interesting part of the history written by his Domestic is that in which an account is given of his personal habits and private life. He kept two principal establishments, we are told, one at London, the other at Theobald's; though he also was at some charge both at Burghley and at the court, and thus might be said to maintain four houses in all. At his house in London his household usually consisted of four-score persons, besides himself and those who attended him at court; and the ordinary expenditure was thirty pounds a week, which was increased by ten or twelve pounds when he himself lodged in the house. At Theobald's his household amounted to from twenty-six to thirty persons; and the establishment, in his absence, was maintained at a cost of twelve pounds weekly. Twenty or thirty poor people were also daily relieved at the gate; and twenty shillings besides was given weekly to the poor in money. "His whole household expenses," continues the account, "both at Theobald's and London, being both summed together, his yearly charge was two thousand seven hundred and four pounds, when his lordship was continually at court. But his charge, you may imagine, much increased at his lordship's coming home. For I have heard his officers affirm that at his lordship's being at Theobald's it hath cost him four score pounds in a week; that is, fifty and eight pounds a week more, over and above the former twenty and two. The charge of

* Perhaps he wrote, or intended to write, "no power to shew you and yours more good will."

his stable, not here mentioned, was nearly a thousand marks at the least. Besides which certain charge, he bought great quantities of corn in times of dearth to furnish markets about his house at under-prices, to pull down the price to relieve the poor. He gave also for releasing of prisoners, in many of his latter years, forty and fifty pounds in a term. And, for twenty years together, he gave yearly in beef, bread, and money, at Christmas, to the poor of Westminster, St. Martin's, St. Clement's, and Theobald's, thirty-five, and sometimes forty, pounds *per annum*. He gave also yearly to twenty poor men lodging in the Savoy twenty suits of apparel. He gave also for three years before he died to poor prisoners and poor parishes, in money weekly, forty and five shillings. So as his certain alms, besides extraordinaries, was cast up to be five hundred pounds yearly, one year with another." We have afterwards a description of the order and government of his house:—"After performance of business (as few men about him were idle), there were prayers every day said in his chapel at eleven of the clock, where his lordship and all his servants were present; for he seldom or never went to dinner without prayers. And so likewise at six of the clock, before supper. Which course was observed by his steward in his lordship's absence. When his lordship was able to sit abroad, he kept an honourable table for noblemen and others to resort to; but when age and infirmities grew on him he was forced to keep his chamber, where he was void neither of company nor meat; having as many of his friends and children to dine with and keep him company there as before he had strangers in his parlour; his diet being then as chargeable weekly as when he came abroad. His lordship's hall was ever well furnished with men, and as well served with meat and kept in good order. For his steward kept a standing table for gentlemen; besides two other long tables (many times twice set), one for the clerk of the kitchen, the other for yeomen. And, whether his lordship were absent or present, all men, both retainers and others, resorted continually to meat

and meal at their pleasures. Which I have seldom seen in any house; especially any house having so many retainers resorting continually, either for suits or private business. His lordship was himself served with men of quality and ability, for most of the principal gentlemen in England sought to prefer their sons and heirs to his service. Insomuch as I have numbered in his house, attending on the table, twenty gentlemen of his retainers of a thousand pounds per annum a piece, in possession and reversion; and of his ordinary men as many, some worth a thousand pounds, some worth three, five, ten, yea twenty thousand pounds, daily attending his lordship's service." These details give us as complete a picture of the housekeeping of our old nobility as is perhaps any where to be found. And in how strong a light do they bring before us the difference in all things between the time to which they relate and our own! Lord Burghley maintains, at a cost of about four thousand a year, a style of living which forty thousand a year certainly could not now match; we may say, therefore, that money was in those days of at least ten times the value that it is now: what should we think then of gentlemen of ten thousand a year giving attendance as servants at a nobleman's table, or of persons worth two hundred thousand pounds officiating in the same capacity? The space through which society has moved in the three centuries shows much greater measured by indications of this kind than even when we look back to the dinners of our ancestors at noon, and their suppers at seven in the evening —with prayers every day before both.

Lord Burghley's three houses, that at London, Burghley House, near Stamford, and Theobald's, at Waltham, in Hertfordshire, were all wholly or chiefly built by himself, and were all mansions of great magnificence. Burghley is still the seat of his descendant, the Marquess of Exeter. Theobald's, which became the property of his second son Robert, was exchanged by him with James I. for Hatfield, in the same county, now the splendid residence of his descendant the Marquess of Salisbury. Theobald's was afterwards destroyed

by the republican soldiers in the time of the civil wars. The London House stood on the site now occupied by Exeter Hall: it had been partly erected by Sir Thomas Palmer, in the reign of Edward VI., but the greater part was added by Burghley, from whom it took the name, first of Cecil House, and then of Burghley House, which was changed into that of Exeter House, when his eldest son, into whose possession it came, was made Earl of Exeter soon after the accession of James I. About the end of the seventeenth century it was converted into the late Exeter Change; but it had for many years previous ceased to be occupied as a dwelling-house. The erection and maintenance of these three palaces would alone redeem Burghley from the imputation of having been a small-souled man; besides the love of architectural splendour which it indicated, it shows that he was not afraid to come forward with his wealth into the light of day, and before the popular eye; for there is no other way in which wealth can make itself so conspicuous as by this. The mere purchase of land, the adding of field to field, is hoarding and concealment compared with this visible, perpetuating, monumental expenditure, which, besides, goes to make the wealth and state of the individual the ornament of the country, and in some sort the property of the whole community. Of Burghley's three lordly mansions, the two noble families of which he is the founder have, as we have seen, each found one burthen enough, and the third has long passed out of their hands. From the names of Cecil Street and Salisbury Street on the other side of the Strand, it may be seen that the gardens or grounds of Cecil House originally extended across that now great thoroughfare, and down to the river. The Strand, however, was an open street or road then as now, and must have divided the gardens from the house. Burghley, we are told by his Domestic, "greatly delighted in making gardens, fountains, and walks, which at Theobald's were perfected most costly, beautifully, and pleasantly, where one might walk two miles in the walks before he came to their ends." This house of

Theobald's, "at the first," says the Domestic, "he meant but for a little pile, as I heard him say; but, after he came to entertain the queen so often there, he was forced to enlarge it, rather for the queen and her great train, and to set the poor on work, than for pomp or glory; for he ever said, it would be too big for the small living he could leave his son. . . . . His lordship's extraordinary charge in entertainment of the queen was greater to him than to any of her subjects. For he entertained her at his house twelve several times, which cost him two or three thousand pounds every time, the queen lying there at his lordship's charge sometimes three weeks or a month, yea six weeks together. . . . . Her majesty sometimes had also strangers and ambassadors came to her at Theobald's, where she hath been seen in as great royalty, and served as bountifully and magnificently, as at any other time or place, all at his lordship's charge; with rich shows, pleasant devices, and all manner of sports that could be devised, to the great delight of her majesty and her whole train, with great thanks of all who partook of it, and as great commendation from all that heard of it abroad." Yet Burghley was by no means a man of overgrown possessions. At his death the rental of his land did not exceed four thousand a year; and he left only about eleven thousand pounds in money, and to the value of about fourteen or fifteen thousand in plate, of which a great part was bequeathed in legacies. "And this," observes his Domestic, "was all the great wealth of so great a counsellor, living forty years together in his prince's favour, in so great reputation, so great offices, and so peaceable a time, as, if his mind had sorted to his power, he might have gathered in that time ten times the value." No; his nature, though cold, was not mean or sordid, nor his heart narrow or selfish. Neither, with all his firmness, which some might call sternness, was his temper unkind or his manner harsh, but the contrary. "In thirty years together," writes his Domestic, "he was seldom seen angry; or moved with joy in prosperity, or sorrow in

adversity. Thus his even temper was ever noted as one of his greatest virtues, until within three or four years before his death, when age (the mother of morosity), and continuance of sickness, altered even the course of his nature, with pains in his body, griefs and cares in his mind, crosses in council, and oppression with multitude of business; . . . . which, not succeeding nor sorting to his desires, so distempered his mind, as bereaved him of his wonted mildness, altered his natural disposition, and gave way to age's imperfections. But his anger was never fondly passionate nor furious. His words were but wind; no sooner spoken than forgotten. For he would presently speak fair again. As for instance, if he had angrily spoken to one of his servants, he would almost immediately speak fair, and as it were seek to be friends with him. And commonly he would soonest do for such as he had fallen out with. Here was a noble nature, by whose anger many found more good than by others' fair flattering speeches." Other traits of his character and habits that speak well for him are afterwards mentioned. "His kindness, as nature ever leads all men, was most expressed to his children, to whom there was never man more loving nor tender-hearted . . . . And, which is ever a note of good nature, if he could get his table set round with his young little children, he was then in his kingdom; and it was an exceeding pleasure to hear what sport he would make with them, and how aptly and merrily he would talk with them; with such pretty questions and witty allurements, as much delighted himself, the children, and the hearers. . . . He had his own children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren ordinarily at his table, sitting about him like olive branches. . . . . If he might ride privately in his garden upon his little mule, or lie a day or two at his little lodge at Theobald's, retired from business or too much company, he thought it his greatest greatness and only happiness. . . . . Or, if he could get any of his old acquaintance who could discourse of their youth, or of things passed in old time, it was notable to hear what merry stories he would tell. . . . He was of a

spare and temperate diet, and the finest feeder of any man that ever I saw ; eating never but of two or three dishes ; drinking never above thrice at a meal, and very seldom wine. And he would many times forbear suppers, if he found his stomach offended. And, above all things, what business soever was in his head, it was never perceived at his table, where he would be so merry, as one would imagine he had nothing else to do ; directing his speech to all men according to their qualities and capacities, so as he raised mirth out of all men's speeches, augmenting it with his own, whereby he wanted no company, so long as he was able to keep company . . . His recreation was chiefly in his books, wherewith if he had time he was more delighted than others with play at cards." Burghley's favourite book is said to have been Cicero's Offices: it is affirmed that to his dying day he always carried it about with him, either in his bosom or his pocket. Perhaps every man would find the profit as well as the pleasure of making some one book thus, as it were, a part of himself. The great statesman had his favourite study too, and a singular one it may seem to many persons; it was genealogy—not one of the fashionable *logies* of the present day, but yet having an interest of its own, as well as fish-logy or shell-logy, and at any rate not ill fitted to occupy and amuse the leisure of a busy life in that age, when it was much more connected with prevailing habits of thought than now. A number of pedigrees drawn out by Lord Burghley are still preserved in the archbishop's library at Lambeth. " Books," continues the affectionate chronicler from whose interesting recollections we have borrowed so largely, " were so pleasing to him, as, when he got liberty from the queen to go unto his country house to take the air, if he found but a book worth the opening, he would rather lose his riding than his reading. And yet riding in his garden and walks, upon his little mule, was his greatest disport. But, so soon as he came in, he fell to his reading again, or else to despatching of business . . . . He seldom or never played at any game, for he could play at none. Yet he would sometimes look

on a while on shooters or bowlers, as he rid abroad." In another place we are told that his reading was for the most part in Latin, French, or Italian, and that he very seldom read any English books. This may serve in part to account for the treatment Spenser is said to have had to complain of, when the queen's bounty to the poet was attempted to be checked by her grave-browed minister; he probably despised the Fairy Queen, and concluded that it could not be worth the reading, as being written in the vulgar tongue.

But we must draw to a close. Burghley, as well as her other ministers, sometimes experienced a little of the effects of Elizabeth's caprice and occasional violence of temper, but he was never to any serious extent, or for any considerable space of time, out of favour. If, also, he thought he had on some occasions reason to complain of not being sufficiently supported, or of his advice being disregarded, because some temporary favourite had possession of the royal ear, such was scarcely ever the case on any great emergency; the giving the command of the forces in Holland to Leicester was almost the only very important step which Elizabeth is known to have taken in opposition to Burghley's advice. Nor, with whatever sharpness she may have sometimes turned upon him in her fits of ill humour, did she ever suffer any one to backbite or try to undermine him in her favour; her conviction of his integrity and his value was too firm and deep-seated to be for a moment shaken in that way. And, besides, being human, it was impossible that she should not have had a genuine regard for one who had served her so long and so faithfully; they had passed together from youth to old age—out of one generation of men into a second and a third; had it been only an oak of the forest under which she had been all that while accustomed to find familiar shade and shelter, it must have become dear to her. Throughout forty years of a happy and glorious reign, he had been the main stay of her throne; she used herself to call him her spirit, and their union indeed was more like that of the soul

and the body than anything else. At the least one thinks of Burghley and Elizabeth almost as of husband and wife. Such a husband was the only sort of one suitable for the Man-Queen.

Burghley's spreading branches flourished green for a long while; but decay must needs overtake at last whatever is earthly. The first stroke, long deferred, that fell upon him was the death of his venerable mother in March, 1587; next, in April, 1589, he lost his wife. He continued, however, to discharge all his public duties for some years after this; taking a leading part in the debates of the House of Lords when parliament was sitting, as well as overlooking and directing the general course of public affairs both at home and abroad as diligently as ever with his politic head and unwearied pen. A report is preserved of an elaborate speech made by him in the parliament which met in February, 1593 (the last which sat during his time); several of the state papers drawn up by him that have been published are of still later date; and of those addressed to him some are dated several years after this. In one of his letters, however, written in May, 1593, we find him speaking in strong terms of his sufferings from broken health. The letter is to his son Robert, and, having finished the business part of it, he adds in a postscript, "If I may not have some leisure to cure my head, I shall shortly ease it in my grave." His thread of life, however, was spun out for a considerable space longer; his death did not take place till the 4th of August, 1598; "wherein," says his domestic biographer, in concluding a detailed account of his last hours, which, like all his life, were radiant with piety, "one thing was observed as most strange, namely, that, though many watched to see when he should die, he lay looking so sweetly, and went away so mildly, as in a sleep, that it could scarce be perceived when the breath went out of his body."

Besides his two sons, Thomas by his first wife, who was in 1605 created Earl of Exeter, and was the ancestor of the present Marquess of Exeter and Robert,

by his second wife, created Baron Cecil, in 1603, and Earl of Salisbury, in 1605, the ancestor of the present Marquess of Salisbury, Lord Burghley had by his second wife two daughters, Anne, married (unhappily) to Edward Earl of Oxford, and Elizabeth, married to William Wentworth, Esq., son and heir of the Lord Wentworth, whom, however, he predeceased. He had also two other sons and a daughter, who all died in infancy.

It took about two centuries to weld into a common tongue the two perfectly distinct languages spoken in England from the time of the Norman Conquest; about two more to shape that common tongue into the general form of what is now called English; a third space of the same length to bring the compound thus produced to the state in all essential respects in which it has remained ever since, and will no doubt remain while it continues to subsist. In other words, for the first two hundred years the Saxon and Norman were still two separate languages, whose streams were distinguishable even while flowing in the same channel; in the second period the two mingled elements were in a state of effervescence, or of something like contention; in the third, they were perfectly interfused and united, but still in a state of transition, and only advancing to maturity. By the middle of the twelfth century, Saxon and Norman had run together into one body; by the middle of the four-

teenth that body had acquired a perfect unity of spirit, character, and tendency; by the middle of the sixteenth it had achieved its full growth and ultimate form and condition.

The completion of the first of these three periods produced nothing which has lived in or can be said to belong to our literature. What was then accomplished, indeed, was rather the destruction of the two old tongues than the creation of a new one. But the termination of the second period produced the poetry of Chaucer; the termination of the third, the poetry of Spenser. While Chaucer, however, is one of the greatest writers of our own or any other country, his poetry is hidden or obscured to the popular eye under the disguise of a language that has become to a great extent dead or obsolete —that is not, either in its vocables or its grammatical forms, the English that we now speak, but requires to be in great part translated, like a foreign tongue, in order to be made generally intelligible. Spenser has the advantage of having written after the language had become substantially what it still remains, and of being, with the exception of a word here and there, as universally and readily intelligible as any poet of our own day. While Chaucer, therefore, has been properly called the morning star of our poetry, Spenser is its morning sun. The daylight of our literature begins with him.

As for the intervening time between Chaucer and Spenser, it was the era only of imitatorship and abortive effort. The greater part of the poetry of that grey of the morning is a mere reflection of Chaucer; what of it aims at being anything more is still only either a feeble or a lurid light even when it is most original. Lydgate may serve for an exemplification of its more common character; Surrey, Wyatt, and Gascoigne, of that of it which, aiming at a note of its own, was still as it were too timid to raise its voice properly; Skelton and Buckhurst, of what of it evinced most of force and daring, though as yet rather in contest than in conquest. The first voice of song heard in this new era that was really full and free was that of Spenser.

Edmund Spenser was certainly a native of London. This he has told us himself in the plainest words in one of his poems—his Prothalamion, or spousal verse, on the marriages of the Ladies Elizabeth and Katherine Somerset—in which his words are,—

> "—— merry London, my most kindly nurse,
> That to me gave this life's first native source."

The tradition is, that he drew his first breath in the district of East Smithfield, near the Tower. But no record of his birth has been discovered. The former inscription on his monument in Westminster Abbey, which was put up many years after his death, in stating him to have been born in the year 1510, undoubtedly exhibited an entirely inadmissible date; but there are some difficulties attendant upon the account commonly given which makes him not to have come into the world till 1552 or 1553. That date has been deduced from what he says in one of his sonnets (the 60th), in which, writing in 1593 or 1594, he speaks or seems to speak of having then lived forty and one years, or, as he puts it, one year during which the planet of Love had shone clear to him, and forty which he had wasted "in long languishment," or without that consolation. But perhaps we ought to add some space in which he could not well be said to be either a languishing or a prosperous lover. Yet that again would carry back the time of his birth rather too far for the known dates of some of the events of his life. No very certain conclusion, however, it must be confessed, can be grounded on the evidence of the sonnet, the meaning of which is extremely obscure and disputable.

In his printed works Spenser repeatedly claims kindred with the chief family of his name, the Spensers, or Spencers, of Althorpe, from whom both the Earls Spencer and the Dukes of Marlborough are sprung. In the Prothalamion, already cited, while he intimates that London was his birth-place, he adds,—

> "Though from another place I take my name,
> An house of ancient fame."

By taking his name he must be supposed to mean taking it by descent or connexion; the mere identity of surname would not have been worth mentioning. But there is abundant evidence that the relationship was admitted by the Spensers of Althorpe, as well as claimed by the poet. The daughters of Sir John Spenser of Althorpe, the head of the family, were the principal persons, after the queen, the protection of whose names he was wont to seek, as was the fashion of that age, for his published works. He has three dedications addressed to as many of these ladies. In that prefixed to his 'Mother Hubbard's Tale,' which is addressed to the Lady Compton and Monteagle, Sir John's fifth daughter, Anne, he observes that he has often sought opportunity by some good means to make known to her ladyship the humble affection and faithful duty which he has always professed and is bound to bear to that house from which she springs, and he beseeches her to accept the present poem as a pledge of the profession he thus makes, until with some other more worthy labour he may redeem it out of her hands, and discharge his utmost duty. The peculiar connexion which this language implies is indicated with more distinctness in the dedication of his 'Muiopotmos' to Lady Carey, Sir John Spenser's second daughter, Elizabeth, in which he describes himself as glorying to advance her ladyship's excellent parts and noble virtues, and to spend himself in honouring her; "not so much," he adds, "for your great bounty [which may mean merely what we should now call goodness, or kindness, in a general sense] to myself, which yet may not be unminded; *nor for name or kindred's sake by you vouchsafed*, being also regardable; as for that honourable name which ye have by your brave deserts purchased to yourself, and spread in the mouths of all men." Still more explicitly, in the dedication of his 'Tears of the Muses' to the Lady Strange, Sir John's youngest daughter, Alice, he says, "The causes for which ye have thus deserved of me to be honoured (if honour it be at all) are both your particular bounties *and also some private bands of affinity, which it hath pleased your*

ladyship to acknowledge." These three poems were all published in 1591. And there can be no doubt that it is to the same ladies he alludes in his 'Colin Clout's Come Home Again,' where he says,—

> "Ne less praiseworthy are the sisters three,
> The honour of the noble family
> Of which I meanest boast myself to be,
> And most that unto them I am so nigh."

It is only within these few years, however, that any clue has been discovered to the particular branch of the Spensers to which the poet belonged. The discovery was made by a living descendant of the same stock, Mr. F. C. Spenser, of Halifax, and was communicated by him to the public in a communication which appeared in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for August, 1842. The evidence produced in this paper may be considered to make it nearly certain that Spenser's immediate progenitors were the owners of a small property still known by the name of *Spensers*, lying about two miles to the north-west of Burnley, in the eastern part of Lancashire. Edmund is far from being one of the most common of English Christian names; nor is it found to prevail in the pedigree of any other branch of the Spensers, as far as is known. If it were only that among the old Lancashire Spensers there appeared to have been several who bore this name of Edmund, even that would afford some presumption that the family of the poet was to be sought for in that quarter. But it chances that, besides Edmund, we have another not very common name in the poet's family. Not only the poet himself, but both his grandson and his great-great-grandson, by his eldest son, bore the name of Edmund; and it appears that another of his sons bore the equally far from common name of Lawrence. Now it turns out that both Edmund and Lawrence, comparatively rare as they are in general, were the most usual of all Christian names among the Spensers formerly seated in the neighbourhood of Burnley. In the various parish registers of the district Mr. F. C. Spenser found, from about the middle of the sixteenth to

the end of the seventeenth century, above forty entries containing the names of either Edmund or Lawrence Spenser. The probability thus arising that the names of Edmund and Lawrence in the family of the poet were derived from this quarter will be admitted to be very strong. It appears also that the head of these Lancashire Spensers in the time of Elizabeth was an Edmund Spenser of Worsthorne: Worsthorne is a village about two miles east of Burnley, and this Edmund Spenser was the successor of an Adam le Spenser, who had held the same lands by military tenure in the early part of the reign of Edward II. It is further stated by Mr. F. C. Spenser that a communication he has had from John Travers, Esq., of Birch-hill, Cork, who is descended from a sister of the poet, confirms his opinion that the family were from Lancashire; and he afterwards speaks of having *ascertained* that they were from that particular county, on the authority of Mr. Travers.

It has always, indeed, been believed that Spenser had relations in the north of England, and we shall presently find that he certainly spent a part of his early life there. Mr. F. C. Spenser conceives his grandfather to have been a Lawrence Spenser, whose burial is recorded in the register of the New Church in Pendle, the parish in which Spensers is situated, to have taken place in 1584. Spenser's father had probably emigrated from his native district to the south, and at last settled in London. Mr. Collier, in his 'Life of Shakespeare,' has lately noticed the existence of an Edmund Spenser at Kingsbury, in Warwickshire, in 1569, and has hazarded a conjecture that this may have been the father of the poet.

This year, 1569, it so happens, is the next after that of his birth in which we have any certain mention of the poet; but the same year is also curiously abundant in notices, whether of him or of some other person or persons of the same names is doubtful. In the first place, as we have just seen, there is the Edmund Spenser registered as then resident in Warwickshire; it is not impossible that this may have been the poet himself. Then, we have an Edmund Spenser who is recorded in the Books of the

Treasurer of the Queen's Chamber to have that year brought despatches to her Majesty from Sir Henry Norris, ambassador in France: Mr. Peter Cunningham, to whom we are indebted for the discovery of this entry, and for its announcement in his 'Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court,' published in 1842 by the Shakespeare Society, is inclined to believe that it refers to the poet. Again, we find George Turbervile, who had recently gone out to Russia as secretary to the English ambassador, addressing an epistle in verse from that country in 1569 to a friend whom he calls Spenser, and who is stated by Anthony Wood to have been Edmund Spenser the poet: the epistle is printed along with Turbervile's 'Tragical Tales,' and also in the first volume of Hakluyt's Voyages, both of which works appeared in Spenser's lifetime, and when he was the only person to whom the name used as it is in this instance could well be understood to apply. Yet, if he be really the person referred to in all or any of these cases, it is difficult to believe that he could have been at this time no older than sixteen or seventeen. Even nineteen, which he would be if we carry back his birth to 1550, seems too early an age either for the intimate friend of Turbervile, who was then a man of about thirty, or for one already employed as an ambassador's courier. A fourth fact of the same date is still more difficult to reconcile than any thing that has yet been mentioned with the common supposition that Spenser was born in 1552 or 1553. In a work called Vander Noodt's Theatre of Worldlings, which was printed at London in this year, 1569, are found translations in rhyme of six sonnets of Petrarch's, which twelve years afterwards were reprinted as Spenser's in a collection of his minor poems, under the title of 'The Visions of Petrarch formerly translated.' Were these translations, then, which have besides all the characteristics of his style and manner, produced by him when he was only a boy of sixteen or seventeen? We can only say that they were certainly composed in or before the year 1569. And so were translations in blank verse, also found in Vander Noodt's book, of eleven sonnets of

the French poet Du Bellay, which in like manner were reprinted as Spenser's in the same collection of 1591, with only such alterations as were required to convert them into rhyme. There can hardly be a doubt that Spenser was really the author of both these sets of translations, and also of those of a seventh sonnet of Petrarch and four others of Du Bellay, which likewise appeared in the Theatre of Worldlings in 1569, but were not reprinted.

Upon the whole, of the four notices that have been mentioned, both the first, that of the Edmund Spenser of Warwickshire, and the second, that of the government courier, may be considered as most probably referring to some other person than the poet. The former may have been the poet's father, as Mr. Collier suggests: the latter seems most likely to have been the same Mr. Spenser who is mentioned by James VI. of Scotland in a letter to Queen Elizabeth, dated at St. Andrew's, 2nd July, 1583, as having been detained by him that he might carry the letter to England; and also perhaps with a Mr. Spenser who appears to have been repeatedly deputed from the Irish government to England about or before the year 1580, and who is spoken of in a letter of that date from Sir William Pelham, then at the head of the administration of affairs in Ireland, as "now growing into years, and having many ways deserved some consideration from her Majesty." But the Spenser to whom Turbervile in 1569 addressed his epistle from Russia, and also the person who translated the sonnets which appeared the same year in Vander Noodt's Theatre of Worldlings, we believe to have been no other than the afterwards celebrated poet.

The one thing, however, which is certain is that it was in this year 1569 that Spenser went to the university. He was admitted of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, on the 20th of May; and it may be inferred that his nearest relations were in rather humble circumstances from his having been entered as a sizar, or a student of the lowest rank. All that is further known of his academic course is that he took his degree of B.A. in 1573

and that of M.A. in 1576. We have both direct testimony, and, what is still more satisfactory, the abundant evidence of his writings, to the fact that he was one of the most learned scholars of his time; yet it does not appear that he ever obtained any other university honour except his degrees. There may be some foundation for the tradition preserved by Aubrey, and derived by him from Dryden, that he failed in a competition for a fellowship of his college, although it was not, as Aubrey's story makes it to have been, the one which Bishop Andrews got. There are traces of his having met with some disappointment, or mortification, at the hands of the authorities of Pembroke Hall, his connexion with which is nowhere alluded to in his poetry, although he has several times commemorated Cambridge as his *Alma Mater*. While resident at Cambridge he contracted an intimate friendship with Gabriel Harvey, who was first of Christ's Church and afterwards of Trinity Hall, and who became one of the most distinguished scholars and writing men of his time, but is most famous as the antagonist and butt of Nash and Greene and the other wits of that knot. Harvey, who became a Doctor of Laws in 1585, survived till 1630; and he and Spenser would appear to have been of about the same age, so that the latter cannot well be supposed to have been born much before the date commonly assigned.

Upon leaving the University, which he did probably in 1576 or 1577, Spenser is stated to have gone to reside with some relations that he had in the north of England. This account of all the biographers remarkably accords with and confirms the recent discovery of his family having been originally from Lancashire. That he did about this time reside for a space in the north country we have the express testimony of the author (whoever he may have been) of the gloss or commentary published by Spenser himself with his Shepherd's Calendar in 1580. He is spoken of, too, as having been "master of our northern dialect" by Dryden, who appears to have taken a great interest in Spenser's history, and who had,

as we shall find immediately, peculiar opportunities of obtaining information respecting him.

It was during this residence in the north that Spenser fell in love with the lady whom he has celebrated in his Shepherd's Calendar under the name of Rosalind. This is clear from the Sixth Eclogue of that work, which is a lamentation over his ill success in his suit, and in which his friend Harvey, there called Hobinol, is made to entreat him to forsake the soil by which he is so bewitched, and

> Those hills where harborough[a] nis[b] to see,
> Nor holly bush, nor brere,[c] nor winding ditch,
> And to the dales resort, where shepherds rich,
> And fruitful flocks, beend every where to see.

"This is no poetical fiction," says the author of the Gloss, "but unfeignedly spoken of the poet self, who for special occasion of private affairs (as I have been partly of himself informed), and for his more preferment, removed out of the North parts, and came into the South, as Hobinol, indeed, advised him privately." "Rosalind," the commentator further informs us, in a note upon the First Eclogue, "is also a feigned name, which, being well ordered, will bewray the very name of his love and mistress, whom by that name he colloureth." Again in his Gloss on the Fourth Eclogue, where Harvey, or Hobinol, speaks of his friend, under the name of Colin, as wooing "the widow's daughter of the glen," the annotator writes:—"He calleth Rosalind the widow's daughter of the glen, that is, of a country hamlet or borough, which I think is rather said to colour and conceal the person, than simply [that is, plainly or truly] spoken. For it is well known, even in spite of Colin and Hobinol, that she is a gentlewoman of no mean house, nor endued with any vulgar or common gifts both of nature and manners; but such, indeed, as need neither Colin be ashamed to have her made known by his verses, nor

[a] Harbour, habitation. [b] Is not.
[c] Briar. [d] Be, are.

Hobinol be grieved that so she should be commended to immortality for her rare and singular virtues." There is a notice of Rosalind in a printed letter of Harvey's, which confirms this account, implying, as it does, that she was not only a gentlewoman, but quite capable of appreciating her scholarly and gifted lover: he speaks of her as "gentle Mistress Rosalind," who had once declared Spenser "to have all the intelligences at command, and another time christened him Signior Pegaso." Aubrey reports, on the authority of Dryden, that Rosalind was a kinswoman of the lady of Sir Erasmus Dryden, that poet's grandfather. But Spenser is believed to have delineated this his first lady-love and her history at full length in the Seventh and Eighth Cantos of the Sixth Book of his Fairy Queen, where, having been introduced "riding upon an ass, led by a carle and fool," she is thus farther described:—

She was a lady of great dignity,
And lifted up to honourable place,
Famous through all the Land of Faïry,
Though of mean parentage and kindred base;
Yet decked with wondrous gifts of nature's grace,
That all men did her person much admire
And praise the feature of her goodly face;
The beams whereof did kindle lovely fire
In the hearts of many a knight and many a gentle squire.

But she thereof grew proud and insolent,
That none she worthy thought to be her fere,[e]
But scorned them all that love unto her meant;
Yet was she loved of many a worthy peer;
Unworthy she to be beloved so dear,
That could not weigh of worthiness aright;
For beauty is more glorious, bright, and clear,
The more it is admired of many a wight,
And noblest she that served is of noblest knight.

But this coy damsel thought, contrariwise,
That such proud looks would make her praised more,

[e] Companion, mate.

And that, the more she did all love despise,
The more would wretched lovers her adore.
What cared she who sighed for her sore,
Or who did wail or watch the weary night?
Let them that list their luckless lot deplore;
She was born free, not bound to any wight,
And so would ever live, and love her own delight.

Through such her stubborn stiffness and hard heart
Many a wretch for want of remedy
Did languish long in life-consuming smart,
And at the last through dreary dolour die;
Whilst she, the lady of her liberty,
Did boast her beauty had such sovereign might,
That with the only twinkle of her eye
She could or save or spill whom she could hight:
What could the Gods do more, but do it more aright?

The notice of the powers above, however, is at last attracted to such arrogance and selfishness; and Mirabella, being arraigned at the bar of Cupid's court, is adjudged by the God to wander the world on an ass, led by the hideous giant Disdain, and driven on its way by the scourge of the fool Scorn, till she shall have saved as many lovers as she had destroyed.

So now she had been wandering two whole years
Throughout the world in this uncomely case,
Wasting her goodly hue in heavy tears,
And her good days in dolorous disgrace;
Yet had she not in all these two years' space
Saved but two; yet in two years before,
Through her despiteous pride, whilst love lacked place,
She had destroyed two and twenty more.
Aye me, how could her love make half amends therefore!

She is represented as carrying toilfully a bottle before her, and a wallet on her back; and the following is the account she gives of this part of her penance:—

Name.

" Here in this bottle," said the sorry maid,
" I put the tears of my contrition,
Till to the brim I have it full defrayed;[g]
And in this bag, which I behind me don,
I put repentance for things past and gone.
Yet is the bottle leak,[h] and bag so torn,
That all which I put in falls out anon,
And is behind me trodden down of Scorn,
Who mocketh all my pain, and laughs the more I mourn."

If the supposition that Mirabella represents Rosalind be well founded, some light perhaps might be got for the discovery of the lady's real name from the family history of the Drydens. The circumstance that, although of elevated station and also of cultivated mind, she was of humble origin is, if true, a distinctive mark by which there might be a hope of identifying her.

Dryden farther told Aubrey that Spenser was an acquaintance of his grandfather, Sir Erasmus, and a frequent guest at his house, which was at Canons Ashby, in Northamptonshire. "The chamber there at Sir Erasmus's," adds Aubrey, "is still called Mr. Spenser's chamber." It was probably here that the poet met with Rosalind—unless we are to suppose that it was his acquaintance with her that introduced him to the Dryden family.

At all events he appears to have been still entangled in this unprosperous attachment, when, by the advice of his friend Harvey, as it would seem, he was induced to leave the north in 1578 or 1579. He is stated, as we have seen, to have transferred himself to the south "for special occasion of private affairs," as well as "for his more preferment;" and his connexion with London as his birthplace, and probably also the residence of his father or of some of his nearest relations, may have had a share in bringing him thither. He now became known to Mr. (afterwards Sir Philip) Sidney, in what way is variously related. The following is Aubrey's version of

[g] Filled. [h] Leaky.

the story, in his Life, or short biographical notice, of Sidney:—"Among others, Mr. Edmund Spenser made his address to him, and brought his Fairy Queen. Sir Philip was busy at his study, and his servant delivered Mr. Spenser's book to his master, who laid it by, thinking it might be such kind of stuff as he was frequently troubled with. Mr. Spenser staid so long that his patience was wearied, and went his way discontented, and never intended to come again. When Sir Philip perused it, he was so exceedingly delighted with it, that he was extremely sorry he was gone, and where to send for him he knew not. After much inquiry he learned his lodging, and sent for him, and ordered his servant to give him ——— pounds in gold. His servant said that that was too much. 'No,' said Sir Philip, 'he is ———,' and ordered an addition. From this time there was a great friendship between them to his dying day." This is evidently a blundering account; for, instead of the Fairy Queen, or even the first part of the poem, having been finished at this time, as seems to have been imagined, it may be reasonably questioned if any portion of the poem, in the form in which we have it, was yet written,—although another of Aubrey's anecdotes of Spenser is, that "lately at the college (meaning, apparently, Pembroke Hall, Cambridge), taking down the wainscot of his chamber, they found an abundance of cards with stanzas of the Fairy Queen written on them." The story, however, in a later edition has been improved into the following form as it stands in the Life of Spenser prefixed to the Fairy Queen in 1758 by Church, who says that he sets it down as he finds it related, not knowing how far it may appear worthy of credit:—"It is said he was a stranger to Mr. Sidney (afterwards Sir Philip) when he had begun to write his Fairy Queen, and that he took occasion to go to Leicester House, and to introduce himself by sending in to Mr. Sidney a copy of the Ninth Canto of the First Book of that poem. Mr. Sidney was much surprised with the description of Despair in that canto, and is said to have shown an unusual kind of transport on the discovery of

so new and uncommon a genius. After he had read some stanzas, he turned to his steward, and bid him give the person that brought those verses fifty pounds; but upon reading the next stanza he ordered the sum to be doubled. The steward was no less surprised than his master, and thought it his duty to make some delay in executing so sudden and lavish a bounty; but, upon reading one stanza more, Mr. Sidney raised his gratuity to two hundred pounds, and commanded the steward to give it immediately, lest, as he read further, he might be tempted to give away his whole estate." This is a very good story; but how much of it may be true is another question. It may possibly enough have grown out of nothing more than the simple fact that the canto in question was a favourite with Sidney, and that when he first read it, perhaps long after this time, he expressed his admiration in some enthusiastic fashion. It is most probable that Spenser was introduced to Sidney by Harvey, by whose advice, as we have seen, he appears to have come to the south. The most obvious and natural interpretation of various passages in the Shepherd's Calendar is, that Harvey was desirous of bringing his friend to participate in advantages and enjoyments of which he was himself already in possession. This is the only consistent meaning that can be given to the dialogue represented as taking place between them in the Sixth Eclogue. We find Harvey spoken of by Spenser in 1579 as familiarly known to Sidney and his associates at least by reputation; and there is no reason for supposing that they were personally strangers.

Sidney, as the best service he could do his new friend, made him known to his uncle the Earl of Leicester, the powerful royal favourite; and Spenser appears to have resided sometimes at Leicester House, the Earl's town mansion, sometimes at Penshurst, the seat of the Sidneys in Kent. He writes to Harvey in 1579 and 1580 from the former, and his Shepherd's Calendar is believed to have been, partly at least, written at the latter. In the Fourth Eclogue he calls himself Colin "the Southern Shepherd's boy;" upon which the Gloss has this explanation:—

"Seemeth hereby that Colin pertaineth to some southern nobleman, and perhaps in Surrey or Kent, the rather because he so often nameth the Kentish Downs, and before *As lithe as lass of Kent*." So again, in one of the annotations upon the Sixth Eclogue, the fruitful dales for which Hobinol, or Harvey, invites him to forsake the rugged and barren north, are described as "the south parts where he now abideth; which, though they be full of hills and woods (for Kent is very hilly and woody, and therefore so called, for *Kantsh* in the Saxons' tongue signifieth *woody*), yet in respect of the north parts they be called dales: for indeed the north is counted the higher country."

Spenser employed part of his time, when he first became acquainted with Sidney, unprofitably enough, in the practice of a new species of writing with which he found Sidney and several of his friends at the moment greatly occupied and enamoured—an attempt to subjugate English verse to the laws of the ancient Greek and Latin prosody. Of this absurd novelty, which went by the name of English versifying, Harvey claimed the honour of being the inventor; and that circumstance affords a further presumption in favour of the belief that he and Sidney were acquainted. Spenser went so far into the folly as to perpetuate some uncommonly bad hexameters, pentameters, and trimeter iambics, which have been preserved; but it may be doubted if he ever was serious in his professions of adherence to the new system, and at any rate he very soon abandoned it. But besides what he did in this style, much of which is no doubt lost (if that can be called a loss), he must have already produced a great quantity of verse before he came to London, or had been long there.

From some letters which passed between him and Harvey in 1579 and 1580, and which were immediately afterwards published by Harvey, from the commentary on the Shepherd's Calendar, and other sources, there have been collected the following titles of works which were either finished or in progress before the end of the last-mentioned year:—'The Fairy Queen,' begun, though

whether the same poem with that not published till ten years after this time may be doubted; 'Nine Comedies;' a poem, or collection of poems, entitled 'Dreams;' 'The Dying Pelican;' 'Slumber,' otherwise called 'A Sennight's Slumber;' 'The Court of Cupid;' a collection of 'Legends;' another of 'Pageants;' another of 'Sonnets;' a poem in *English versifying*, entitled 'Epithalamion Thamesis,' probably little more than projected; a poetical 'Translation of Moschus's Idyllion of Wandering Love;' a prose treatise entitled 'The English Poet;' a work in Latin, probably a poem, on the history of the family of the Earl of Leicester, entitled 'Stemmata Dudleiana;' and 'The Shepherd's Calendar.'

All these works, except the last-named, and so much, if any, as may remain of the original 'Fairy Queen' in the existing poem so called, are lost; as are also translations of 'Ecclesiastes,' and of 'The Song of Solomon,' 'The Seven [Penitential] Psalms,' 'The Hours of the Lord,' 'The Sacrifice of a Sinner,' 'The Hell of Lovers,' 'Purgatory,' and other pieces, even the titles of which have not been preserved, that are mentioned as having been written by him without their dates being stated. We only know that they had all been produced before the year 1591.

The first work which Spenser sent to the press (unless we are to reckon the translations published in Vander Noodt's book ten years before) was his collection of pastorals, one for every month of the year, entitled 'The Shepherd's Calendar,' which appeared in the end of the year 1579. Even that did not carry his name; it is only introduced by a short dedication in verse to Sidney, having attached to it the signature IMMERITO, the same which the author assumes in his correspondence with Harvey. The Shepherd's Calendar, though unequally executed, may be pronounced to have evinced the highest poetical genius that had appeared in England since Chaucer, and to be the earliest poem of equal merit on the whole in the existing form of the language. Nothing that had been produced either by Surrey or Buckhurst had shown anything like the same all-inform-

ing poetic light and life. If parts of it, too, have now lost much of their interest, those were the very parts that would most take the largest class of readers in that age. It is to a great extent a theological and even puritanical poem: following the steps of Chaucer and the author of the Visions of Pierce Ploughman, who had both inveighed against the abuses of the church, Spenser was naturally led to take up the character of an ecclesiastical reformer; and, besides, his connexion with Leicester, who courted the Puritans, impelled him in the same direction. Probably the work was indebted for a good deal of its popularity to the spirit which it thus breathed, and which would enlist in its favour the most excited, energetic, and growing party in the country. Accordingly it was reprinted no fewer than four times in the author's lifetime; in 1581, 1586, 1591, and 1597. All these early editions, however, are without the name of the author; and the Shepherd's Calendar appears not to have been generally known to be the composition of Spenser for several years after its first publication.

Spenser, when he threw himself upon London, probably looked to living by his pen: he had, for some reason or other, adopted no profession, at least as far as is known, and his natural resource was literature, which already in London afforded to a considerable number of adventurers such a support as a spar sometimes is to a man struggling in the water. The Shepherd's Calendar was probably sold to a bookseller; it seems at least to have been early regarded as a property, having between the first and second editions been assigned by the original owner to a new publisher. In one of Harvey's letters, written in 1580, he rallies his friend on the prospect of "living by *Dying Pelicans*, and purchasing great lands and lordships with the money which his *Calendar* and *Dreams* have [afforded] and will afford him." Spenser, however, soon began to look to other patronage than that of the booksellers. In his first letter to Harvey, written from Leicester House in October, 1579, we find him alluding, apparently, to some design which had been entertained of having him introduced at

court: "Your desire," he says, "to hear of my late being with her majesty must die in itself." From the sequel of the same letter, and from a long valedictory effusion of Latin verse inserted in it, we learn that he was then preparing to set out immediately for the continent on some mission from Leicester. "I beseech you," he writes, "by all your courtesies and graces, let me be answered ere I go; which will be (I hope, I fear, I think) the next week, if I can be dispatched of my lord. I go thither as sent by him, and maintained mostwhat of him; and there am to employ my time, my body, my mind, to his honour's service." There is no reason, however, for believing that he did actually go abroad at this time. At any rate, if he did, he was not long away. If he was not in London when his *Shepherd's Calendar* was entered in the register of the Stationers' Company on the 5th of December of this same year, he certainly was in April of the year following; for he dates his next letter to Harvey from Westminster on the 10th of that month. Nor does he in that letter make any allusion to his having been abroad. Very soon after this, however, he received an appointment which carried him out of England. In the beginning of August of this year, 1580, Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton was sent over to Ireland as Lord Deputy, and Spenser accompanied him as his private secretary. They arrived in Dublin on the 12th of August, and the Lord Deputy was sworn in on the 7th of September. Grey was related to Leicester and the Sidneys, and there can be little doubt that Spenser was indebted for his secretaryship to their recommendation. He evidently, however, soon came to feel much more than a mere official attachment to the Lord Deputy. Grey, whose government was signalised by some military proceedings against the insurgent natives of great vigour, and which exposed him to much animadversion, figures as one of the most lauded heroes of the Fairy Queen, and both in that poem, and, without the disguise of allegory, in his prose 'View of the State of Ireland,' Spenser has eulogised and defended his administration without re-

serve and with extraordinary ardour. His zeal did not go unrewarded. On the 22nd of March, 1581, he received the additional appointment of Clerk of the Decrees and Recognizances of Chancery; and the same year he obtained by royal grant a lease at an annual rent of 300*l.* of the Abbey of Enniscorthy, with the attached castle and manor, in the county of Wexford, which he conveyed on the 9th of December, no doubt for a valuable consideration, to another person, from whom it was afterwards purchased by Sir Henry Wallop, the ancestor of the Earls of Portsmouth, in whose family the property still remains. It now yields an annual rental of many thousand pounds. Grey was recalled from his government in the end of August, 1582, and Spenser is supposed to have returned with him to England; but he appears to have nevertheless retained his office of Clerk in the Irish Court of Chancery, nor did he quit it till the 22nd of June, 1588, when he exchanged it for that of Clerk of the Council of Munster. Meanwhile, on the 27th of June, 1586, as is commonly stated, he had obtained from the queen a grant of 3028 acres of land, consisting of the manor and castle of Kilcolman, in the barony of Fermoy, and county of Cork, being a portion of the immense forfeited estates of the Earl of Desmond, the final suppression of whose rebellion had been Lord Grey's capital achievement. A late writer, however, Mr. Hardiman, to a long note in the first volume of whose 'Irish Minstrelsy,' published in 1831, we have been indebted for several new facts, makes the date of this grant to be, on the authority of the original *fiat* in the Rolls Office, Dublin, the 26th of October, 1591. The common account of the latter portion of Spenser's life is wrong throughout, if he was not seated at Kilcolman before this. It may be a mistake, indeed, to suppose that he returned to England with Lord Grey in 1582, or that he ever was out of Ireland from 1580 to 1590; but if we are to suppose that he had not acquired possession of Kilcolman before the latter year, how are we to interpret his own relation in his 'Colin Clout's Come Home Again,' where he

represents Raleigh, under the name of the Shepherd of the Ocean, as having come to him at Kilcolman, and taken him with him to England, where he was introduced at court, and bountifully rewarded for his minstrelsy by Elizabeth, whom he calls Cynthia, and of his obligations to whom and to Raleigh the poem is in fact mainly a celebration? This visit to England must, apparently, have been that which he made for the purpose of sending to press the first part of his Fairy Queen, which was entered in the Stationers' Register on the 1st of December, 1589, and published in 1590.

The Fairy Queen, as yet consisting only of the three first books, was dedicated in a short inscription to Elizabeth; and in February, 1591, her majesty conferred upon Spenser a pension of fifty pounds a year. His new work, the first in which his name was given to the world, had now raised him to the highest reputation and popularity. In this same year, 1591, his bookseller, William Ponsonby, published, in a small quarto volume, a collection of all his other pieces which he could procure, under the title of 'Complaints; containing sundry small Poems of the World's Vanity;' with an Address to "The Gentle Reader," in which he says, "Since my late setting forth of the Fairy Queen, finding that it hath found a favourable passage amongst you, I have sithence endeavoured, by all good means, for the better increase and accomplishment of your delights, to get into my hands such small poems of the same author's, as I heard were dispersed abroad in sundry hands, and not easy to be come by by himself; some of them having been diversely embezzled and purloined from him since his departure over sea." The pieces of which this collection consists are, The Ruins of Time (an elegy on Sir Philip Sidney, and therefore written since 1586); 'The Tears of the Muses' (a lamentation over the decay of poetry and learning); and a paraphrastic translation of 'Virgil's Gnat,' described as having been "long since dedicated to the most noble and excellent lord, the Earl of Leicester, late deceased;" 'Mother Hubbard's Tale,' stated in the Dedication to the Lady Compton and Mont-

eagle to have been long since composed in the raw conceit of youth; 'The Ruins of Rome,' translated from the French of Bellay; 'Muiopotmos, or the Tale of the Butterfly' (apparently an allegory, and dated 1590); Twelve Sonnets, entitled 'Visions of the World's Vanity;' Fifteen, entitled 'The Visions of Bellay' (eleven of them being rhyming versions of so many of those of which translations into blank verse had appeared twenty-one years before in Vander Noodt's 'Theatre of Worldlings,' with four not inserted in that work); and Seven, entitled 'The Visions of Petrarch, formerly translated' (being the six printed by Vander Noodt with one additional).

It has been commonly assumed that Spenser had returned to Ireland before this collection appeared, from Ponsonby's expression, "since his departure over sea." But these words seem rather to refer to his original removal to Ireland in 1580. At all events, he was in London on the 1st of January, 1592, as appears from the date of his dedication to the Marchioness of Northampton of his next publication, his 'Daphnaida,' an elegy on Douglas Howard, daughter of Lord Howard, and wife of Arthur Gorges, Esq. It is not probable that he made two visits to England within so brief a space. He seems, however, to have returned to Ireland some time in 1592, and to have resided at Kilcolman for the next three or four years. Meanwhile, according to a document quoted by Mr. Hardiman, he had assigned, no doubt for a pecuniary consideration, his office of clerk of the council of Munster to another person. In 1595 appeared his 'Colin Clout's Come Home Again,' accompanied by his 'Astrophel,' and his 'Mourning Muse of Thestylis,' both commemorative of Sir Philip Sidney. The same year he published, in another volume, his 'Amoretti,' or series of eighty-eight sonnets relating the progress of his courtship with another love, who had at length supplanted Rosalind, together with his splendid 'Epithalamion' written in celebration of his marriage. The marriage is spoken of as having taken place on St. Barnabas's day, or the 11th of June; the year was most

probably 1594; the ceremony seems to have been performed in the town of Cork; of the bride nothing is known except that she was of obscure parentage, and that her name was Elizabeth—which was also, Spenser intimates, that of his mother.

He again visited England in 1596, and brought out at London the second edition of his 'Fairy Queen,' now extended to six books. This was followed, the same year, first by a volume containing a reprint of the 'Daphnaida,' together with his 'Prothalamion' or spousal song on the marriages of the Ladies Elizabeth and Katherine Somerset, daughters of the Earl of Worcester; and afterwards by another containing his 'Four Hymns on Love and Beauty.' The dedication of these 'Hymns' to the Countesses of Cumberland and Warwick is dated at Greenwich, the 1st of September, 1596. Although the two first are stated by him to have been composed in the greener times of his youth, they were the last of his productions which Spenser sent to the press. He probably returned to Ireland early in 1597; in September of the next year he was recommended by the queen to the Irish government to be sheriff of Cork; but soon after the breaking out of Tyrone's rebellion in October, 1598, his house was attacked and burnt to the ground by a party of the insurgents, and he with difficulty made his escape with his wife and, it is commonly said, two sons, a third, if we may credit what Ben Jonson told Drummond of Hawthornden, having perished in the flames. But, according to another account, Spenser left four children, three sons and a daughter, who all grew up to be married; so that it may be hoped the story of the fifth child, in so short a space of time, and its calamitous fate, is fabulous. He came over with his family to London; and, after an illness of some weeks, died at an inn in King Street, Westminster, on the 16th of January, 1599.

We have mentioned all his known poetical productions, excepting only three or four complimentary Sonnets which have been collected from the publications of

other writers, a few very short pieces, not amounting to a hundred lines in all, and the two additional Cantos of the Fairy Queen, with the fragment of a third, supposed to have been intended for some subsequent Book of which the subject should be the Legend of Constancy, which were first published, along with a new edition of the rest of the poem, in 1609. The poem entitled 'Britain's Ida,' published as his in 1628, is undoubtedly spurious. Spenser's only prose work that has come down to us is his 'View of the State of Ireland, written dialogue-wise between Eudoxus and Irenaeus,' which was first published by Sir James Ware in 1633. It appears to have been finished in 1596; and is supposed to have been presented by Spenser to Queen Elizabeth on his visit to England in that year. Among his lost works, however, besides the prose treatise entitled 'The English Poet' already noticed, mention is made of a translation of a Greek dialogue, entitled 'Axiochus,' on the shortness and uncertainty of life, the composition of Æschines Socraticus, but designated Plato's in this translation, which is said to have been printed in Scotland in 1592, although no copy is now known to exist. Of others of his compositions, both in prose and verse, probably the very titles have perished.

As the author of the Fairy Queen Spenser takes his place in the front rank of the poets of his language, with only Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Milton by his side. The high qualities of his poetry are affluence of invention, picturesque splendour, and sweetness of flow. No other English poetry has so much of the qualities of painting and of music. But the Fairy Queen is far from being all grace, brilliance, and melody: it is throughout as much the inspiration of philosophy as of fancy, and is full of wise and noble thoughts as well as of all other beautiful things.

Spenser is described by Aubrey on the information of Mr. Beeston as having been a little man, with every thing about his person on an economical scale—wearing short hair, little bands, and little cuffs. Perhaps he was

not of quite so amiable or unworldly a character as might be inferred from his poetry. His face, in the most authentic representation of it—in which, however, by the bye, the ruff, contrary to Mr. Beeston's account, is of sufficiently ample dimensions—has by no means a wrapt look. And even the naked outline of his history that has come down to us does not indicate a person inattentive to his own interests. Some evidence that has been produced by Mr. Hardiman goes to show that in the exercise of his rights of property in Ireland he was disposed to go to the very limits, if not beyond the limits, of the law; and there is reason indeed for suspecting that he had provoked the popular vengeance which at last fell upon him by some harshness in his dealings both with the peasantry and with some of the neighbouring proprietors. It is said that his name is still in bad odour in that part of the country. That he may have given some cause for the hatred of the natives and of the Roman Catholic party will surprise no one who has read his View of the State of Ireland, the tone of which throughout is singularly firm and uncompromising in its inculcation of both an Anti-Romish and Anti-Hibernian policy. But indeed there is much of the same stern spirit even in his poetry, wherever the subject is such as to call it forth.

Spenser had descendants at least to the fourth generation through his eldest son Sylvanus, who married Ellen, daughter of David Nagle, Esq., of Moneamey in the county of Cork. The grandson of Sylvanus, who died in 1734, left three sons, the eldest of whom, Edmund, is known to have been married; besides a daughter. The poet's second son appears to have been named Lawrence, and to have died in 1654 without issue. His third and youngest son Peregrine left a son Hugolin, who was restored after the Restoration to some lands in the county of Cork, but was outlawed after the Revolution for having taken part with James II. It is said that some of Spenser's descendants were still remaining in the county of Cork about the middle of last century;

and it has been asserted that they are not yet extinct. There are undoubted descendants of a sister of the poet, who married a gentleman of the name of Travers, still existing in that county. It appears that after the poet's death his widow married one Roger Seckerstone, and quarrelled with her children by her first husband.

THE END OF VOL. IV.

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